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# THE STORY

OF THE

# CHRISTIAN CHURCH

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BY

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NEW YORK: EATON & MAINS  
CINCINNATI: CURTS & JENNINGS

1897

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EATON & MAINS PRESS,  
150 Fifth Avenue, New York.

## PREFATORY NOTE.

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THIS volume contains, in a revised and enlarged form, the lectures on Church history which the late Rev. George R. Crooks, D.D., LL.D., gave to his classes at Drew Theological Seminary. The manuscript was in an advanced stage of preparation, and the book was partly in type, when death put an end to the labors of the distinguished author. He intended the volume primarily as a text-book, but it was also his desire so to narrate the history of the Church that the ordinary reader might follow without difficulty and with a newly awakened interest the wonderful story of its growth and development. The history of the progress of the Christian religion was not to Dr. Crooks a history of dry detail, of interest only to the special student. He looked upon the religious struggles of the ages since Christ's appearance as a continual contest for the supremacy of righteousness and truth in the earth. He held that the men of the Christian centuries could not be known in their true character without a knowledge of these struggles. He was able to finish and see in type what he considered the most important part of the volume, the chapters on the apostolic Church. A thorough knowledge of the apostolic period was, in his opinion, essential to the student of Church history. Dr. Crooks had made a lifelong study of the origin and growth of the doctrines of the Church; consequently they have received a fuller treatment in these pages than is usual in Church histories. In most cases the underlying principles and philosophy of the doctrines discussed are entered into. In particular, the development of the doctrine of the Lord's Supper and the history of Sabbath observance are most carefully traced. The method of treat-

ment adopted in the book, that of the presentation of special topics, arose naturally from the original use of its chapters, in condensed form, as lectures. After the death of Dr. Crooks his accomplished daughter, Miss Katharine M. Crooks, who had for many years been his assistant in literary work, and to whom he left the editing of the manuscript, made such corrections and revisions as he would probably have desired to make in preparing the final chapters for publication. These occasional alterations, and the notes he had prepared for the elaboration of the latter part of the manuscript, are all the additions that have been made. He himself speaks throughout the entire volume with his own voice, in his own clear English, and with his own extraordinary power of vivid narration. The brief bibliographies added to some of the chapters are intended, not to be exhaustive, but suggestive.

Miss Crooks desires that thanks be expressed to the friends and colleagues of her honored father who have given advice and assistance in her work, especially to Professor Olin A. Curtis, S.T.D., of Drew Theological Seminary, and to the Rev. S. G. Ayers, B.D., Librarian of the Seminary.

We issue this volume in the confident hope and expectation that it will be heartily welcomed, not only by all students of Church history, but also by all Christian believers, who cannot but be interested in the story of the origin and development of the Church.

THE PUBLISHERS.



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# THE STORY OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH.

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## CHAPTER I.

### INTRODUCTION: PURPOSE AND SCOPE OF CHURCH HISTORY.

HISTORY in the objective sense is the sum total of events which have contributed to the progress of mankind. Under this definition the progress of the world is considered to be intellectual, moral, social, and political. If human existence is a course of development, then whatever has contributed thereto, or has come in contact therewith as an opposing force, becomes part of the subject-matter of history. Improgressive races enter into history only as they have relations with progressive races. If the explorations of Livingstone and Stanley in the interior of Africa should issue in the attainment of a mature civilization, these will be the starting point for the history of the barbarous peoples of that continent. In order to a history of the human race as a whole there must be, as a precedent condition, a sense of the unity of the race. Ancient historians are exclusively national. They show no appreciation of the fact that all nations are contributors to a common result. With the production of "the great idea of the community of man" Christianity has had much to do; for a fundamental doctrine of our religion is that all mankind are included in one divine plan, which has required ages for its elaboration. The revival of ancient learning has linked closely together again ancient and modern life. Commerce and international law, by making ever clearer the fact of a community of interests, have contributed to the creation of a community of feeling. The modern mind, educated by Chris-

tianity and Christian civilization, has originated the conception of a philosophy of history. In the eighteenth century Vico<sup>1</sup> announced that history should be studied as a whole, and that there would be found running through it some one universal law.

History is usually divided into secular and sacred. This division is convenient for purposes of study, but is in some degree misleading. There is no human history into which a divine element does not enter; for men are continually under a divine government, and there can be no progress apart from moral and religious growth. The secular life is a part of the general scheme of Providence. With this distinction admitted, secular history is the history of man in purely mundane relations; sacred, the history of man in his relations to the supersensual world. Sacred history is divided into inspired and human. The latter is properly Church history. History is also to be distinguished from "annals" or "chronicles." "Annals" are the events of a year noted in the order of time; "chronicles" the events of a reign, or several reigns, or a period, in the same order. History considers events in their internal relations to each other, and implies some scheme of philosophy in the mind of the narrator. Thus, the events recorded in Martin's *History of France* are so presented as to illustrate the strength and weakness of the principle of political absolutism; those in Motley's *Rise of the Dutch Republic* illustrate the struggle between the principle of ecclesiastical authority and the principle of religious liberty. It is not necessary that the historian should have in his mind a complete philosophical system, but only that he should aim to present the development of one event out of another, and the whole series of events as influenced by well-defined causes. For the present has its roots in the past, and the taproot of human history runs back to the creation. In one sense there is nothing sudden in human events; there may be suddenness in the

<sup>1</sup> Vico's *Principles of a New Science* was published in 1725. He is usually reckoned the founder of the philosophy of history.

outward manifestations, but we may be assured that what we see is the end of a long series of preparations. All of English history from the wresting of the Magna Charta from King John by the barons; all of Church history from the nailing of the theses to the church door of Wittenberg by Luther; a thousand influences which may be traced to the New Testament itself, enter into the Declaration of American Independence, and are needed for the creation of that one matchless document. And when we speak of causes we do not mean necessary causes; in history free will is a principle of causation, a principle which, notwithstanding its freedom, acts with a considerable degree of uniformity. Purely pictorial history can, therefore, serve no purpose but that of entertainment.

If the life of mankind has, as we have already intimated, a definite end, then there must be a unity in human history, and the attainment of a final result is supposable.<sup>1</sup> In this view "history is a living organism whose parts have an inward, vital connection, each requiring and completing the rest. All nations form but one family, having one origin and one destiny; and all periods are but the several stages of its life, which, though continually changing its form, is also substantially one and the same." Unity in history implies that the life of the human race will be the working out and illustration of some great principle. To the Christian thinker this principle is the redemption of the human spirit by supernatural power, and the leading forth of man's best energies, under the inspiration of redemption, in science, art, politics, and society. The non-Christian or the half-Christian mind seeks for other universal principles in history. Hegel assumes the final cause of the world to be the realization of its own freedom by spirit. There are in his

<sup>1</sup> Professor (now Bishop) Stubbs, who seems—but if we read him aright only seems—to deny the unity of history, fully admits its existence in the religious sphere. "I do not," he says, "deny this unity in the high region of religious history or in the scarcely less comprehensive grasp which the political philosopher may take of universal human life."—*Lectures on Mediæval and Modern History*, p. 100.

scheme three stages in the appreciation of freedom: "The oriental world knows only that one is free; the Greeks and Romans recognize some as free; the German nations, under the influence of Christianity, have attained the knowledge that all are free."<sup>1</sup> Frederick Von Schlegel considers "the great problem for the life of the individual, as also for that of the entire race, to be the conversion of the lower and natural will more and more to the higher and divine will." But he looks at events from the Roman Catholic point of view.<sup>2</sup> Herder's *Ideas on the Philosophy of the History of Humanity* are a poetic contemplation of mankind as one whole, "changing its form and its objects as it passes from country to country and from age to age, protesting everywhere against the finite world which enchains it, seeking the triumph of the infinite, the victory of the soul." He throws over the records of primitive culture of man the halo of a poetic imagination. He has been said to be the "originator of the genetic or historical method" which has since been applied to all human ideas and institutions.

In opposition to the atheistic intellectualists Goldwin Smith supposes the end of history to be the formation of character. "If," he writes, "the end and key of history is the formation of character, then the end and key of history are the same with the end and key of the life of man. If the progress of the intellect is the essential part of history, then the harmony between man and history is at an end. Man does not rest in intellect, as his end, not even in intellect of a far less dry and more comprehensive kind than that which the maintainers of the intellectual theory of history have in view. Certainly if we believe in a Creator it is difficult to imagine him making such a world as this, with all of its abysses of misery and crime,

<sup>1</sup> *Philosophy of History*, Introduction, p. 19.

<sup>2</sup> "Doubtless the philosophy of history forms an essential part of the science of human and divine things. For how is it possible to attain to a correct knowledge of human things, in any department of life and science, unless they be viewed in relation to and connection with the divine principle, which animates or directs them?"—*Lect. X.*



merely that some of his creatures might with infinite labor attain ■ modicum of knowledge which can be of use only in this world, and must come to nothing again when all is done. And certainly, if character is the end of history and moral effort, the necessary means to that end (as no other means of forming character is known to us), optimism may not, after all, be so stupid as some philosophers suppose; and this world, which is plainly so arranged as to force man to the utmost possible amount of effort, may well be the best of all possible worlds."<sup>1</sup> This view of the end of history harmonizes with the Christian thought of the purpose of the manifestation of Christ, namely, the exhibition to mankind of the perfect type of character. If the perfect type is the world's ideal, then its realization may well be the goal of all history. All speculations upon this subject are necessarily imperfect, for the discovery of the end of history can only be certainly made as history approaches its completion. But the conviction that history has a definite end is indispensable to right Christian thinking, nay, to reasonable theistic thinking. Otherwise we must confess that the world is a mighty maze without a plan, and that the incoming of the supernatural into the realm of the natural is barren of all result.

We have been treated by Mr. Buckle to a theory of history which aims to make it an exact science, and to reduce all events under the law of causation. "In regard to nature," says this ingenious but eccentric writer, "events apparently the most irregular and capricious have been explained, and have been shown to be in accordance with certain fixed and universal laws. This has been done because men of ability and, above all, men of patient, untiring thought have studied natural events with a view of discovering their regularity; and if human events were subjected to similar treatment we have a right to expect similar results."<sup>2</sup> Observe we have now before us two distinct terms,

<sup>1</sup> *Lectures on the Study of History*, Lect. I, pp. 77, 78.

<sup>2</sup> "The only positions which I shall expect a believer in the possibility of a science of history to concede are the following: That when we perform an action we perform it in consequence of some motive or motives; that

a science of history and a philosophy of history. They are diverse in meaning. A "science of history" says Goldwin Smith, "can rest on nothing short of causation; a philosophy of history rests upon connection, such connection as we know and in every process and word of life assume that there is, between the action and its motives; between motives and circumstances; between the conduct of men and the effect produced upon the character; between historic antecedents and their results."<sup>1</sup>

The necessarian theory of history relies upon the uniformity of statistics, and infers that the averages drawn from statistics prove the working of the law of causation. But the statistics of no country show a uniform average in the number of illiterates, or thefts, or of suicides in a long series of years. There is no uniformity in the breaking out of wars, the species of event which most enlists the passions and energies of mankind. It is claimed that there is a uniformity observable in the recurrence of financial collapses among commercial nations; but no one pretends that their recurrence is a necessity which must be submitted to because produced by a law of causation. All that can be established by moral statistics is that under certain external circumstances, and at certain moral and intellectual stages, men from the force of education and example incline to act with considerable uniformity. But statistics are gathered for the express purpose that we may vary the average, either in the direction of increase or decrease, through the application of free will. We gather the statistics of human conduct as a preliminary to reformation; that is, we assume the averages to be under human control and therefore independent of causation. Sanitary statistics, penal statistics, the statistics of every national census are used in this way. Hence, says Goldwin Smith, very acutely: "If the statistics were fixed by necessity, to gather them would

these motives are the results of some antecedents; and that therefore, if we were acquainted with the whole of these antecedents, and with all the laws of their movements, we could with unerring certainty predict the whole of their immediate results."—*History of Civilization in England*, Introduction, p. 13.

<sup>1</sup> *Lectures on the Study of History*, Lect. II, p. 89.

be a mere indulgence of curiosity, like measuring all the human race when we could not add a cubit to their stature." <sup>1</sup>

We must accept in history, therefore, as one of the factors, free will, and in every Christian or theistic view, as the other factor, divine Providence. We must accept free will, or otherwise history can teach us no lessons, can inspire no emulation by its examples of virtue, can utter no warnings to which we should take heed. If all events are the products of causation, then "a bad action is no more censurable than a gnarl in the trunk of a tree or boll on its surface." We need free will as a factor in order that history may be the sum total of the moral effort of man; we need Providence as a factor in order that human events may tend to the accomplishment of a definite plan. The method of harmonizing the two factors is, as to the process, an insoluble problem; but we may take the fact of their harmony both as a postulate of faith and a conviction of reason. There are, however, some facts which we observe, and which help us to conceive how harmony is practicable. First, the moral constitution of the world, in which virtue is rewarded and vice is punished, is also the constitution of man; and unless we confess that the human race is an abortion we may concede that some portion of it will work in the line of virtue, and so further the divine end of history. Secondly, God undoubtedly raises up men of powerful personality, who, enlightened with clear apprehension, become teachers and sages to their fellows, and persuade them to move on the line of virtue, and thus to become helpers in the carrying forward of the divine purposes. In this sense Socrates was a providential person, and, we may say, inspired. He had, we mean, an unusual share of that light which enlighteneth every man that cometh into the world. Thirdly, we believe that God, for the carrying forward of human history to a definite goal, has put his Spirit into certain men and supernaturally endowed them to be leaders of mankind. Thus men may become conscious coworkers in achieving the ultimate end

<sup>1</sup> *Lectures on the Study of History*, Lect. I, p. 55.

of human history. Fourthly, divine Providence may connect together the partial results brought out by the free will of man, organizing them into unity where to the human agents unity is not perceptible. Thus the teacher of the rudiments of Christianity or the plainest gospeler may, while laboring for a definite end, in obedience to divine command, be contributing to some higher result, which only the Omniscient One at the moment perceives.

The two factors, human free will and divine Providence, must be conceived as cooperative with each other. Thus history becomes the exhibition of astonishing effects wrought by great human personalities, but at the same time shaped for the accomplishment of an ultimate end by divine superintendence. History is, therefore, as Schaff expresses it, "the biography of humanity, and at the same time the biography of God dealing with humanity. It is the unfolding of the drama of Providence, a drama in which the acts cover centuries and the actors, densely massed, crowd the world as a stage. All things that are base, all things that are noble, achievements dyed in blood, and achievements glistening in the whiteness of their purity, are here alike mirrored. Here, as has been well said, are treasured all the outward and inward experiences of mankind; all its thoughts, feelings, views, wishes, endeavors, all its sorrows and all its joys."

In considering the influence of mighty personalities upon the world we must be careful not to fall into the error of hero worship. Under the theistic view great historical persons, though acting from pure volition, are agents to work out the purposes of God; under the pantheistic they are manifestations of the divine and a law unto themselves. Thus Hegel declares: "Great historical men may be called heroes, inasmuch as they have derived their purposes and their vocation, not from the regular course of things sanctioned by the existing order, but from a concealed fount, from that inner spirit still hidden beneath the surface which, impinging on the outer world as on a shell, bursts it to pieces. World-historical men, the

heroes of an epoch, must therefore be recognized as the clear-sighted ones; their deeds, their words, are the best of that time. That spirit which had taken a fresh step in history is the inmost soul of all individuals, but in a state of unconsciousness, which the great men in question aroused."<sup>1</sup> The world spirit comes to its consciousness, Hegel teaches, in great men, who are therefore divine men, and to be obeyed and adored. All their deeds are sanctified by this fact. Cæsar's struggle for the sovereignty of Rome, Frederick the Great's despotism, Napoleon's ambition to be the autocrat of Europe, are right. Consistently with this view the life of Julius Cæsar by Napoleon III opens with the claim that such men as his uncle are the Messiahs of the race. This deceitful scheme of thought is by no one presented so attractively as by Mr. Carlyle. He, indeed, confesses that the worship of heroes is the only religion left to a distracted age, and presenting them in groups to us virtually proclaims, "These be thy gods, O Israel."

Too many in our day are ready to shout aloud of Christ as did the ancient Hebrews of their leader, "As for this man, we know not what has become of him." Let us be patient; if the glory of Christ be momentarily obscured he will come down, not from the mount which could not be touched, but from that other mount which proclaims God's unspeakable love; not reflecting but pouring from the fount within himself the brightness, the splendors which belong to the only begotten Son. If there is anything clearly established in Scripture it is that the world-historical men, who are accomplishing the divine purposes, are all just as subject as the humblest of the race to the supremacy of the divine law. David is rebuked by the prophet and humbles himself to the dust on account of his sin. Nebuchadnezzar is touched with insanity and driven from the habitations of men. Paul, though preaching and saving others, is fearful that after all he may be a castaway. The supremacy of moral law and the superintendence of a personal God in the

<sup>1</sup> *Philosophy of History*, Introduction, pp. 31, 32.



world's history are primary truths which should never be surrendered for any philosophy, however specious. Hero worship, as Carlyle describes it, "heartfelt, prostrate admiration, submission, burning, boundless, for a noblest, godlike form of man," which does not profess fealty to the one God and obedience to his laws, is a phantasm, a confusion of morals, the apotheosis of human imperfection and human sin. That "prostrate admiration, submission, burning, boundless," of which Carlyle speaks, is due to one only, the true divine Man, the hero of heroes, the leader of us all. But he said not that he was a law unto himself, but that he came to do the will of the Father who sent him, and to finish his work.

It is hardly necessary to observe that human freedom and divine superintendence are factors both in secular and sacred history. It has been said that in secular history the human agency is the most prominent; in sacred the divine takes the lead. It might be added that in secular history man is acting under his relations to time; in sacred history under his relations to the eternal. In secular history the sphere of his activity is the State; in sacred the sphere of his activity is the Church, the kingdom of God. But in truth this distinction of history into secular and sacred is a distinction without an essential difference. If our highest faculties are our moral faculties; if our moral nature seeks a support in some Supreme One who is the embodiment of all moral goodness, then religion must be the central force both in ordinary life and in history. We differentiate the races of men in the world by their religion, and refer the quality of their civilization to the quality of their religious faith. "As man's God is, so man will be," says Goethe. Religion is the formative power in character. We believe that all pre-Christian history was a preparation for Christ, and certainly all post-Christian history has followed from him. He is the key to explain the universal life of mankind; for, being lifted up he draws all men unto him. If the sources of the river were gifted with sight, still they could not see the great deep

into which their waters are to be poured at last; and if each tributary that flows in from mountain and hill were so gifted with vision it could not discern its destination. Yet none the less are they carried by an irresistible impulse to the ocean; and so all thoughts, purposes, and strivings of men, though they know it not, are carried forward till they find their way to Christ, "the fullness of him that filleth all in all." All things, says Scripture, "are by him, and for him."

Christianity is organized in the world, and its organization is the Church. The Church is an external, visible body, and embraces all who live by faith in Jesus Christ. It is not, however, a voluntary association, though men enter voluntarily into it; it is a divine institution. As such it has a divine Founder, Jesus Christ; a determinate destiny, which is to overspread the world; a divine life, which is derived from the Holy Spirit; and a divine body of truth, which is the Gospel. The Church is not, therefore, created by creeds, but creates creeds; it is not created by covenants which believers enter into with each other; it is before all covenants between man and man. Subsisting from a common life, it is an organic body, and is capable of growth, of health and sickness, of progress and recession, of all conceivable vicissitudes excepting death. Its continued existence is guaranteed by the Redeemer as well as its triumph over the world. Church history is the history and development of this organic body. There is, however, an important difference between the Church and other organic bodies. It sets out with a complete body of truth which is intended to be formative, or regulative of its life. This body of truth can neither be increased nor diminished. In the ordinary process of development man advances from truth to truth by the way of discovery; in the Church man advances from truth to truth by appropriation of the divine deposit of knowledge contained in the Scriptures. In the kingdom of Christ it is our province not to discover, but to apprehend; we cannot go beyond revelation.

Let me illustrate what is meant by the development of the

Church. The contents of the Scriptures are given in the form of life; they are systematic, just as the human body is systematic. What has been given us in Scripture, in the form of life, has been developed by the action of our rational faculties into forms of doctrine. Church history is, therefore, in one of its aspects a history of doctrine. As a history of doctrine it unfolds the processes by which the Church has arrived at the formulas which express its faith. The first word of the Christian life is "I believe," and the whole of Christian truth consists in attaining a clearer apprehension of what is to be believed. The genesis of doctrine is one of the most interesting of the studies which come within the province of the Church historian. The manner in which the Church has in the main held fast to the truth, rejecting error on this side and on that, is a wonderful illustration of the superintending providence of God. Yet that the Church has never grievously erred no one can maintain; for otherwise there would be no justifying of the Reformation, of which we are the children. While on the one hand we cannot adopt the stern sentence of Milton, "Whatsoever time or blind chance has drawn down to the present in her huge dragnet, whether fish or seaweed, shells or shrubs, unpicked and unchosen, these are the fathers," on the other we cannot accept that reverence for antiquity which makes its traditions coordinate authority with Scripture. Almost immediately after the apostolic age the fathers fell into the capital mistake of making the essence of Christianity to reside in its objective facts, and so built up a huge system of objective or external religion. It has required all the energy of the Reformation to show clearly the subjective nature of Christianity and to deliver the world from bondage to the outward form.

In like manner Church history is a history of Christian worship, of Christian morals, of philosophy as affected by theology, of the conflict of the Christian spirit and of paganism in art, of the mutual relations of faith and science to each other, and of the relations of the Church to the State. Thus in fact the



history of the Church is the history of the development of the human mind in Christian ages. For the old material of logic, rhetoric, and philosophy accumulated by the Greeks, and of law accumulated by the Romans, has been rendered tributary to the uses of the Christian spirit, and has become part of the texture of an entirely new growth of humanity.

But when we say that Church history is a history of the development of the human mind we do not mean natural growth. "The Church," says Schaff, "is the continuation of the life and work of Christ on earth, though never, indeed, so far as men in their present state are concerned, without a mixture of sin and error." Or, as the prince of Church history, Neander, expresses the same thought: "Although Christianity can be understood only as something which is above nature and reason, as something communicated to them from a higher source, yet it stands in necessary connection with the essence of these powers and with their mode of development; otherwise, indeed, it could not be fitted to elevate them to any higher stage; otherwise it could not operate on them at all. And such a connection, considered by itself, we must presume to exist in the works of God, in the mutual and harmonious agreement of which is manifested the divine order of the universe. The connection of which we now speak consists in this: that what has by their Creator been implanted in the essence of human nature and reason can attain to its full realization only by means of that higher principle, as we see it actually realized in Him who is its source and in whom is expressed the original type and model after which humanity has to strive."<sup>1</sup> Thus God in man, which is the incarnation, becomes God in men through the working of the Spirit in the body of Christ—the Church. And the record of this working; of its conflicts with weakness and sin; of its successive triumphs; of its reorganization of all humanity, is the history of the Church.

This department of theology is, therefore, the most copious

<sup>1</sup> *History of the Christian Religion and Church*, Introduction, p. 2.

of all. It covers eighteen centuries. It is a witness of the decay of kingdoms and empires; of the bringing of fresh races upon the scene; of the extinction of old civilizations and the rise of new; of the growth of a vast body of thought; of the appearance and work of great persons who give a new and unexpected turn to human events. Whatever there is majestic in music, whatever there is resplendent in plastic and pictorial art, whatever there is humane in the spirit of law since the days of Jesus of Nazareth, comes within the scope of its treatment. Apostles, suffering martyrs, preachers, theologians, monks, kings and emperors, reformers, inquisitors, popes and knights, men of war and men of peace, churchmen and statesmen, pass before the student's all-surveying eye. The scene shifts to Europe, and from Europe to Asia again, and soon to Africa, and passes over to America, until now it takes in every quarter of the globe. Yet from its beginnings to its last results it is the history of but one—the God-man—and his work. We can well close, then, in the words of Neander: "It shall be our purpose to trace, from the small mustard grain, through the course of the past centuries lying open for our inspection, the growth of that mighty tree which is destined to overshadow the earth, and under the branches of which all the people are to find a safe habitation. The history will then show how a little leaven cast into the mass of humanity has been gradually penetrating it. Looking back on the period of eighteen centuries, we would survey a process of development in which we ourselves are included—a process moving steadily onward, though not in a direct line, but through various windings, yet in the end furthered by whatever has attempted to arrest its course; a process having its issue in eternity, but constantly following the same laws, so that in the past, as it unfolds itself to our view, we may see the germ of the future which is coming to meet us."<sup>1</sup> But who is sufficient for these things?

<sup>1</sup> *History of the Christian Religion and Church*, Introduction, p. 1.

## First Period.

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FROM THE FOUNDING OF THE CHURCH TO ITS  
UNION WITH THE ROMAN EMPIRE.

33 A. D. TO 323 A. D.



## CHAPTER II.

## THE FOUNDING OF THE CHURCH.

WE are about to enter upon a history which has for its field Syria, Asia Minor, Greece, and Italy, and in process of time the whole world. We shall trace Christianity to the great cities which as stepping-stones mark its onward progress—Jerusalem, Antioch, Corinth, Rome. We shall be occupied with the divine impulse which fitted the first preachers for their work; with their success in the conversion of several thousand persons in Jerusalem, where Jesus was put to death; with the dissatisfaction which led to the appointment of Hellenistic Jews, now Christian, to assist the apostles in the distribution of alms; with the conflict between the Hellenist Stephen and Jewish bigots—a conflict ending in his death; with Peter and men unnamed who first carried the Gospel to the Gentiles; with the ministry of Paul, the thirteenth apostle; and finally with the council which determined the conditions upon which Gentiles might enter the Church. We shall see Christianity bursting the bonds of Judaism and becoming an independent and universal religion. The peaceful achievement of these results was due to nothing less than the illumination of the early Christians by the Spirit of God.

The Church of Christ was born on the day of Pentecost. We say born, for Christianity is not a bare historical fact, but a living administration, and the administrator is the Holy Spirit. The descent of the Holy Spirit upon the Church marks the point of its origin. This gift had been expressly promised. Jesus had said before his death, "It is expedient for you that I go away: for if I go not away, the Comforter will not come unto you; but if I depart, I will send him unto you" (John xvi, 7). And after his resurrection he had charged

the disciples, "Ye shall receive power, after that the Holy Ghost is come upon you: and ye shall be witnesses unto me" (Acts i, 8). The time chosen was auspicious; it was one of the festival days of the Jewish calendar, when Jerusalem was filled with representatives of the nation from all parts of the then known world. Pentecost was the fiftieth day from the day following the passover Sabbath. The record of its institution is found in the twenty-third chapter of Leviticus: "When ye be come into the land which I give unto you, and shall reap the harvest thereof, then ye shall bring a sheaf of the first fruits of your harvest unto the priest: and he shall wave the sheaf before the Lord, to be accepted for you: on the morrow after the Sabbath the priest shall wave it. . . . And ye shall count unto you from the morrow after the Sabbath, from the day that ye brought the sheaf of the wave offering; seven Sabbaths shall be complete: even unto the morrow after the seventh Sabbath shall ye number fifty days; and ye shall offer a new meat offering unto the Lord" (verses 10-16). Pentecost was one of the three great festivals of the Jewish year, namely, the Passover, Pentecost, and the Feast of Tabernacles. It had a twofold significance. It was a thanksgiving for the harvest which had been in the process of gathering for the fifty days named; and according to an old tradition it commemorated the giving of the law on Sinai, which was dated by the Jews seven weeks from the exodus. But this latter idea of the Pentecost is not found in the Old Testament. Christian thinkers have recognized a beautiful appropriateness in the day; for on this day were gathered the first complete harvests from the seed which Jesus had sowed; and on this day the law was written on the tablets of the heart. This great Pentecost fell into the thirty-third year of our Lord, ten days from his ascension, on the day after the Jewish Sabbath; that is, on our Sunday.<sup>1</sup> Pilate was

<sup>1</sup> Lewin places this Pentecost on Sunday, May 24, A. D. 33 (*Fasti Sacri*, p. 240). Others hold that this Pentecost fell on Saturday, the Jewish Sabbath. See Hackett on the Acts, p. 50.

still procurator of Judea, and Tiberius the emperor of Rome (till A. D. 37).

Unquestionably the disciples must have been looking forward with a strong feeling of expectation for the fulfillment of their Master's promise. They met together daily for prayer. The place of their assembling on this day cannot be precisely determined. Luke says (Acts ii, 2) that the sound, as of a rushing wind, "filled all the house where they were sitting." If we consider Luke to mean a private house, then we must suppose that they were gathered in an upper room (communicating by an exterior staircase with the court yard below and having a flat roof over it). The apostles must, in this case, have addressed the people gathered in the court and street from the roof or from the outer staircase. But it is more reasonable to suppose that the disciples met in the temple. This was the regular practice of the early Christians in Jerusalem. Luke also says (chap. xxiv, 53) that they "were continually in the temple, praising and blessing God." It is also mentioned that the outpouring of the Spirit fell on the company at nine o'clock in the morning, the third hour of the Jewish day. This was the hour of the early sacrifice. It also deserves to be noted that the side chambers of the temple were called houses<sup>1</sup> (*οἶκοι*); or rather these were side buildings in the temple inclosure. If they met in the temple the great concourse of people is readily accounted for. It is objected to this view that "the Pharisees would hardly have permitted the apostles to assemble in the temple." But, in point of fact, the disciples habitually made use of the temple for meeting the people and teaching them. Peter and John, after the Pentecost, go up thither together (Acts iii, 1); then, soon after, we are told that "they were all with one accord in Solomon's porch" (Acts v, 12); and the angel, after liberating the apostles from prison, commands them, "Go, stand and speak in the temple

<sup>1</sup> This term is used by Josephus of the thirty exterior rooms of Solomon's Temple.



to the people" (Acts v, 20). Undoubtedly the temple was for a time the center of the missionary work of the apostles and their fellow-believers. It was a meeting of the body of the disciples with the twelve, and not of the apostles only. In Acts i, 15, it is said, "The number of names together were about a hundred and twenty." This is an important fact; the gift of the Spirit was to be the endowment of all believers; the text says that the flaming tongues sat upon each of them. Any interpretation which limits the descent of the Holy Ghost to the twelve is greatly defective. Any such interpretation would conflict with Peter's citation from Joel, that, according to the promise there contained, God's Spirit would now be poured, not on classes of men, but upon all flesh. On any other supposition the Pentecost would be barren of meaning.

While thus worshiping the promise of Jesus was fulfilled. (1) They were raised to a new mental state, in which joyfulness and a sense of power predominated, and were filled with the desire to proclaim the grace of redemption. They were enabled, too, to proclaim this grace in many languages. In this exalted frame of mind they had a new apprehension of the meaning of Christ's redeeming work. (2) A sound as of the rushing of a mighty wind filled the house, and most probably shook it. (3) Flaming tongues streamed into the chamber and rested on each head. Thus the miracle was both internal and external; and of the two aspects the internal is the greater. There is, however, no need of belittling the external miracle by supposing that the flaming tongues were visible only to the spiritual eyes of the disciples. If the greater miracle, the descent of the Holy Ghost, is admitted, there is no reason for paring away its outward adjuncts.

The disciples must have looked forward to the bestowal of the Spirit as a necessary qualification for their work; nay, more, they must have felt that in this gift was contained the new principle of life for the renovation of the world. The



word of Jesus was, "Ye shall receive power, when the Holy Ghost is come upon you." "This," says Baumgarten, "implies two things: First, that power was yet wanting to them. Second, that the Holy Ghost is the only source of that power." That they were weak they had learned by experience during Christ's passion. This gift of the Spirit was designed also to qualify them to be witnesses, witnesses not only of Christ's life and resurrection, but of the great fact of Pentecost itself. The descent of the Spirit is the central truth of that day.

Was this descent of the Holy Ghost an isolated event, and was it intended to stand apart from the events succeeding? Most assuredly not. It was the beginning of the new life which was to qualify the Church for its work, the opening of a new era in human history. "It was the fountain of a river of life, which flows with unbroken current, through all time, till it merge in eternity. The Holy Ghost had thus far only temporarily and sporadically visited the world to enlighten certain specially favored individuals, the bearers of the Old Testament revelation. Now he took up his permanent abode upon earth to reside and work in the community of believers as the principle of divine light and life, to apply more and more deeply and extensively to the souls of men the redemption objectively wrought by Christ."<sup>1</sup>

Holding in our thought, then, the fact that the gift of the Holy Ghost, which bridges the gulf of separation between man and God and man and man, is the chief event of this day, there is little difficulty in comprehending the purport of the speaking with tongues. These Galileans were heard speaking in the vernacular languages of the foreign Jews who were dwelling in Jerusalem out of every nation on the earth. Each of these foreigners heard some of the disciples praising God in his own tongue. "The enumeration of the different peoples and countries begins with the farthest East; from thence it proceeds further and further westward till it comes to Judea. The

<sup>1</sup> Schaff, *History of the Apostolic Church*, p. 191.

western countries follow next, from Cappadocia to Pamphylia; then the southern, from Egypt to Cyrene; all the western are classed together as Roman; and then, apart from all geographical consideration, Cretes and Arabians are placed together."<sup>1</sup> Thus the bringing of all nations and kindreds and tongues into the harmony of one divine life is here symbolized. And this will appear more strikingly if we bear in mind that the manifold utterance was not addressed to the gathered multitude, but to God. He is praised in the tongues of many races of men.

But what is the speaking with tongues? To answer this we remark, there are five places in the New Testament where it is recorded: (1) In Mark xvi Christ promises that his followers shall speak with "new tongues." This part of Mark is, however, supposed to be of doubtful genuineness. (2) In Acts ii, the passage before us. (3) In Acts x, 45, when the Gentiles in the house of Cornelius received the Spirit. (4) In Acts xix, 6, when the Greek disciples of Ephesus were baptized by Paul. (5) In 1 Cor. xii and xiv, where Paul writes directions for the use of the gift to the Corinthian Christians. It is clear from the narrative in Acts ii that the utterance on the day of Pentecost was under divine inspiration: "They began to speak with other tongues, as the Spirit gave them utterance" (verse 4). It was a declaration of the divine power working in and enlightening them. "We do hear them," say the multitude, "speak in our own tongues the wonderful works of God" (verse 11). Praise and thanksgiving must have been the burden of that extraordinary outburst of speech. As to the form of the gift on the various occasions of its use, it is plain from Acts ii that on the day of Pentecost the persons present understood the disciples to speak in their own languages, for the various dialects used are enumerated. But it is equally clear from 1 Cor. xiv that in the Corinthian Church those who had this gift spoke in a language unknown to the hearers. Paul says, "No man understandeth

<sup>1</sup> Baumgarten, *Apostolic History*, vol. i, p. 59.

him" (1 Cor. xiv, 2). He therefore directs that the use of tongues in the congregation be suppressed, unless he who has the gift shall afterward interpret what he has said, or some one present can interpret for him. It is most reasonable to suppose that on all the other occasions of the bestowal of the gift than the day of Pentecost the speech was in language unknown to man. We must, therefore, conclude that there was this marked difference in the form of the gift, on the day of Pentecost, from its form at other times known to us. Some have, however, supposed that on the day of Pentecost the language uttered was a tongue unknown to men, but conveyed to the hearers in their own vernacular. This shifts a part, at least, of the miracle from the speakers to the hearers. In all the instances, however, the gift of tongues is essentially the same. "It was," says Schaff, "an ecstatic act of worship, of thanksgiving and praise for the great deeds of God in Christ, a dialogue of the soul with God." Unquestionably the gift of tongues had its use: (1) As an outward sign of that great and perpetual miracle, the descent of the Spirit upon men. (2) By producing in the hearers the impression that God had miraculously visited the disciples it prepared them for the exposition of the truth. The speaking with tongues began, as already stated, before the multitude assembled; a fact which shows that it was not intended to be a substitute for convincing speech. When Peter rose to preach he addressed the people in his own vernacular.

Let us, before we proceed farther, distinguish two moments in this important event: First, the Church comes to self-consciousness through the gift of the Holy Ghost. This is its founding on earth, and it rests in the joyful sense of a new life. Its first movement is upward in thanksgiving, its next is onward in the declaration of its testimony and the conquest of unbelief. The second moment is, therefore, marked by Peter's answer to the question, what all this meant. His sermon asserts that the gift of the Spirit is the fulfillment of prophecy,

and that the day of Pentecost is the beginning of the last days which are to close with the judgment of the world. He declares that the apparent end of Jesus of Nazareth was not the end, that the things which the multitude present saw and heard were proofs of his session at the right hand of God. Peter's sermon may be thus analyzed (Acts ii, 14-36):

1. The apostles and disciples are defended from the charge of being drunken (chap. ii, 14, 15).

2. This event is the fulfillment of the prophecy of Joel in ii, 28-32 (verses 16-21).

3. Jesus of Nazareth, whom ye crucified and slew, has been raised up by God from the dead (verses 22-24).

4. His resurrection is not an unexpected event, for it was predicted by David in Psalm xvi. We are also witnesses of it (verses 25-32).

5. Being raised from the dead and exalted to God's right hand, Jesus of Nazareth has shed forth the power of the Holy Ghost (verse 33).

6. For David not only predicted his resurrection, but also his session at God's right hand (Psalm cx, 1), (verses 34, 35).

7. Therefore this crucified Jesus of Nazareth is the Messiah and Lord of all (verse 36).

Thus the first sermon preached after the bestowal of the Spirit rested on a solid basis of logic. It was neither hysterical nor sensational, and is in these respects a model for all time. Throughout sober interpretation of Scripture and close reasoning are combined with an earnest appeal to the conscience. The effect of it was such as might have been anticipated. The truth did not dawn upon, it burst overwhelmingly upon the gathered multitude. The Messiah, whose coming they and their fathers had awaited for ages, had come, and they had killed him. Their expected Deliverer had been treated as their deadliest enemy. In their perplexity they ask, "What shall we do?" Peter brings relief to their consciences by assuring them that the death of the Messiah was preordained, and opens

a way of escape through repentance and the remission of their sins. We have, however, only a part of what the chief apostle said, for Luke reports, "With many other words did he testify and exhort" (chap. ii, verse 40).

Here, then, we have our first view of the Christian Church. And we see: (1) That the Christian Church had an historical beginning. The story of its origin is not legendary. It did not win its first triumphs in an obscure corner of the world. It opened its testimony to the resurrection of Jesus in a great capital, in Jerusalem, the city in which he had taught and suffered and died. There were thousands at hand to confute the disciples if they had not spoken the truth. And the descent of the Spirit, which is the proof of Christ's ascension to God's right hand, was an event to which thousands could bear witness. We see (2) that the believers constituted one family. (3) Their life consisted in (*a*) continuance in the apostles' doctrine. The Church was founded on a recognized body of truth. (*b*) Fellowship with one another. (*c*) The daily celebration of the Lord's Supper. (*d*) Prayer. (Acts ii, 41-47.)

## CHAPTER III.

## THE ORGANIZATION OF THE CHURCH.

THE first form of the Church is marked by great simplicity. Believers lived in a close fellowship of brotherly love. "The original form of the assembly of disciples was that of one family. It is in this light that we must look upon them when gathered together during the period of expectation, and also on the morning of the day of Pentecost."<sup>1</sup> But by the operation of the Spirit this sense of fellowship had been made clearer. They knew themselves, as they had not before, to be one in Christ Jesus, the newly baptized and the original disciples being blended into unity by the consciousness of a common sharing of redemption and by the might of Christian love.

1. The substance of the doctrine into which the disciples were baptized was that Jesus is the Messiah. "They ascribed to him," says Neander, "the whole idea of what the Messiah was to be according to the meaning and spirit of the Old Testament promises, rightly understood. They acknowledged him as the redeemer from sin, the ruler of the kingdom of God, to whom the whole of their lives was to be dedicated; whose laws were to be followed in all things, while he would manifest himself as the ruler of God's kingdom by the communication of a new divine principle of life, which to those who are redeemed and governed by him imparts the certainty of the forgiveness of sins." Baptism, therefore, referred to faith in the Messiahship of Jesus. The disciples were most probably baptized into his sole name. This was the whole of the Christian faith, and contained, as in a germ, the whole of Christian doctrine.

2. We are not to suppose that the faith of the first Christians was without admixture of Jewish elements. It could hardly be

<sup>1</sup> Baumgarten, *Apostolic History*, vol. i, p. 76.



possible that it should be free from such admixture. Christianity had to burst the shell of Judaism in which it was first contained; and the readiness with which some of the first disciples apprehended the independence of Christianity, and the slowness of others to apprehend this fact, constituted an important difference between the members of the Church.

3. We need not assume that there was an absolute community of goods established. But in the extraordinary circumstances in which the first believers were placed those who had possessions held them for the common benefit. Nor is it to be supposed for a moment that the distribution of property was made in virtue of any formal resolution of the disciples. All was spontaneous. If the money accruing from lands or goods sold was laid at the apostles' feet, we may be sure that this was done without any requisition from them. Many who believed were strangers in Jerusalem; others were poor. It was easy, under the influence of a great brotherly love, for those who had to share with those who had not. But Christianity was never designed to destroy or to weaken the family bond, which is historically linked with the individual possession of property. The disciples continued in their usual civil relations. Again, there is no evidence that the early Church first practiced community in possessions and then returned to the normal habits of civil life. Had there been an absolute community of goods the abandonment of that principle of union would most likely have been noted. Peter tells Ananias (Acts v, 4), that even after the sale of his property the sum he received was under his own control. In Acts vi there is an account of the distribution of alms to the widows, which naturally implies voluntary gifts from the holders of individual property. Also in Acts xii, 12, Mary, the mother of John Mark, is spoken of as having a house in Jerusalem. Lastly, it deserves to be noticed that the form of expression used by Luke indicates the distribution of property by individuals from the impulse of brotherly love, and not a disbursing to all the believers from a common chest: "And



they sold their possessions and goods, and parted them to all, according as any man had need " (*καὶ διεμέριζον αὐτὰ πᾶσιν καθότι ἂν τις χρεῖαν εἶχεν*, Acts ii, 45). The phrase, "they had all things common," must, therefore, be taken as meaning the readiness of those who had property to share all with their brethren. The community of goods, we may say, therefore, was a community of use rather than of possession.

4. The disciples were, in their external relations, Jews; but the new principle of life which they had received was continually removing them farther from inner sympathy with Judaism. They do not appear to have perceived that the old form of worship would be destroyed. They did not, therefore, contemplate the entire superseding of Jewish worship by the establishment of other forms of devotion. Immediately after the Pentecost Peter and John go up together to the temple at the hour of prayer (Acts iii, 1). And while they are there the lame man is healed and the second great accession to the Church occurs. Thus while the first Christians met together daily, from house to house, and broke bread together, both as a common meal and in observance of the Lord's Supper, they also continued to be faithful to the forms of the Jewish religion. They observed, as we have already seen, the Jewish hours of prayer (Acts x, 9). They no doubt fasted after the manner of their nation. "They subjected themselves to vows of abstinence and sacrifice on those grave occasions when fear and danger called forth a more frequent expression of devotional feeling (Acts xviii, 18, 21). They celebrated the national festivals and holy days."<sup>1</sup> They attended the synagogue service, but in time the free spirit of Christianity wrought for the Church an independent position.

5. So far the facts are plain enough. When, however, we come to the origin of the Church officers, and the powers of these officers, our way is not so easy; and we shall do well at this point to clear ourselves of prepossessions and to investigate the facts calmly and without regard to Church theories. It will be well,

<sup>1</sup> Reuss, *Christian Theology in the Apostolic Age*, vol. i, p. 249.

too, to remember that in the beginning of the apostolic age forms had not yet crystallized into the hardness which appears in later times. The early disciples looked intently at the essence of Christianity, provided expedients as emergencies arose, and were not so much concerned as we are about offices and the powers of officers. Much that is obscure in the history is due to the fact that the omitted matters were not deemed of vital importance, and

(1.) We do know the occasion of the appointment of deacons from Acts vi. We see, too, that their function was to distribute alms, and that of the company of seven Philip and Stephen preached. It does not follow, however, that they were appointed for the purpose of preaching. Up to this point, and later, teaching and prophecy were special gifts of the Spirit; and these gifts were exercised by all whom the Spirit so favored, without regard to office. In the sixth chapter of Acts the seven chosen men are not called deacons, though we may presume that their appointment did originate the office; and in Acts xxi, 8, Philip is described, not by the name "deacon," but as "one of the seven." Moreover, the terms *διάκονος*, *διακονία*, *διακονεῖν* are not limited in their meaning to the work of this office. Paul called himself *διάκονος* in 1 Cor. iii, 5; 2 Cor. iii, 6; 2 Cor. vi, 4; Eph. iii, 7: "whereof I was made a minister," and Col. i, 23-25. So also *διακονία* and *διακονεῖν* are used with the same freedom. In Acts vi, 1, we have "daily ministrations," that is, of alms (*διακονία*); in Acts vi, 4, "ministry of the word" (*διακονία*). In Acts vi, 2, we have "to serve tables" (*διακονεῖν*). In Acts i, 25, we have, "of this ministry and apostleship" (*τῆς διακονίας ταύτης καὶ ἀποστολῆς*). In Col. iv. 17, "take heed to thy ministry" (*διακονίαν*).

Nor can we from the history infer that there were from the beginning two orders of the ministry, deacons and elders. This will appear from the fact that the first notice of the elders is as late as A. D. 44, while the deacons were appointed A. D. 33. Leaving the apostles out of the account there appear to be several

designations of men, evangelists, prophets, pastors, and teachers, who edified the Church by word, without regard to grade or order. It is not until we approach the close of the apostolic age and the pastoral epistles that we find "deacons" and "elders" sharply discriminated from each other. In Paul's First Epistle to Timothy the qualifications of these two classes of officers are given in almost the same words; the only difference in the list of qualities required is that the "elders" must be "apt to teach" (1 Tim. iii, 2, 3), "and able both to exhort and convince the gainsayers" (Titus i, 9). The other qualities enumerated for both point to administrative functions. We may, then, believe that at the close of the apostolic period the "bishops" or "elders" and the "deacons" are associated together as administrative officers—the bishops, certainly in the Gentile churches, the custodians of the Church's charitable funds, the "deacons" the disbursers of the funds; the "elders" or "bishops" the administrators of discipline; and the "deacons" the executive officers, who look after the moral conduct of the members. They are correlated as administrators rather than as teachers.

(2.) The appointment of deacons first, as distributors of the Church's gifts to the poor, is a characteristic fact of the Church's life. From the beginning the believers were fused into unity by an intense brotherly love; and the appropriate expression of brotherly love is charity. The condition of the Roman Empire called for the freest exercise of almsgiving. Says Hatch: "The great political disruptions which preceded the creation of the empire, and the great political dissensions which accompanied its consolidation, left their inevitable result in a disturbance which proved to be permanent of the social equilibrium. Hardly any of the elements of an unsound state of society were absent. Wealth tended to accumulate in fewer hands, and the lines which separated the poor from the rich became more sharply defined, until the old distinction between citizen and foreigner, of citizen and freeman, was merged into a new distinction be-

tween the better classes and the lower classes. It was in the point of charity that the Christian communities were unlike the other associations which surrounded them; other associations were charitable, but whereas in these charity was an accident, in the Christian associations it was of the essence. They gave to the religious revival, which almost always accompanies a period of social strain, the special direction of philanthropy."<sup>1</sup>

(3.) As to the elders, their original appointment is not named in the New Testament. The first notice of these officers occurs in Acts xi, 30, "which also they did [collect money], and sent it to the elders by the hands of Barnabas and Saul." It must be borne in mind that the first Christians were a sect of Jews. There may have been conversions of the majority of the worshipers in some synagogues, although there is no proof on this point; but in any event the continuance of the synagogue government by elders or presbyters was perfectly natural. The first believers frequented the synagogues as they had been accustomed to do, and supplemented the synagogue service by the observance of the Lord's Day, and the breaking of bread on that day from house to house. In the Acts of the Apostles the elders are not named singly, but as a collective body. Thus in Acts xv, 22, "the apostles and elders, with the whole Church," and in xxi, 18, "all the elders were present." Clearly their functions were those of administration and discipline, as were those of the elders of the synagogue; they must, therefore, have had oversight of the teaching in the Christian congregation, but more (and this is a point of difference between them and the elders of the synagogue), they unquestionably shared in the teaching with others. Still, the drift of the New Testament history is toward the conclusion that the men who ministered to the Church in the word were divinely designated by special gifts. The Epistle to the Ephesians is one of the epistles of Paul's imprisonment, and, therefore, belongs to the last years of his life. And yet it is in this epistle that he de-

<sup>1</sup> *Organization of the Early Christian Churches*, Lect. II, p. 32.

scribes the edification of the Church through the word as provided for by the free gifts of the Spirit. "He gave," not deacons and elders, but "apostles, prophets, evangelists, pastors, and teachers, for the work of the ministry" (Eph. iv, 11, 12). Timothy, delegated to ordain deacons and elders, is told in the second epistle, addressed to himself, also an epistle of the captivity, to "stir up the gift of God," which was in him by the putting on of Paul's hands (2 Tim. i, 6). Barnabas is chosen with Paul to go as a missionary to the Gentiles because he is one of a company of "prophets and teachers" in the church of Antioch (Acts xiii, 1). Judas and Silas, after the time of the apostolic council, "exhorted and confirmed" the church of Antioch because they were prophets themselves (Acts xv, 32). This must have been as late as A. D. 48 at least. We must bear in mind, then, that throughout the apostolic age the function of the Church in regard to the teaching ministry was more that of recognition and authorization than of original selection, and that deacons and elders are not primarily chosen for this ministry. Paul himself implies this when he says, "Let the elders that rule well be counted worthy of double honor, especially they who labor in the word and doctrine" (1 Tim. v, 17). The passage in the Epistle to Titus (chap. i, 9) dwells upon the importance of "a holding to the faithful word" as a qualification of an overseer, that he may "be able by sound doctrine both to exhort and to convince the gainsayers" should occasion arise for the exercise of such functions; but the qualities called for are chiefly those which fit an administrator for his duties.

(4.) The transfer of this method of government to the Gentile churches was entirely in harmony with Gentile habits. But in these churches the practice arose of calling such officers indifferently *πρεσβύτεροι* or *ἐπίσκοποι*. The reason for this interchangeable use of names is obscure; but recent historians have called attention to the fact that the empire was full of associations for all possible purposes, and that the presiding officers of these were known as *ἐπίσκοποι*. "There were trade guilds and



dramatic guilds ; there were athletic clubs and burial clubs and dining clubs ; there were friendly societies and literary societies and financial societies. If we omit those special products of our time (natural science and social science), there was scarcely an object for which men combine now for which they did not combine then. There were, besides these, religious associations having for their object the service of many divinities represented in the cities of the empire." Through all the empire the administrative officers of these various associations were known by one of two names, ἐπιμεληταί or ἐπίσκοποι. But these two names had a still further use ; they were given to the officers of municipalities and governing committees of councils "when intrusted with the administration of funds for any special purpose."<sup>1</sup>

Thus according to Greek usage the term ἐπίσκοπος designated a financial administrator. Hatch argues, with great force, that the term "episcopos" was applied to the elders in the Gentile churches for the reason stated above, that they were the custodians of the funds which the deacons disbursed, and that they superintended this diaconal distribution. This theory, though controverted, still holds its ground well ; it is closer to the facts than the alternative theory, which goes no further than to state that "presbuteros" is the Jewish name and "episcopos" is the Gentile name for the same office, and does not attempt to explain why the two terms were used.

But throughout the New Testament the administration of the Church is, as already stated, carried on by special gifts, and not through officers and offices. In Paul's First Epistle to the Corinthians government is a charism, not an office. The Spirit appointed and the Church accepted the divinely guided administrator. Dr. Bennett well says: "Even when Paul enumerates the teachers given by God to the Church, according to their gradation and peculiarities, the names of 'deacon,' 'presbyter,' and 'bishop' do not occur ; in all his earlier writings he

<sup>1</sup> See Hatch's *Bampton Lectures for 1880*, Lect. II, p. 26.

speaks of gifts, not of offices. So manifest is this in the early apostolic Church that the function of teaching was not confined to the presbyter or bishop, but extended to the laity as well, and in cases of extreme necessity the latter would administer baptism and celebrate the eucharist."<sup>1</sup>

When we pass to post-apostolic times, we find, according to the "Teaching of the Twelve Apostles,"<sup>2</sup> the prophets holding the first rank as teachers, and the bishops and deacons cooperative, but in a sense subordinate. Instructions are given for the reception of the prophets, and for distinguishing the true prophet from the false. The case is considered of a prophet willing to settle among the people, and such a one is declared to be worthy of maintenance. The implication seems to be that ordinarily the prophet did not confine himself to a single congregation. Bishops and deacons are to be chosen to work with the prophets. The "Teaching" says: "Appoint to yourselves bishops and deacons, worthy of the Lord, meek men, and without covetousness, true and approved. For they also minister to you the ministry of the prophets and teachers. Do not, therefore, despise them; for they are those who are honored among you, with the prophets and teachers."<sup>3</sup>

Here is a suggestion of the manner in which the teaching ministry, chosen by the Spirit, and the formal ministry, chosen by the Church, blended with each other. The bishops and deacons, originally chosen to be administrators, become the permanent teachers of the Church, and unite with administration the ministry of the word.

We may, therefore, conclude (1) that deacons were appointed as distributors of alms, and that this continued to be the gov-

<sup>1</sup> *Christian Archaeology*, pp. 341, 342.

<sup>2</sup> This document, discovered in 1875 by Bryennios, is believed to have been written before 100 A. D. If so it touches the apostolic period. Its authenticity is almost universally admitted. It is quite time, therefore, that we had begun to use the valuable information with which it supplies us. It must necessarily modify some of our traditional views of the original organization of the Church.

<sup>3</sup> "Teaching," chapter 15.



erning idea of the office. (2) That the elders were primarily rulers and administrators of discipline, and that the function of teaching was frequently connected with their office. (3) That the term "bishops" or "overseers" was in the Gentile churches applied to the elders, in view of their custody and control of the Church funds gathered for charity. (4) That, at least in one part of the Church, bishops and deacons were appointed as coadjutors of the prophets and teachers.

## CHAPTER IV.

## THE PASSAGE OF THE CHURCH TO THE GENTILES.

ONE naturally wishes to draw a picture of the daily life of the early Church, but the material is not very ample. As we see it in the light which we have it is a picture of great beauty. The absorbing sense of the gift of divine power must have filled every believer. The unity was complete, for we are told "they were of one heart and soul" (Acts iv, 32). They had found in Jesus of Nazareth the realization of their Messianic hopes. What David had typified in himself, what Isaiah and his companion prophets had foretold, had come to pass. As predicted by Malachi, the Lord whom they sought had suddenly come to his temple (Mal. iii, 1); the great days for which the ages had waited had appeared. They were conscious of the high destiny awaiting the Church, though they were unaware by what means its destiny would be wrought out. The apostles "remained at Jerusalem, abandoning forever their former callings, and drawing yet closer the bonds of fellowship with all who shared their convictions. The humble and unassuming conduct of the disciples, the exemplary practice of all the virtues held most sacred in the estimation of the people; and still more the possession of the gift of healing which had first glorified Jesus in the eyes of the multitude—all these things won for the Galileans the favor of the many."<sup>1</sup> And yet in the midst of this state of exalted religious feeling the infirmities of our nature were revealed. Hypocritical pretension to virtue comes to light in the conduct of Ananias and Sapphira; jealousy appears in the complaint which leads to the appointment of deacons, and sharp differences of opinion in the agitation and settlement of the question of the terms upon which the Gentiles

<sup>1</sup> Reuss, vol. i, p. 247.

might be admitted to the fellowship of the Church. For each difficulty a remedy was provided under divine guidance. By the teaching of the Spirit the Church was led through crises which would have destroyed it had the sole dependence been upon the wisdom of men. It will be our purpose to trace the successive steps of this progress.

Just before his ascension Jesus had said to the apostles, "Ye shall be witnesses unto me both in Jerusalem, and in all Judea, and in Samaria, and unto the uttermost part of the earth" (Acts i, 8). It is supposable that the twelve did not at the time fully understand the meaning of these words. But the Lord of the Church prepared the way step by step for the extension of his kingdom. The appointment of Stephen as deacon led to results which foreshadowed the progress of the Gospel beyond the limits of the Jewish race. We are told that he was full of faith and the Holy Ghost. He was brought by the work of his office into contact with all descriptions of persons, but especially the sick and the suffering. His distribution of alms would naturally be accompanied with the inculcation of gospel truth. He was a man of power and "did great wonders and miracles among the people" (Acts vi, 8); but he excited the special opposition of the members of certain synagogues of Jews, "the synagogue of the Libertines, and Cyrenians, and Alexandrians, and of them of Cilicia and of Asia" (Acts vi, 9). We may suppose that the members of these synagogues who had the greatest susceptibility to the truth had already believed, and that they who remained were fanatically attached to the old faith. As Cilicians are named it is not impossible that Paul may have been of the number of members, for he was a Cilician. Stephen was seized, and was charged with having said, "Jesus of Nazareth shall destroy this place, and shall change the customs which Moses delivered us" (Acts vi, 14). But Peter, in all his preaching, had asserted that we are saved by faith only; before the rulers he had declared, "Neither is there salvation in any other: for there is none other name under

heaven given among men, whereby we must be saved" (Acts iv, 12).

Stephen may have emphasized this fact and followed it out to its consequence, the abrogation of the Mosaic system; for salvation by faith alone sets aside salvation by national birth-right. "It is highly probable," says Neander, "that Stephen was first induced by his disputations with the Hellenists to present the Gospel on the side of its opposition to the law; to combat the belief in the necessity of that law for the justification and sanctification of men, and what was connected therewith, its perpetual obligation, and thus to show that the new spirit of the Gospel freed it altogether from the forms of Judaism, that the new spirit of religion required an entirely new form." Stephen nowhere denies the charge brought against him, but justifies himself by an appeal to Jewish history and prophecy. He shows in his defense that God's worship is independent of human temples, and that the hostility of his accusers to the Gospel is of a piece with the hostility of their fathers to God in former dispensations. The defense may be analyzed thus, the three leading propositions indicating parallel lines of thought:

I. God had conferred the greatest benefits on the Jewish nation. (1) Shown by their history from the call of Abraham to Moses (Acts vii, 2-36). (2) Shown by their history from Moses to Solomon (Acts vii, 37-47).

II. The nation, notwithstanding these benefits, had always been rebellious against God. (1) Shown by the rebellion against Moses (Acts vii, 39-41). (2) Shown by the idolatry of the post-Mosaic period, for which God sent the people into captivity (Acts vii, 42, 43; Amos v, 25-27). (3) Shown by that very generation in their hostility to Jesus (Acts vii, 51-57).

III. God's worship in all these ages had not been limited to one place. (1) Shown by the worship of the fathers from Abraham to Moses (Acts vii, 2-30). (2) Shown by the tabernacle of witness in the wilderness and its worship (Acts vii,

38-40). (3) Shown by the acknowledgment of Solomon, the builder of the temple, and of Isaiah, the prophet, that God does not dwell in temples made with hands (Acts vii, 48-50; Isa. lxvi, 1-3; 2 Chron. vi, 18).<sup>1</sup>

The death of Stephen by violence checked for a time the spread of the Christian faith, but only to prepare the way for its progress beyond Judea. The persecution which followed drove the disciples from Jerusalem to all parts of Judea and Samaria. One of the most energetic of these exiles was Philip, one of the seven. "He went down to the city of Samaria and preached Christ unto them" (Acts viii, 5). The Samaritans were midway between the Jews and Gentiles. Yet so much detested were they that the Jewish rabbis held that they had no share in the resurrection of the dead. To be a Samaritan was to have a devil, as was said of Jesus in John viii, 48. By the preaching of Philip one breach was already made in the barrier which had shut off Judaism from the outer world. His preaching to the Samaritans received both apostolic approval and divine sanction. Peter and John were sent by the twelve to Samaria, and the Holy Spirit was received by the new converts. We are told, moreover, that "they which were scattered abroad upon the persecution that arose about Stephen traveled as far as Phenice, and Cyprus, and Antioch, preaching the word to none but unto the Jews only. And some of them were men of Cyprus and Cyrene, which, when they were come to Antioch, spake unto the Grecians (*πρὸς τοὺς Ἑλλήνας*), preaching the Lord Jesus. And the hand of the Lord was with them: and a great number believed, and turned unto the Lord" (Acts xi, 19-21). These preachers offered the Gospel as something independent of the law. The disciples gathered by them entered into the privileges of Christianity without passing through Judaism as a forecourt. "And if," says Neander, "independently of the exertions of the apostles in Judea, and the

<sup>1</sup> This is an expansion of Baur's exposition of the plan of Stephen's defense; point III has been added to it. See Hackett on the Acts, p. 122.

development of Christianity in Jewish form, churches had been raised of purely Hellenistic materials among the heathen, free altogether from Judaism, and if Paul had then appeared to confirm and extend this mode of operation, one consequence would have been that the older apostles would have maintained with greater stiffness their former standpoint, and thus by the overweight of human peculiarities in the first publishers of the Gospel, a violent and incalculable opposition might have divided the Church into two hostile parties." But from this catastrophe the Church was saved by a divine illumination given to Peter.

Peter, as the leader of the twelve, followed after the preachers of the dispersion, and entered upon an extended visitation of the churches which had been planted in Judea, Samaria, and the western borders of Palestine. Joppa became the centre from which his work now proceeded. In Cæsarea, thirty-five miles north of Joppa, lived Cornelius, the centurion. That Cornelius was a pure Gentile is fixed by the fact that his band of soldiers was composed wholly of native Italians; hence called "the Italian band" (Acts x, 1). As the procurator who governed Judea lived at Cæsarea, this band may have been his bodyguard. Dissatisfied with the popular faith of the Roman people, Cornelius had adopted the Jewish belief in one God. He observed the Jewish hours of prayer. His precise relation to the Jewish people has been a subject much discussed. The question has been asked, Was he a proselyte of the gate, "who, having renounced idolatry, and worshiping the true God, frequented the synagogue, and offered sacrifice by the hands of the priests, but not having received circumcision, was not reckoned among the Jews?"<sup>1</sup> To this it is answered that it is doubtful if the distinction of "proselyte of the gate" existed at the time of the apostles. Moreover, Cornelius and his family are spoken of by Peter and others as being "of another nation" (chap. x, 28), and as "Gentiles" (x, 45; xi, 1).

<sup>1</sup> Kitto's *Cyclopædia*, article, "Cornelius."



It has even been doubted whether Cornelius had ever publicly professed the Jewish faith. On this point Dr. Hackett observes: "He was one of those men, so numerous in this age of idolatry, who were yearning for a better worship, and under that impulse had embraced the pure Theism of the Old Testament. They attended the synagogues, heard and read the Scriptures, practiced some of the Jewish rites, and were in a state of mind predisposing them to welcome the Gospel of Christ when it was announced to them."<sup>1</sup>

Peter is selected to be the instrument of the conversion of Cornelius, that the Gentiles might be received into the Church with every circumstance of solemnity, and that their conversion should be at once known and appreciated at the centre of apostolic influence. It is entirely in harmony with the history of the kingdom of God that a divine communication should be made to one outside of its covenant relations. The appearance of a star guided Eastern magians to Christ; and so here a heavenly messenger is sent to lead both Cornelius and Peter to a higher knowledge of the truth. It has been beautifully said, "That Cornelius himself should receive a divine message, and that, too, even before Peter, is intended to be a testimony that although God had left the heathen to walk in their own ways, he nevertheless had not forsaken them entirely, that he is not only the God of the Jews, but also the God of the Gentiles."<sup>2</sup> As the command to Cornelius was to send for Peter, he, too, was instructed by a divine communication. The messengers of Cornelius being most likely Gentiles, Peter would not have obeyed their summons without the supernatural direction which he received. And although he doubted the meaning of the vision for a time (Acts x, 17), yet its purport became clear to him before he reached Cæsarea. Upon his arrival at the home of Cornelius he said, "Ye know how that it is an unlawful thing for a man that is a Jew to keep company, or come

<sup>1</sup> Hackett on the Acts, p. 145.

<sup>2</sup> Baumgarten, *Apostolic History*, vol. i, p. 267.

unto one of another nation; but God hath showed me that I should not call any man common or unclean" (Acts x, 28).

And now the Gentiles' Pentecost had come. God was about to show by the clearest signs that the hope of the Gospel was for all men. Luke introduces the sermon of Peter to these Gentiles with the same formality which he observed in introducing the sermon preached on the Church's birthday. (Comp. Acts ii, 14, with Acts x, 34.) The first sentence Peter utters is a declaration that whatever distinction God had, in the old covenant, made between men was now abrogated. As he spoke the words, "Whosoever believeth in him shall receive remission of sins" (Acts x, 43), the Holy Ghost fell on the company. Peter's Jewish companions were astonished, for they heard the Gentiles "speak with tongues, and magnify God" (Acts x, 46). "The communication, therefore, of the Spirit to the Gentiles was the practical equalization of Jews and Gentiles before God. It is on this account that amazement seized them of the circumcision. They had evidently not as yet conceived of the operation of the Holy Ghost as extending to this point and as all-pervading. And consequently their perplexity at the annihilation of those highest privileges secured to them by a divine sign and token is far greater than their joy at the abundant riches of the grace of Jesus Christ."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Baumgarten, *Apostolic History*, vol. i, p. 281.

## CHAPTER V.

## THE OPPOSITION TO THE GENTILE CHRISTIANS.

THE conversion of Cornelius and his family gave a divine sanction to the preaching of the Gospel to the Gentiles. There is, however, no direct connection shown in the history between it and the founding of the Church in Antioch. Ordinary believers, as far as appears holding no office, established the first Gentile Christian community. The events at Cæsarea indicated God's will; but they appear to have served no other purpose. Unappointed missionaries, the men of Cyprus and Cyrene, carried Christianity to the Syrian capital. But although Peter acknowledged the design of God to admit the Gentiles to all the privileges of Christianity, he found upon his return to Jerusalem that there were members of the mother Church who were far from being satisfied with what he had done. When he was come up to the city "they that were of the circumcision contended with him, saying, Thou wentest in to men uncircumcised, and didst eat with them" (Acts xi, 3). To justify himself Peter rehearsed the story of the vision, of his journey to Cæsarea, of his preaching to the family of Cornelius, and of the gift of the Holy Ghost to his Gentile hearers. "Forasmuch," he reasoned, "as God gave them the like gift as he did unto us, who believed on the Lord Jesus Christ, what was I, that I could withstand God?" The narrative informs us that "when they heard these things, they held their peace, and glorified God, saying, Then hath God also to the Gentiles granted repentance unto life" (Acts xi, 17, 18). But if those who heard Peter's words were silenced there were many Jewish Christians left unconvinced, and their opposition to the direct admission of the Gentiles to all the privileges of the faith threatened to rend the Church.

2. This feeling of the Jewish Christians, though narrow, was natural, and is entitled in some degree to our respect. The Hebrews were a separate people, and they had been made a separate people in order to keep them from the prevalent idolatry of the world. The law was associated with all the glories of their national history. Those who were dispersed among the Gentiles lived surrounded by idolaters; idolatry was connected in their minds, as it was in fact, with the grossest licentiousness. Thus from the force of hallowed associations, and from their detestation of heathen immorality, they kept themselves apart from the Gentile world. The separation ran all through social life. The Jew could not eat with his Gentile neighbor, for the meat on the table might be the flesh of a victim offered to a false god. He might buy of a Gentile, and sell to him, but he could not partake of his hospitality. Moreover, the law made a distinction between clean and unclean meats which the Jew kept ever in mind. There was in the Mosaic code no provision forbidding eating with the Gentiles, yet it was at this point that the line was drawn. In the vision which Peter saw at Joppa he was commanded to slay and eat. He answered, "Nothing common or unclean hath at any time entered into my mouth" (Acts xi, 8). The charge of the Pharisaic Christians was, "Thou wentest in to men uncircumcised, and didst eat with them" (Acts xi, 3). And this apostle's falling away from his advanced position was indicated by his refusal to eat with Gentiles (Gal. ii, 12). The Jews had hoped that Christianity was to be the glorification of their hereditary religion, and that all the heathen world would flock to their visible Zion. How these two divisions of mankind, dwelling at the opposite poles of life, were to be brought into the unity of the same Church as equal brethren was a problem which only divine wisdom could solve.

3. We must now turn to the man who was the chosen instrument of God for the establishment of Gentile Christianity, and the one who did much to effect a peaceful settlement—Saul

of Tarsus. Our sources of information in respect to this part of his life are the Acts of the Apostles and the Epistle to the Galatians. He was converted A. D. 37-40. Immediately after, he spent three years in Arabia, to the east of Damascus. Returning to Damascus, he was waylaid by the Jews; escaping by the help of friends, he proceeded to Jerusalem. Waylaid here again, he was brought by the brethren to Cæsarea, and went to Tarsus, his native city. He tells us himself that during this visit to Jerusalem the Lord appeared to him and said, "Depart: for I will send thee far hence unto the Gentiles" (Acts xxii, 21). While he was at Tarsus, or before he had left Jerusalem, occurred the conversion of Cornelius; the chronology of the event cannot be fixed with entire precision. Also while Paul was at Tarsus, the men of Cyprus and Cyrene had carried the Gospel as far as Antioch.<sup>1</sup> The Church in Jerusalem hearing of this, and their prejudices having been in a measure removed by Peter's account of the conversion of Cornelius, sent Barnabas to confirm the believers at Antioch in the Gospel. Finding the work growing on every hand Barnabas went to Tarsus for Saul, and brought him to Antioch to be his helper (Acts xi, 26).

4. Here in this city, at the point of union of Syria and Asia Minor, we received our name, and were first called Christians. Antioch was favorably placed both for maritime and inland trade. It once bore the proud name of "The Gate of the East." Founded by Seleucus, a successor of Alexander the Great, and afterward conquered by the Romans, it united in itself the traits of oriental, Greek, and Roman civilization. It was cultured, gay, and dissolute. The giving to the followers of Jesus a name here shows that Christianity had in Antioch so separated itself from Judaism as to be no longer confounded with it. To the Antiochians the Christians were not a Jewish sect. The name must have been given by the heathen; for to the Jews

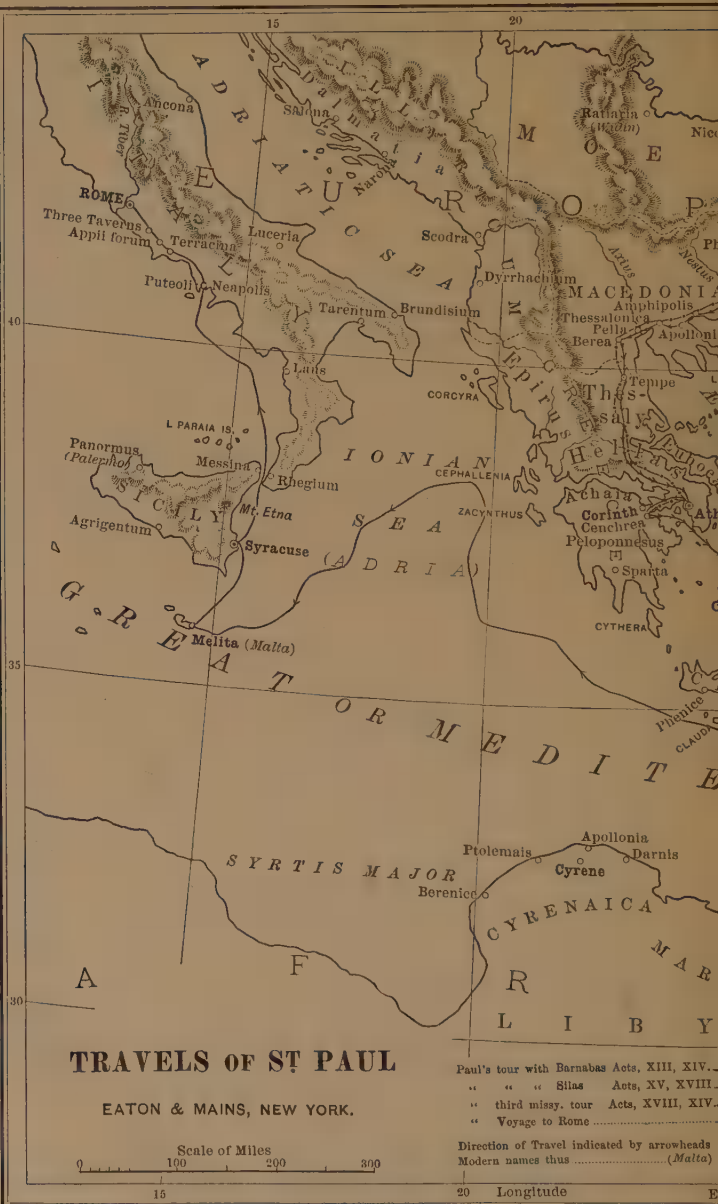
<sup>1</sup> Lewin places the conversion of Cornelius in A. D. 40; and the first preaching of the Gospel in Antioch in A. D. 41. See *Fasti Sacri*, p. 273.

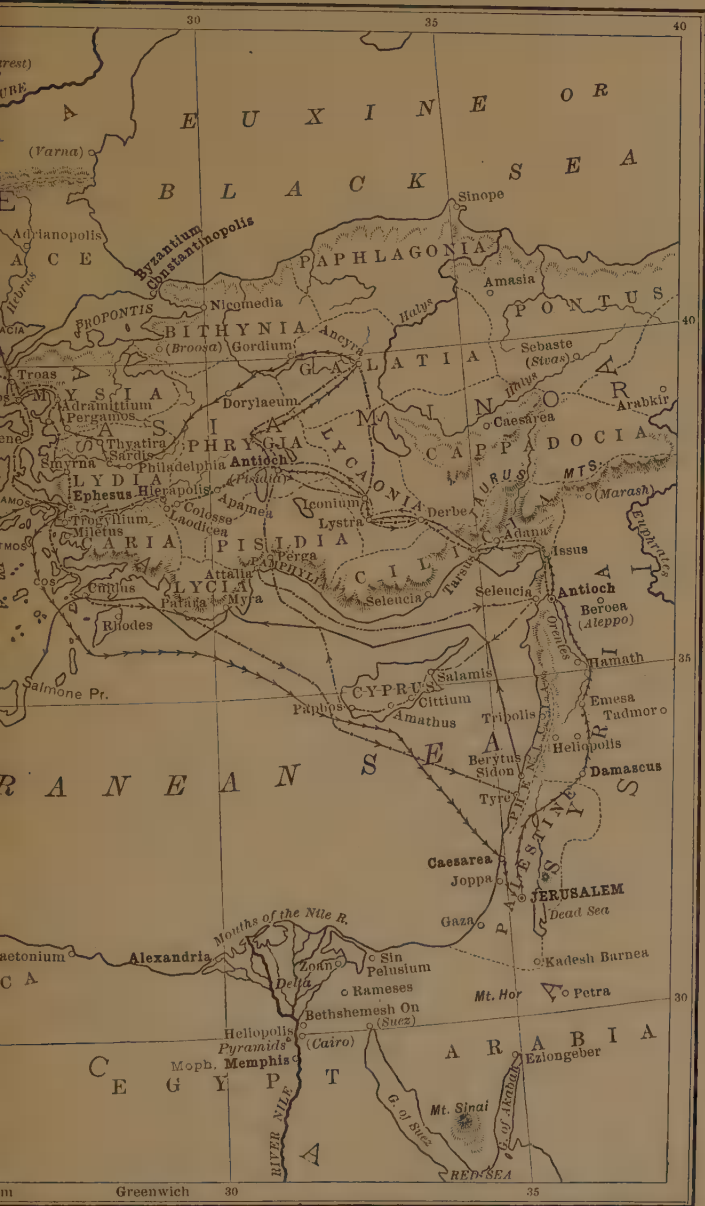
the believers on Jesus were known as "Nazarenes;" among themselves they were known as "disciples," "believers," "saints." The form of the name, in the last syllables (*avoc*), is Roman, so that a Roman Gentile may have been its first inventor. Thus the name, originally Greek, with a Roman ending, combines the two great races of classic antiquity. Like the superscription over the head of Jesus on the cross, it unites Greeks, Romans, and Hebrews, for the word Christ is but a translation from the Hebrew. Yet the term Christian does not seem to have been immediately adopted in the Church, for it occurs but thrice in the New Testament, namely, in Acts xi, 26; xxvi, 28; and 1 Peter iv, 16. Antioch, like many other gay capitals, was famous for the scoffing habits of its population. Our name was possibly originally intended to mark contempt.

5. Antioch becomes a new centre of our faith; it is as distinctly the mother Church of the Gentile world as Jerusalem is of the Jewish world. From this point Paul was summoned by the Spirit to enter upon his missionary work. Yet the relations of Christian Antioch to Christian Jerusalem were most affectionate. Contributions were sent to the Church in Jerusalem by the believers in Antioch. It is well to notice that the first instance of this brotherly kindness was spontaneous. "Then the disciples, every man according to his ability, determined to send relief unto the brethren which dwelt in Judea: which also they did, and sent it to the elders by the hands of Barnabas and Saul" (Acts xi, 29, 30). Beautifully says Baumgarten, "This collection was the palpable evidence that in the heathen world a new spirit, a spirit of love and brotherhood, had sprung up. For this collection is the bond of fellowship which for the first time the Gentiles held out to Israel across the old gulf of separation. By their alms the Church of the Gentiles in Antioch atoned for the old guilt with which the Gentile world was laden in the sight of Israel. The two opposite poles around which the history of nations revolves—the city of God and the city of the world—are in union with each











other. For the first time it has become an historical fact that there not only lives a God in heaven who is no respecter of persons, but that on earth also there lives and reigns a spirit before which all national distinctions vanish, and under whose influence that is fully realized which on the day of Pentecost was only symbolized preliminarily, the unity of sentiment under every possible variety of circumstances."<sup>1</sup> From Antioch the formal mission of the Church to the Gentile races sets forth; from this point Christianity begins its world-embracing career. The Spirit directed the Church to separate Barnabas and Saul for the work to which he had called them. Of this event Lightfoot says: "The primacy of the Church now passes from Peter to Paul, from the apostle of the circumcision to the apostle of the Gentiles. The primacy goes to the missionary."<sup>2</sup> Paul now began his first long missionary journey; passing through Cyprus and the adjacent parts of Asia Minor, he and Barnabas in time reach Attaleia, a seaport of Pamphylia, and sail from thence to Antioch. "And when they were come, and had gathered the Church together, they rehearsed all that God had done with them, and how he had opened the door of faith unto the Gentiles" (Acts xiv, 27). Evidently they rejoiced over the prospect of the coming triumph of the Gospel in the Gentile world.

6. And now the position of the Gentiles in the Church of Christ comes to its crisis. The believers who had once been Pharisees had been silenced, but not convinced. "Certain men" came from Judea to Antioch and said, "Except ye be circumcised after the manner of Moses, ye cannot be saved" (Acts xv, 1). This was entirely overthrowing the work of Barnabas and Paul. They resisted the promulgators of such doctrine; they had, says the Book of the Acts, "No small dissension and disputation" with these disturbers. It was resolved by the Church of Antioch to refer the question to the apostles and

<sup>1</sup> *Apostolic History*, vol. i, p. 349.

<sup>2</sup> Lightfoot on Galatians, p. 141.

elders at Jerusalem. Paul and Barnabas, with others who are not named, were appointed to represent the Gentile believers. No sooner had they met the mother Church than they were confronted again with the demand which had been heard at Antioch. "There rose up certain of the sect of Pharisees which believed, saying, That it was needful to circumcise them, and to command them to keep the law of Moses" (Acts xv, 5). Paul speaks in Galatians in strong terms of "false brethren, unawares brought in, who came in privily to spy out our liberty which we have in Christ Jesus, that they might bring us into bondage" (Gal. ii, 4). "The question," says Conybeare, "was one of liberty or bondage for all future ages;" the decision of the apostles and elders would determine the course to be taken in the coming propagation of the faith. Paul acted with rare prudence; while he yielded not a moment to the clamor of the Pharisaic believers, he sought by private interviews with the leaders to remove prejudice against himself and his work (Gal. ii, 2).

There was entire freedom in the assembly which was called together. The apostles did not check full discussion. The text says that "there had been much disputing" before Peter rose up. Doubtless all the force of the opposition to the admission of the Gentiles must have first expressed itself. Peter calls attention to two points: That God had by him carried the Gospel to the Gentiles, and that God had witnessed to their acceptance by the gift of the Holy Ghost. Why, then, he asks, if God has accepted them, should we put on them a yoke which neither we nor our fathers could bear? Peter affirms, therefore, the perfect equality of all believers, in the fact that all are alike saved by grace. The points of his address may be thus stated:

1. God through me gave the Gentiles the Gospel.
2. He bestowed the Holy Ghost on the Gentiles as he had on the Jews (Acts xv, 7-9).
3. Therefore, as he has made no difference between the Jews and Gentiles, why should we make a difference? We should,



therefore, not put upon the Gentiles who have believed any new yoke (Acts xv, 10).

4. We ourselves are not saved by circumcision, but by faith (Acts xv, 11).

This address had a great effect; for the multitude from this point in the proceedings kept silence. The reasoning of Peter was so convincing that the excitement was stilled. Paul and Barnabas followed Peter with a simple narration of the facts of God's work among the heathen. Nothing could have been more appropriate; they showed that what God had done for the family of Cornelius he was doing through the Gentile world. "Their narrative must have made it certain," says Baumgarten, "that the reception of the Gentiles in the house of Cornelius was not intended merely to regulate individual and isolated events, but the whole collective series of historical results affecting the admission of the Gentiles."<sup>1</sup> The effect produced by the address of Peter having been thus confirmed, James, the brother of the Lord, who was held in the highest esteem by the Church of Jerusalem, rose and gave his assent to Peter's view. The matter of this address of James may be thus distributed :

1. Simeon has told us that God has given the Gospel to the Gentiles through him (Acts xv, 14).

2. This is in harmony with prophecy. (a) God promised that he would return and build the tabernacle of David; (b) he would do this in order that all the heathen might seek the Lord (Acts xvi, 15-17; Amos ix, 11, 12).

3. The fact of this prophecy implies an eternal purpose to save the heathen (Acts xv, 18).

4. Therefore my judgment is that we trouble not the believing Gentiles, but ask them to abstain from four things (Acts xv, 19, 20).

5. There being Jewish worship in every city, the feelings of the Jews to whom Moses is read on the Sabbath will thus be respected (Acts xv, 21).

<sup>1</sup> *Apostolic History*, vol. ii, p. 38.

James virtually declares that the Gentiles had done already all that was necessary to salvation, and that they were free from every legal yoke. He recommends that they be advised to observe certain rules of living; but these are urged as guards for the protection of the moral and spiritual life of the Gentile believers. His advice relates to the limits within which their fully conceded liberty may be exercised. The things to be abstained from are four, namely, pollutions of idols, fornication, things strangled, and blood (Acts xv, 20-29). The flesh offered to idols was exposed for sale or given away, and the partaking of it was regarded by the Jews as a fellowship with idolaters. Sensuality was the one master sin of the Gentile world; it grew out of idolatry. Paul's exhortations in his epistles to his Gentile converts are in entire harmony with the advice of the council of Jerusalem. The eating of blood is also named, whether it be separated from flesh, or be in the flesh of a strangled animal. The prohibition to eat blood dates back to Gen ix, 4; it is also found in the Levitical law. (See Lev. xvii, 10.) In Leviticus the reasons assigned are, "For the life of the flesh is in the blood: and I have given it to you upon the altar to make an atonement for your souls" (chap. xvii, 11). Blood being regarded by the Jews as something sacred, James asks the Gentile converts to pay, to this extent, respect to Jewish feeling. Summing up, we may say the decision made under James's suggestion consists of two parts:

1. The concession to the Gentiles of an entire release from the initiatory rite of the old dispensation. This was a recognition of the independence of the new covenant.

2. The imposition of certain restrictions upon the conceded liberty of the Gentiles.

Lightfoot remarks that "it is strange that offenses so heterogeneous should be thrown together and brought under one prohibition; but this is sufficiently explained by supposing one restriction framed to meet some definite complaint of the Jewish brethren. If in the course of the hot dispute which preceded

the speeches of the leading apostles, attention had been specially called by the Pharisaic party to these detested practices, St. James would not unnaturally take up the subject and propose to satisfy them by a direct condemnation of the offenses in question."<sup>1</sup> This is a very reasonable explanation. The judgment of James met with unanimous concurrence. The enlightening power of the Spirit must have been felt by all present, and the sense of divine direction led them to acquiesce. The divine guidance is implied in the letter of the council to the Gentile churches, which says, "It seemed good to the Holy Ghost and to us" (Acts xv, 28). Can the decision be called a compromise? We answer, not by any means.<sup>2</sup> The Judaizers were wholly condemned. "Forasmuch," says the letter, "as we have heard, that certain which went out from us have troubled you with words, subverting your souls, saying, Ye must be circumcised, and keep the law; to whom we gave no such commandment" (Acts xv, 24). Moreover, when the letter was read to the believers in Antioch, "they rejoiced for the consolation" (Acts xv, 31).

It remains to connect the narrative in Acts xv with that in Gal. i and ii. It is a question whether the visit to Jerusalem described in Galatians is that named by Luke in Acts xv, or that in Acts xviii, 21, 22. Assuming that it is the former of these, we can perceive how strongly the opposition to the Gentile converts affected Paul's feelings. He gave place to the opposers, "no, not for an hour, that the truth of the Gospel might continue with" the Gentiles (Gal. ii, 5). James, Peter, and John, who are leaders here as always, agree upon a division of the missionary work with Paul and Barnabas. This is an important recognition of Paul's independence and apostleship. The difficulty of overcoming Jewish prejudices is shown in the vacillation of Peter during his visit to Antioch after the council.

<sup>1</sup> Lightfoot on Galatians, p. 143.

<sup>2</sup> Lightfoot calls the decision a compromise, but yet admits that there was no concession made by the council on the point of principle.

Though he had proposed the recognition of the Gentiles on the simple condition of their faith in Christ, and for a time had associated with them, yet the hostility of the Pharisaic believers intimidated him, and he again became a separatist. Barnabas, too, Paul's companion in the ministry to the Gentiles, fell away. Paul's rebuke of Peter is one of the best illustrations of his manly courage (Gal. ii, 14), and the more so that it was public. Thus through the guidance of the Spirit a great trial was met and the unity of the Church preserved.

What was the farther effect of the decision of the apostolic council? We answer: (1) Besides the concession of the Gentile liberty already noticed there was a recognition of the apostleship of Paul and Barnabas. In the apostolic letter (Acts xv, 23-29) Paul and Barnabas are commended as men who have hazarded their lives for the sake of our Lord Jesus Christ. (2) In the churches of Antioch, Syria, Pisidia, Lycaonia, and Cilicia, which were principally concerned at the time of the council, the decision was kept in mind; for James some years afterward names it to Paul as still formally recognized (Acts xxi, 25). But in his epistles Paul discusses the topics of the decision independently, without reference to the formula of the council. An example of this is found in 1 Cor. viii, 1-13, in relation to meats offered to idols. (3) That the opposition of Paul and his work was removed by the decision of the council there is no proof; the proofs are all to the contrary, as he was pursued bitterly by Pharisaic Christians to the end of his days.

The original demand that the Gentiles should be circumcised was revived again, and drew from Paul his fiery letter to the Galatians. "O foolish Galatians," he asks, "who hath bewitched you, that ye should not obey the truth? . . . Behold, I Paul say unto you, that if ye be circumcised, Christ shall profit you nothing. For I testify again to every man that is circumcised, that he is a debtor to do the whole law" (Gal. iii, 1; v, 2, 3). No decisions of councils could overcome the prejudices of

many Jewish Christians. To them Paul was a traitor to his ancestral faith, a renegade who had gone out from his own people and had become practically a Gentile himself. The terms in which Paul speaks of these opposers of his gospel are in turn very emphatic. From his prison, when near the end of his days, he writes to the Philippians: "Beware of dogs, beware of evil workers, beware of the concision. For we are the circumcision, which worship God in the spirit, and rejoice in Christ Jesus" (Phil. iii, 2, 3). He was ready to surrender every advantage which he had inherited that he might attain the righteousness of faith. And on this issue of the eligibility of the Gentiles to the blessings of Christianity he faces the mob at Jerusalem which cried out, "Away with such a fellow from the earth" (Acts xxii, 22). We may say, indeed, that he closes his active ministry standing firmly for Gentile liberty.

#### NOTE TO CHAPTER V.

##### LEWIN'S CHRONOLOGY OF THE LIFE OF ST. PAUL.

1. Conversion between A. D. 36 and A. D. 37.
2. Barnabas brings Paul to Antioch, A. D. 43.
3. Second visit to Jerusalem, A. D. 44.
4. First missionary circuit, A. D. 44-47.
5. Council at Jerusalem, A. D. 48.
6. Second missionary tour begins A. D. 49.
7. First entrance into Europe, A. D. 51.
8. Arrives at Corinth, A. D. 52.
9. Reaches Jerusalem at the end of his second missionary circuit and goes thence to Antioch, A. D. 53.
10. Starts on his third missionary circuit, A. D. 54.
11. Labors in Ephesus three years, A. D. 54-57.
12. Paul is in Corinth again late in A. D. 57.
13. Third missionary tour ends at Jerusalem, A. D. 58.
14. Paul discourses before Felix, A. D. 58.
15. Sails for Rome as a prisoner, A. D. 60.
16. Reaches Rome after wintering in Malta, A. D. 61.
17. Is prisoner in Rome two years, to A. D. 63.

Some secular events connect themselves with the life of Paul, and so far help to determine with certainty the dates above given: (1) Shortly after the arrival of Paul and Barnabas at Jerusalem as bearers of the collection made by the Church of Antioch (Acts xi, 30) Herod Agrippa died at Cæsarea. This death is well established as having occurred A. D. 44. (2) The succession of Festus to Felix as procurator of Judea is also well ascertained.

Lewin argues that Felix was appointed procurator of Judea A. D. 52, and ruled the province eight years, to A. D. 60. (3) In 2 Cor. xi, 32, 33, Paul speaks of King Aretas as ruling over Damascus through an ethnarch. It is probable, says Lewin, "that Damascus, during the reigns of Augustus and Tiberius, was annexed to Syria, but that in the time of Caligula it was severed from it and appropriated to some other jurisdiction. This would explain how Damascus came to have an ethnarch or Jewish ruler under Aretas, A. D. 39." Aretas is mentioned by Josephus, *Antiquities*, xviii.



## CHAPTER VI.

## CHARACTERISTICS OF THE GENTILE CHURCHES.

THE study of the characteristics of the Gentile Church throws great light upon the nature of Christianity. And although we are not required to copy its form, yet the essential principles of its organization were intended for the guidance of believers in all ages. Jewish Christianity was Jacobean or Petrine in its spirit; Gentile Christianity Pauline. And while these were not contradictory, as we see in the history of the first council, yet it is safe to say that the advance of the Church was through the Pauline line. "The relation," says Schaff, "between these two fundamental forms of apostolic Christianity is that of authority and freedom, law and Gospel, the conservative and the progressive, the objective and the subjective. These antithetic elements are not of necessity mutually exclusive. They are mutually complementary, and for perfect life they must exist in union." We study the traits of the Gentile churches because through them Christianity entered the broad field of the world.

At the base of the organization was the conception of the priesthood of all believers. This truth is contained in Rom. xii, 1: "I beseech you therefore, brethren, by the mercies of God, that ye present your bodies a living sacrifice, holy, acceptable unto God, which is your reasonable service." It is expressed still more pointedly in 1 Peter ii, 5, 9: "Ye also, as lively stones, are built up a spiritual house, a holy priesthood, to offer up spiritual sacrifices. . . . But ye are a chosen generation, a royal priesthood," etc. These words are addressed to the whole Church, whose members are likened in verse 2 to "newborn babes." But the priesthood of believers is implied as well in all that is said of the priesthood of Christ. He

having satisfied the sense of need which has led men to seek for mediators, there remains no occasion for a priestly class such as has pertained to every religion but the Christian. "As all believers," says Neander, "were conscious of an equal relation to Christ as their Redeemer, and of a common participation of communion with God obtained through him, so on this consciousness an equal relation of believers to one another was grounded which utterly precluded any relation subsisting between a priestly caste and a people of whom they were the mediators and spiritual guides. The apostles themselves were far from placing themselves in a relation which would have any resemblance to a mediatory priesthood; in this respect they always placed themselves on a footing of equality. If Paul assured the Church of his intercessory prayers for them he in return requested their intercessory prayers for himself. There were, accordingly, no such persons in the Christian Church who, like the priests of antiquity, claimed the possession of an esoteric doctrine, while they kept the people in a state of pupillage and dependence on themselves as their sole guides and instructors in religious matters."

The consequences of this truth are of the utmost importance in the constitution of the Church. If the ministry are not distinctively a priesthood they cannot stand as mediators between the people and God; and if the people are equal priests, then the ministers are simply their officers, clothed with the authority of the Church. The government of the Church by the ministry is not a government of exclusive divine right. The loss of the idea of the priesthood of the people was the first great apostasy. The recovery of this truth was one of the important gains of Protestantism; and the restoration of the laity to their proper place in the Church lifted them out of a state of pupillage and made them once more God's freemen.

With the universal participation in the consciousness of redemption there were joined special gifts which supplied the Church with the various forms of service needed for its edifica-

tion. Paul describes them in order in 1 Cor. xii, 7-11: "But the manifestation of the Spirit is given to every man to profit withal. For to one is given by the Spirit the word of wisdom; to another the word of knowledge by the same Spirit; to another faith by the same Spirit; to another the gifts of healing by the same Spirit; to another the working of miracles; to another prophecy; to another discerning of spirits; to another divers kinds of tongues; to another the interpretation of tongues: but all these worketh that one and the selfsame Spirit, dividing to every man severally as he will." The charisms were divine revelations to the community of Christians; special endowments distributed according to a higher wisdom for the edification of the Church and the convincing of unbelievers. They are in the nature of the case supernatural. We can see that some of them at least, such as teaching, had points of contact with the natural endowments of believers.

1. We notice first the gift of speaking with tongues. Schaff defines this to be "an involuntary psalmodic praying or singing in a state of spiritual ecstasy, and of the deepest absorption in the mysteries of the divine life, when the human mind loses its self-control and becomes a more or less passive agent of the Holy Ghost, an instrument, as it were, on which he plays his heavenly melodies. It is an inward act of worship, an ecstatic dialogue of the soul with God in a peculiar language, inspired immediately by the Spirit."<sup>1</sup> On this comprehensive definition we may remark: (1) That the speaking with tongues was not in such a sense involuntary that the possessor of the gift could not refrain from speaking; for Paul directs him to be silent if no one is present to interpret. (2) That it had not for its specific object the edification of others. It was an outgushing of praise and thanksgiving and was directed to God.

In the comparison of the Pentecostal speaking with tongues with that of Corinth two theories have been suggested. They are thus stated by Schaff: (1) At the Pentecost the speakers

<sup>1</sup> *Apostolic History*, original edition, p. 476.

themselves were endowed, at least temporarily, with the gift of speaking foreign languages not learned by them before; or (2) the Holy Spirit, who distributed the tongues, acted also as an interpreter, so that the one unknown language spoken appeared to the hearers to be the many dialects named in Acts ii. The latter theory makes the gift of tongues recorded in the two chief places of the New Testament to have been the gift of speaking in a tongue unknown to men, and apparently harmonizes the events at Jerusalem and at Corinth. But difficulties remain: (1) The interpretation which on the second supposition must be given to the narrative in Acts ii is not the obvious and natural one, as Schaff himself admits. (2) The events at Corinth and Jerusalem are not after all fully harmonized. At Jerusalem the Spirit directly interprets, and turns an unknown tongue on its way to human ears into known tongues. At Corinth human agents interpret the unknown language, and the unknown goes without interpretation, if the needed human agent is not at hand. Yet the Spirit is present, but fails to perform that office, which, on this supposition, he performed at Pentecost. The difference between the two events still remains, and that in an important particular. (3) A more serious objection to this mode of harmonizing the scenes at Jerusalem and Corinth is that the theory of an unknown language spoken and many human languages heard bears the appearance of deception. What the multitude thought they heard was not spoken. A species of jugglery was practiced which is something most painful to think of, especially as the Spirit is here the acting agent. It is far better to admit that there was something of difference in the manifestations at Jerusalem and in those of Corinth, and that the speaking with tongues in the latter had features which were not present in the former. Paul himself reminds us that there are diversities of gifts, but the same Spirit, and diversities of operations, but the same God (1 Cor. xii, 4-6).

How far did the gift of tongues extend throughout the Gentile churches? We have no means of supplying an exact

answer to this question. We should probably not have heard of this gift in the Corinthian church but for the abuses of it which Paul aims to correct. But as prophecy is mentioned again and again in the New Testament it is probable that all the spiritual gifts enumerated in 1 Cor. xii, 7-11, were freely bestowed. In Rom. xii, 6, Paul writes: "Having then gifts, differing according to the grace given to us, whether prophecy, let us prophesy," etc. Here, however, the speaking with tongues is not named. On the other hand, the men at Ephesus who were baptized by Paul both "spake with tongues and prophesied," the two gifts going together (Acts xix, 6), following the order of Pentecost when Peter prophesied as the spokesman of the whole company of disciples. Also in Acts x, 46, at the house of Cornelius, the Jews heard the Gentiles for the first time "speak with tongues, and magnify God."

Was there anything in the prior condition of the Gentile converts which made the gift of tongues an uplifting power? They had lived in the very dregs of heathenism. Their worship was mainly the propitiation of gods who had power to harm if the rites due them were neglected. It was ceremonial, not of the heart. The managers of the Eleusinian mysteries might proclaim that no one should approach, unless of pure heart and life, but other mysteries were grossly immoral. Of direct fellowship with the one God the religion of classic antiquity knew nothing. The heathen, thus sunken, but touched by the Spirit, was raised to a realization of the divine which bordered on an ecstasy of joy. What clouds of darkness fell from his mind! Communion with the one Father, manifested in Christ, was so palpable, so transcendently supernatural, that he could never after doubt that he had entered into a new world and the power of a new life.

Paul's directions for the use of this gift shed light upon its nature. Thus: "He that speaketh in an unknown tongue speaketh not unto men, but unto God: for no man understandeth him; howbeit in the spirit he speaketh mysteries" (1 Cor.



xiv, 2). Tongues are also a demonstration of divine power for unbelievers, or, as Paul expresses it, "for a sign, not to them that believe, but to them that believe not" (1 Cor. xiv, 22). As the Corinthians had overvalued this gift Paul compares it with prophecy, and shows that the latter is the more fruitful of good. The speaking with tongues had not, unless there was an interpreter, any use of edification; and Paul therefore directs the believer so gifted to speak to himself and God: "If any man speak in an unknown tongue, let it be by two, or at the most by three, and that by course; and let one interpret. But if there be no interpreter, let him keep silence in the church; and let him speak to himself, and to God" (1 Cor. xiv, 27, 28). He sums up his directions in these significant words: "Wherefore, brethren, covet to prophesy, and forbid not to speak with tongues" (1 Cor. xiv, 39).

2. The gift of prophecy is akin to the gift of tongues, being accompanied with special illumination, but differs from tongues in that it addresses itself to the Christian congregation. Its use was to cheer, encourage, and edify. Its nearest correspondent, in our day, is what is known as the gift of exhortation. The New Testament prophet is less a foreteller than an outteller; he deals almost exclusively with the present. This gift is mentioned in Rom. xii, 6-8; 1 Cor. xii, 10, 28, 29; 1 Cor. xiii, 2, 8; 1 Cor. xiv, 1-20; 1 Thess. v, 20; 1 Tim. i, 18, and elsewhere in the New Testament. It is kindred with the gift of teaching, but differs from it in that the address proceeds more from immediate intuition of truth, and is directed more to the feelings of the hearers. In 1 Cor. xiv, 1, Paul seems to place prophecy above all other spiritual gifts: "Desire," he says, "spiritual gifts, but rather that ye may prophesy." Here too he insists that speaking in an exalted state of feeling shall be subject to a rational self-control; for "the spirits of the prophets are subject to the prophets" (1 Cor. xiv, 32). No apology for nonsense or extravagance in speech is to be found in the claim that one is moved by an irresistible divine impulse.



3. The gift of the interpretation of tongues enabled its possessor to translate the language of ecstasy into the language of the understanding. From 1 Cor. xiv, 13, we may infer that sometimes he who spoke with tongues afterward himself interpreted what he uttered in the spirit. But there were others who had not this double gift; and for this reason Paul directs such to keep silence unless some one be present to perform the office of an interpreter.

4. The gift of teaching enabled its possessor to unfold the treasures of divine wisdom in clear, connected discourse. As prophecy addressed the feelings, teaching addressed the reason and understanding. The one was didactic, the other sympathetic; the one was expository, the other hortatory. This gift is mentioned in Rom. xii, 7; 1 Cor. xii, 28; Eph. iv, 11.

5. The gifts of wisdom and knowledge. These may be conjoined, and are obviously gifts of "insight into the nature and structure of the divine plan of redemption, and the whole system of saving doctrine."<sup>1</sup> They have not been by commentators successfully distinguished from each other. According to some, knowledge relates to theory, and wisdom to practice; according to others, knowledge relates to substance, and wisdom to form; but there is no decisive evidence for either of these distinctions. As between these gifts and teaching the difference is readily perceptible. They differ from teaching as discernment differs from expression. One having wisdom and knowledge might be of use in testing the discourse of others; the teacher unfolded the truth by oral communication.

6. The gift of discerning of spirits was bestowed to enable the Church to discriminate between true inspiration and false. The true and false always appear together in the human sphere. It had a twofold use: (1) The separation of the true from the false in the discourses of the prophets; and in this regard it bore the same relation to prophecy that interpretation bore to tongues. (2) The detection of falsities in character. We have

<sup>1</sup> Schaff, *Apostolic History*, first edition, p. 480.

examples of this power of penetrating character in the lives of the apostles Peter and Paul.

7. The gift of ministration and helps. This we may suppose included the visitation of the sick and the care of the suffering, the work officially assigned to the deacons.

8. The gift of government. This was of especial value to the apostles and elders, to all, indeed, who were charged with the care of the churches.

9. The gifts of miracles and of healing which accredited God's servants to the unbelieving. That this gift was frequently bestowed, in the apostolic Church, on believers we have abundant evidence. The gift of healing may be considered a lower form of the gift of miracles.

We have thus, following the apostolic catalogue, enumerated nine charismata, to wit: (1) Prophecy, (2) Teaching, (3) Tongues, (4) Interpretation of Tongues, (5) Discerning of Spirits, (6) Ministration and Helps, (7) Government, (8) Miracles and Healing, (9) Wisdom and Knowledge. It remains to classify these as well as we can. Schaff distributes them into three classes: (1) Those relating to feeling and worship, which are three: (a) Speaking with tongues; (b) Interpretation of tongues; (c) Prophecy. (2) Those which relate to knowledge and theology, also three: (a) Wisdom and knowledge; (b) Teaching; (c) Discerning of spirits. (3) Those which relate to will and Church government, also three: (a) Ministration and helps; (b) Government; (c) Miracles. Neander classifies the gifts into (1) those which relate to the furtherance of the kingdom of God or the edification of the Church by the word, and (2) such as relate to the furtherance of the kingdom of God by other kinds of outward agency. The distribution under these classes is easy enough.

Thus the Christian life was divinely permitted to develop itself with freedom in the Gentile churches. Nothing less than a divine power, as we have already seen, could lift the Gentiles from the depths of heathenism in which the Gospel found them.

By the might of these charisms the Gospel proved itself to them to be a supernatural power, and made its way into the unbelieving world. If the Corinthians misconceived the use of these gifts, the admonitions of Paul reminded them that God is the God of order and not of confusion, and that in his service the spirit of man and the understanding of man are intended to be cooperative.

## CHAPTER VII.

## THE WORSHIP OF THE EARLY CHURCH.

CHRISTIANITY has a worship correspondent with the facts which it has revealed to the world. Early in his ministry Jesus had said to the Samaritan woman: "The hour cometh, when ye shall neither in this mountain, nor yet at Jerusalem, worship the Father. . . . God is a Spirit: and they that worship him must worship him in spirit and in truth" (John iv, 21-24). The true worship of God, therefore, was to have no local centre. Although the first Jewish converts frequented the temple they found the Jewish forms inadequate for the expression of their devotional feeling. If they continued daily with one accord in the temple they also continued with one accord daily in the breaking of bread from house to house. The Lord's Supper was a new institution, and gave them a central idea, which Judaism had not. The consciousness of redemption through the death of Christ animated both their praise and their prayer. Jesus, now exalted to be a Prince and Saviour, gave salvation to all who believed, and they joyfully looked for his coming again to perfect his work by the resurrection of the dead from the grave. Christian worship from the first was characterized by a gratitude, joy, and confidence of hope unknown to the Jewish faith. While, therefore, the believers observed the synagogue forms, as convenient for use, the new life was continually creating forms of its own, on which was impressed its own spirit. It is not surprising, therefore, that Christ's resurrection day became the holy day, and the church, before long, something specifically different from the synagogue.

In considering Christian worship we inquire who was its personal object, or in what relation to men did it place Christ;

next, the parts of early Christian worship; and lastly, the sacred day of the early Church.

1. There can be no doubt that the apostolic Church assumed in all its worship Christ's divine nature. It is declared by Peter to be the source of power by which the lame man was healed (Acts iii, 16); and in the prayer which the disciples offered after their discharge from arrest (Acts iv, 24-30) they ask that "signs and wonders may be done by the name of thy holy child Jesus." As the subject of preaching he is "Christ the power of God, and the wisdom of God" (1 Cor. i, 24); the salutations in the Pauline epistles invariably wish to the churches "grace, mercy, and peace, from God our Father, and our Lord Jesus Christ." He is, therefore, with the Father, the source of the blessings which make and preserve the Church. Paul is an apostle, "not of men, neither by man, but by Jesus Christ, and God the Father" (Gal. i, 1). Christ is "the image of the invisible God" (Col. i, 15). In Heb. i, 8, the Old Testament is quoted and its language applied to Jesus: "Thy throne, O God, is forever and ever." John speaks of him as the "eternal life" (1 John i, 2). The apostolic Church is thus seen ascribing to Christ divine qualities and worshipping him with the Father. This is the content of its faith by which its worship is controlled, and prepares the way for the finer distinctions which were drawn in the Nicene age.

Passing to the period immediately following the apostolic, Pliny the Younger, who was governor of Bithynia during the reign of Trajan (98-117 A. D.), gives in a letter to the emperor the information he had obtained concerning the object of the Christian worship. It is apparent from this letter that he had examined numerous Christians in relation to their faith. He speaks of "many varieties of cases brought before him; and this is the result of his examinations. They [the Christians] affirmed that this was the sum of their guilt or error: that they had been accustomed to come together, on a fixed day before daylight, and to sing responsively a song unto Christ as God,

and to bind themselves with an oath, not with a view to the commission of some crime, but, on the contrary, that they would not commit theft, nor robbery, nor adultery; that they would not break faith nor refuse to restore a deposit when asked for it. When they had done these things their custom was to separate and to assemble again, to partake of a meal common yet harmless."<sup>1</sup> The "Teaching of the Twelve Apostles" (92-120 A. D.) in its last chapter ascribes to Christ the judgment of the world. Also the gospel is called in it "the gospel of our Lord" (chap. xv). Prayer should be offered as he has taught it. "Neither pray ye as the hypocrites, but as the Lord commanded in his gospel" (chap. viii). From these examples the attitude of the apostolic and the sub-apostolic Church toward Christ as the personal object of worship is made perfectly clear.

2. The parts of early Christian worship were (1) Preaching, (2) Prayer, (3) Song, (4) Reading of Scripture, (5) The Administration of the Sacraments of Baptism and the Lord's Supper.

(1.) Preaching. The obligation to preach rests on the great commission (Matt. xxviii, 19, 20). The early preaching was simple, fervid, as we see from the examples of Peter and Paul in the New Testament. We may gather from Paul's addresses narrated in the Acts that he often rehearsed the story of his meeting with Christ on the way to Damascus. There is no support given in the New Testament to the opinion which has led great Churches astray, that when preaching has done its missionary work it recedes to the background and the sacraments—increased in number—take its place. Apostles and prophets and evangelists, in the New Testament period, labor earnestly for the building up of those who have believed. "Whom," says Paul, "we preach, warning every man, and teaching every man in all wisdom; that we may present every man perfect in Christ Jesus" (Col. i, 28). Paul in his last charge to Timothy lays stress on this ministerial function: "Preach the word; . . . reprove, rebuke, exhort with all long-suffering and doctrine. For the

<sup>1</sup> Eusebius, *Church History*, edited by Schaff and Wace, p. 165.



time will come when they will not endure sound doctrine" (2 Tim. iv, 2, 3).

(2.) Prayer. This was free and spontaneous in the apostolic Church, and always offered in the name of Christ. Christians were instructed to pray "with all prayer and supplication in the Spirit" (Eph. vi, 18), to "pray without ceasing" (1 Thess. v, 17); to make "supplications, prayers, intercessions, and giving of thanks for all men" (1 Tim. ii, 1). Paul's wonderful prayer for the Ephesian church (Eph. iii, 14-21) and the prayer of the persecuted disciples in Acts iv, are examples of the spirit in which the early Church made supplication. Liturgical forms must have grown up at an early date after the passing away of the apostles, and were most probably associated with free prayer. The "Teaching of the Twelve Apostles" sanctions free prayer after the eucharistic service. "Allow ye the prophets to give thanks as it shall seem good to them" (chap. x). A liturgical form for the administration of this ordinance is, however, given; so that free and liturgical prayer are here found together. Justin Martyr tells us that in the celebration of the Lord's Supper, as he knew it, the president of the meeting gave thanks according to his ability, that is, in a free prayer. The prayer of Clement (90-100 A. D.), in his Epistle to the Corinthians, is thought by many to be liturgical, and from its internal character would seem so to be; but there is no proof of the fact.

(3.) Song. It would have been strange if the Church had been, even from the beginning of its life, without song. Song is the natural expression of deep emotion; and all periods of religious revival are fruitful in lyric poetry. The psalms taken from the synagogue service furnished the first believers with what was needed for this part of their worship. The references to singing in the New Testament are frequent enough to show that it was habitual with the founders of the Church and their converts. In Acts xvi, 25, Paul and Silas are described as singing praises to God at midnight in the prison at Philippi. Paul

directs the Ephesians to speak to themselves "in psalms and hymns and spiritual songs" (Eph. v, 19); and the Colossians to teach and admonish "one another in psalms and hymns and spiritual songs, singing with grace in your hearts to the Lord" (Col. iii, 16). In 1 Cor. xiv, 15, Paul implies that singing is part of the service in the church at Corinth: "I will sing with the spirit, and I will sing with the understanding also." Grotius supposes that the prayer in Acts iv, 24-30, contains the substance of a hymn to Christ, and that this is the first Christian song. The words of the angels, recorded in Luke ii, 14, and the song of Mary, in Luke i, 46-55, the prophecy of Zacharias, in Luke i, 67-79, the words of Simeon, in Luke ii, 29, were, in the post-apostolic age, incorporated with the Church's treasures of song. The Book of Revelation abounds in doxologies and descriptions of heaven which furnished the Church in later ages with rich materials for lyric poetry.

(4.) Reading. Partly of the Old Testament, in which the earliest disciples, who were Jews, had been well instructed. There can be no doubt that the epistles of Paul soon found their way into circulation among the Gentile churches. He himself directs his Epistle to the Colossians to be read to the church of Laodicea (Col. iv, 16). Justin Martyr tells us that in the Christian worship of his day the Memoirs of Christ were read; and in another passage of his apology he speaks of these "Memoirs" as those which "are called gospels."

3. We may ascribe to the Gentile Christians the first adoption of the exclusive religious observance of Sunday. They would naturally avoid the sanctification of the Jewish Sabbath, from a fear of mingling together Jewish and Christian ideas. Turning to the New Testament, we find three passages in which the first day of the week is named as a day distinguished above others (Acts xx, 7; 1 Cor. xvi, 2; and Rev. i, 10). In Acts xx, 7, we are told: "And upon the first day of the week, when the disciples came together to break bread, Paul preached unto them, ready to depart on the morrow." There is a reason-

able presumption that this was with the disciples of Troas a customary day for the celebration of the Lord's Supper. In 1 Cor. xvi, 2, Paul says: "Upon the first day of the week let every one of you lay by him in store, as God hath prospered him, that there be no gatherings when I come." This instruction, as we learn from verse 1, is in relation to collections, and collections were probably taken when the members of the church were met together. Nor would Paul have mentioned the first day for this use, that is, laying by in store, if it had not already become in the Gentile churches a day of importance. John, in Rev. i, 10, says: "I was in the Spirit on the Lord's day."<sup>1</sup> He mentions this day without any explanation. His form of expression, he takes for granted, is well understood. We may infer, therefore, that the religious observance of the first day of the week was established among those to whom he wrote, namely, the seven churches of Asia. These are all the passages of the New Testament which distinctly point to the religious observance of the Lord's Day by the apostolic Church. We may, however, associate with them several facts which seem to point to the selection of this day as a sacred day. It was on his resurrection day that Jesus reappeared to his disciples; and it was on the first day of the week after, that he appeared again to them in order to convince Thomas; on the Pentecost, which was Sunday, the Spirit was poured out and the Church was born. Thus there is an honoring of this day, as though the Church were to be led by a divine guidance to its adoption as holy.

We have no record of the first religious observance of the Lord's Day. It may have begun with the Pentecost, but we have no direct evidence on the point. We have, however, the testimony of Justin Martyr, who lived about forty years after the death of John, that the Christians of his time did not

<sup>1</sup> Lightfoot supposes John to mean here the day of judgment, which is, indeed, called in the New Testament the day of the Lord; but this is not the usual interpretation of the passage.

observe the Jewish Sabbath, and that "they, both those who lived in the city, and they who lived in the country, were all accustomed to meet on the day which is denominated Sunday, for the reading of the Scriptures, prayer, exhortation, and communion. The assembly met on Sunday, because this is the first day on which God, having changed the darkness and the elements, created the world; and because Jesus our Lord on this day arose from the dead."<sup>1</sup>

There are three facts to be noted which show the naturalness of the adoption of the Lord's Day by the early Church: (1) The Church was founded on the affirmation of the resurrection of Jesus, and his resurrection day assumed an importance corresponding with that of the resurrection itself. (2) The early Christians regarded their religion as a new creation which wholly superseded the old Mosaic institute. (3) The Gentile Christians, in the post-apostolic period, especially discarded the Jewish Sabbath for the reason that they considered its observance as carrying them back to Judaism.

(1.) In regard to the first of these propositions, the resurrection of Christ is the one fact of the apostolic message on which all the other facts are built up. Peter explained the wonders of Pentecost by it: "Whom God hath raised up, having loosed the pains of death" (Acts ii, 24). When Peter heals the lame man in the temple, and the people crowd around him and John, wondering at the miracle, he comes back to the resurrection of Christ again: "Ye killed the Prince of life, whom God hath raised from the dead; whereof we are witnesses" (Acts iii, 15). And he and John are seized then and there by the priests, and the captain of the temple, and the Sadducees, because these officers were grieved that the two apostles "preached through Jesus the resurrection from the dead" (Acts iv, 2). And when next John and Peter were asked "by what power or by what name" they had healed the man, their answer was, "Be it known unto you . . . that by the

<sup>1</sup> First Apology, chap. lxvii.

name of Jesus Christ of Nazareth, . . . whom God raised from the dead, . . . doth this man stand here before you whole" (Acts iv, 10). When they had been let go, and returned to their fellow-disciples and had prayed and went on with their labors, the fact reported of all the apostles is that "with great power gave the apostles witness of the resurrection of the Lord Jesus" (Acts iv, 33). And when they were seized again and put into the common prison, and the prison doors were opened by an angel, they went straight to the temple and taught the "words of this life," the life which had come to men through Christ's resurrection (Acts v, 20). When they were seized a third time, and placed before the council, they gave the same answer as before: "The God of our fathers raised up Jesus, whom ye slew and hanged on a tree" (Acts v, 30). And when Paul was changed from a persecutor to a disciple the change was effected by a demonstration of the resurrection of Jesus of Nazareth, whom he persecuted. Thus we may say that the burden of apostolic preaching was the resurrection of Jesus, and therefore the consecration of the resurrection day to a remembrance of him was most natural and spontaneous.

(2.) As to the second proposition, namely, that to the early believers Christianity was a new creation, and that they themselves were in a new world, the following considerations are applicable. Just as we are prone, from a careless reading of the Scriptures, to lose sight of the constant iteration of the fact of the resurrection in the early apostolic preaching, so we are prone to lose sight of the revolution wrought both in Jews and Gentiles on their conversion to Christianity. We get glimpses of it in the frequent reminders scattered through the epistles, that the disciples are in a new life and are living in a new world, for "if any man be in Christ, he is a new creature: old things are passed away; behold, all things are become new" (2 Cor. v, 17). Nothing but a new creation availed in Christ; "neither circumcision nor uncircumcision" (Gal. vi, 15). This thought is broadened and applied to both Jews and Gentiles, as

organized in one Church. "He hath made both one, and hath broken down the middle wall of partition; . . . to make in himself of twain one new man, so making peace" (Eph. ii, 14, 15). That is, the reconciler opens a new era, bringing together into unity opposing elements, and so establishing another world than had been known before. We are to put on this "new man" who is continually renewed in the image of his Creator (Col. iii, 10, 11). All the eloquent reasoning of the Epistle to the Hebrews is expended in showing that the believers in Christ are lifted up into another sphere, and are separated from the life they had lived by the whole distance between the old and the new covenants: "that a death having taken place for the redemption of the transgressions that were under the first covenant, they that have been called may receive the promise of the eternal inheritance" (Heb. ix, 15). This way of redemption is therefore "a new and living way" (Heb. x, 20); and in the same strain believers are called "newborn babes" (1 Peter ii, 2); are to "serve in newness of spirit, and not in the oldness of the letter" (Rom. vii, 6). They are to look for the consummation of a life so begun in a "new heaven and a new earth" (2 Peter iii, 13).

(3.) As to the third proposition, that is, that the Gentile Christians of the post-apostolic period wholly discarded the Jewish Sabbath, and also the Sabbatic idea, we have abundant testimony from Justin Martyr. This apologist was born in the neighborhood of Sychem, in Samaria, and shows perfect familiarity with Jewish opinions. It is clear from his dialogue with Trypho that to the Christian mind of his period the Jewish Sabbath was entangled among the ceremonial ordinances of the old dispensation. In the opening of the dialogue, Trypho says to Justin, "If then you are willing to listen to me, first be circumcised, and then observe what ordinances have been enacted with respect to the Sabbath, and the feasts, and the new moons of God." In his Jewish mode of thinking all these are connected together as the parts of one system. Justin



asks Trypho, "Is there any other matter in which we are blamed [by the Jews] than this, that we live not after the law, and are not circumcised as your fathers were, and do not observe Sabbaths as you do?" (chap. x.) Here Sabbath observance is marked as a part of Judaic life which Christians avoid. He then argues that Sabbath observance was required of the Jews on account of their transgressions and hardness of heart (chap. xviii). He (Justin) declares, too, that Abraham and Isaac and Jacob, though they kept no Sabbath, were pleasing to God (chap. xix). He argues finally that as the Sabbath and sacrifices and offerings were enjoined on account of the people's hardness of heart, they have their end in Christ (chap. xliii). Thus if we take Justin Martyr as an exponent of post-apostolic thought, as we may safely do, we must believe that Gentile Christians of his time regarded the keeping of the Sabbath as one of the series of Jewish observances, all of which were linked together. They therefore repudiated the Sabbatic idea, and failed to recognize the biblical truth that the Sabbath is as old as the creation, and that the Sabbatic law has a ground in the human constitution. In this position of one-sidedness the Church remained for many centuries.

It is important before we proceed farther in this history to notice several passages in the epistles of Paul which are by some supposed to teach a disregard of the special appropriation of any day for religious observance. It must be borne in mind that the apostle to the Gentiles labored to establish one point: that the observance of the Jewish festival days was not essential as a condition of salvation, and that the effort to make it appear so was a contradiction of the doctrine of salvation by faith. The first of these passages is Gal. iv, 9, 10: "But now, after that ye have known God, or rather are known of God, how turn ye again to the weak and beggarly elements, whereunto ye desire again to be in bondage? Ye observe days, and months, and times, and years." Here "days" may be taken to be Sabbaths; "months," the new moon festivals;

"times," the yearly festivals, such as the Passover, Pentecost, and the Feast of Tabernacles; "years," the Sabbatic years. The connection of all these festivals shows that in the opinion of the Judaizers they stood or fell together as parts of a ceremonial system. Paul warns the Galatians that if they go in this direction they will depend upon salvation by works, and will cease to depend for salvation on the grace of God in Christ. He means to warn them against the Judaizers who wish to bring them into subjection to a system which the Galatians as Gentiles had never known. The second passage is Col. ii, 16, 17: "Let no man therefore judge you in meat, or in drink, or in respect of a holyday, or of the new moon, or of the sabbath days: which are a shadow of things to come; but the body is of Christ." Here, again, it is plain that Paul has in mind the whole Jewish system of ceremonial observance, and especially the habit of making a merit of such observance.

The third passage is Rom. xiv, 5: "One man esteemeth one day above another: another esteemeth every day alike. Let every man be fully persuaded in his own mind." From the mention of the fact in the second verse that there were some in the Church who would only eat herbs it is presumable that Paul is speaking of Christian ascetics, who dedicated certain days to religious uses. Paul merely counsels the members of the Church to tolerate each other; the days noticed as preferred were most likely Jewish sacred days. "This refers," says Meyer, "to the Jewish feast and fast days, still observed by the weak in faith." Dwight, the American editor of Meyer's *Romans*, says: "The primary, and probably exclusive, direct reference of the words, as related to the differences in the churches addressed by Paul, was to Jewish, not to Christian, observances."<sup>1</sup> Bearing in mind that Paul's discouragement of Sabbath observance related to the Jewish Sabbath, bearing in mind also that he sanctioned the observance of the Lord's Day, and that this observance became general, and in post-apostolic

<sup>1</sup> See Meyer, American edition, *Romans*, p. 525.

times universal, we may properly call the first day of the week the Christian Sabbath.

But it is remarkable that the divine obligation of this day was not recognized by the ancient Church fathers nor by the early Protestant reformers. "The ancient Church viewed the Sunday mainly, we may say one-sidedly and exclusively, from its Christian aspect as a new institution, and not in any way as a continuation of the Jewish Sabbath. It was observed as the day of the commemoration of the resurrection, or of the new spiritual creation, and hence as a day of sacred joy and thanksgiving, standing in bold contrast to the days of humiliation and fasting, as the Easter festival contrasts with Good Friday. The principal fathers all favor the sanctification of the Lord's Day, but treat it as a peculiarly Christian institution, and draw a strong, indeed, a too strong, line of distinction between it and the Jewish Sabbath, forgetting that they are one in essence and aim, though different in form and spirit, and that the fourth commandment as to its substance is an integral part of the Decalogue or the moral law, and hence of perpetual obligation. The reformers of the sixteenth century, likewise, in their zeal against legalism and for Christian freedom, entertained rather lax views of the Sabbath law."<sup>1</sup> The first expounder of what we hold to be the true doctrine of the Christian Sabbath was the Rev. Nicholas Bownde, an English Puritan. In 1595 he published a volume entitled *The True Doctrine of the Sabbath*. In this he asserted that the seventh part of our time ought to be devoted to God; that Christians are bound to rest on the Lord's Day as much as the Jews were on the Mosaic Sabbath, the commandment about rest being moral and perpetual; and that it was not lawful for persons to follow their studies or worldly business on that day, nor to use such pleasure and recreations as are permitted on other days.

Dr. Bownde bases his argument on the original institution of the Sabbath at the close of creation. He says: "First of all,

<sup>1</sup> Schaff, *Church History*, first edition, vol. ii, pp. 379, 383.

therefore, it appears in the story of Genesis that it was from the beginning, and that the seventh day was sanctified at the first insomuch that Adam and his posterity, if they had continued in their first righteous estate, should have kept that day holy above the rest. Secondly, the Lord sanctified it for the saints; for as soon as the day was made so soon was it sanctified, that we might know as it came with the first man it must not go out but with the last man. As first, so it must be last until the end of time." These propositions were received with favor, and the doctrine contained in them spread with great rapidity. The Puritans of the English Church accepted it and put it into practice. High Churchmen opposed it with all their energy. Archbishop Whitgift, in 1599, suppressed Dr. Bownde's book, and Popham, the chief justice, confirmed in the following year what Whitgift had done. These efforts to put the new doctrine out of the way only drew to it more attention. In 1606 Dr. Bownde issued a second edition of his treatise. And says Coleman: "Such was its reputation that scarcely any catechism or comment was published by the stricter divines for many years in which the morality of the Sabbath was not strongly recommended and enforced. The subject became the principal controversy of the age. It changed to a great extent the topics of discussion in the Church."<sup>1</sup> The royal authority was invoked by the High Church party to prevent the spread of this Puritanical theory. In the "Declaration of Sports," dated May 24, 1618, James I commanded "that after the end of divine service the people should not be disturbed or discouraged from any lawful recreations, such as dancing, either of men or women, archery for men, leaping or vaulting, or any such harmless recreation." The natural effect of this proclamation was an increase of disorder and immorality on Sunday. Archbishop Laud, a narrow High Churchman, and an opponent of the Puritans, promoted with all his influence the Sunday sports. Richardson, the chief justice, ordered their suppression;

<sup>1</sup> *Ancient Christianity Exemplified*, p. 535.

Laud succeeded in having his order revoked and the "Declaration of Sports" renewed "out of a pious care for the service of God and for the suppression of those humors that oppose truth, and for the ease, comfort, and recreation of his majesty's well-deserving people." The battle waxed so hot that the defenders of the obligation to observe Sunday as a Sabbath were prosecuted and imprisoned. Many ministers were ejected from their livings and driven from the kingdom because they would not publish the king's "Declaration of Sports." In time the Puritan view prevailed, and as a consequence England, Scotland, and North America have such a Sabbath as is not known elsewhere in the Christian world.

This view of the obligation to observe the Lord's Day as the Sabbath rests, as has been said, on two general principles. They are (1) That the law of the Sabbath is as old as the creation. God rested after the creation, that we might take him as an example (Gen. ii, 2, 3). (2) The Sabbath law occurs, as the only positive law, in a code of moral precepts. It has, therefore, a moral basis, and was intended to be no less permanent than the other laws among which it stands.

The sacraments of baptism and the Lord's Supper will be treated in the next chapter.

#### NOTE TO CHAPTER VII.

##### DR. BOWNDE'S WORK ON THE CHRISTIAN SABBATH.

The title of Bownde's book is: "The Doctrine of the Sabbath: plainly layde forth, and soundly proved, by testimonies both of Holy Scripture, and also of old and new eeclesiastical writers: Declaring from what things God would have us straightly to rest upon the Lord's Day, and then by what means we ought publicly and privately to sanctifie the same: Together with sundrie abuses of our time, and how they ought to be reformed." "Divided into five books: By Nicolas Bownde, Doctor of Divinitie." London, 1595. Pp. 286.

The second edition is considerably larger than the first (pp. 479), and the title is somewhat altered. It is too long for transcription here, but part can be given: "Sabbathum Veteris et Novi Testamenti; or the true doctrine of the Sabbath, held and practiced by the Church of God, both before and under the Law; and in the time of the Gospell, &c., &c." "London,

1606." The new matter of this edition is incorporated with the matter of the first.

Dr. Bownde was rector of Norton, in Suffolk, and belongs therefore to the Eastern or Puritan side of England. It is singular that his book, considering the important change it wrought, has been suffered to go out of print. The only copy of the first edition that we have seen in the United States is in possession of the Seventh Day Baptist College, at Alfred Centre, N. Y.; a copy of the second edition is said to be in the Boston Public Library. Both editions are to be found in the library of the British Museum. Bownde's arguments are strong and sensible, and his successors do not appear to have gone much beyond them.



## CHAPTER VIII.

## THE ORDINANCES OF THE EARLY CHURCH.

BAPTISM and the Lord's Supper were expressly commanded by Jesus our Saviour. The commission to the Church was, "Go ye and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost" (Matt. xxviii, 19). And he said when he instituted the supper, "Do this in remembrance of me" (Luke xxii, 19). By baptism the believer entered into the fellowship of Christ's people and thus became a member of his visible body. As the Church first addressed itself to adults, baptism was usually accompanied with a confession of faith. The Philippian jailer and his house were baptized "straightway" on a profession of faith in Jesus Christ (Acts xvi, 33). The confession of Jesus as the Messiah, or the fuller confession of faith in the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost (Matt. xxviii, 19), was in the post-apostolic period expanded into the so-called Apostles' Creed.

1. The significance of baptism in the early Church.

It is noteworthy that on the day of Pentecost baptism by water followed the gift of the Holy Spirit; the same is true of the conversion of the family of Cornelius. Peter asks, "Can any man forbid water, that these should not be baptized, which have received the Holy Ghost as well as we?" (Acts x, 47.) But in the post-apostolic period baptism and regeneration were connected together; in this there was certainly a departure from the apostolic idea of the ordinance. Still, faith as the spiritual condition was insisted upon by the early fathers. Their view seems to have been that there was a regenerating power communicated by the Holy Spirit to the baptismal water, which faith appropriated. This topic—baptismal regeneration—will be treated more fully in a succeeding chapter.

## 2. The mode of administering baptism in the early Church.

As to the mode of administering baptism, it is clear that immersion was commonly practiced. That this was so is proved from passages in which baptism is used as a figure or type, and which have no clear meaning, unless immersion is understood. Thus, in Rom. vi, 4, it is compared with a burial and resurrection: "Therefore we are buried with him by baptism into death: that like as Christ was raised up from the dead by the glory of the Father, even so we also should walk in newness of life." Of like purport is Col. ii, 12. There is no question that immersion was commonly practiced in the post-apostolic period.

On this point the opinion of modern Church historians is concurrent. Coleman: "In the primitive Church, immediately subsequent to the age of the apostles, this was undeniably the common mode of baptism. The utmost that can be said of sprinkling in that early period is that it was in case of necessity permitted as an exception to a general rule."<sup>1</sup> Schaff says that the general usage of ecclesiastical antiquity and the present prevailing usage of the Oriental Churches put it beyond doubt that entire or partial immersion was the general rule.<sup>2</sup> Neander: "The usual form of submersion at baptism, practiced by the Jews, was transferred to the Gentile Christians. Indeed, this form was the most suitable to signify that which Christ intended to render an object of contemplation by such a symbol, the immersion of the whole man in the spirit of a new life."<sup>3</sup> So also Conybeare and Howson: "It is needless to add that baptism was, unless in exceptional cases, administered by immersion, the convert being plunged beneath the surface of the water, to represent his death to the life of sin, and then raised from the momentary burial, to represent his resurrection to a life of righteousness."<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Ancient Christianity Exemplified*, pp. 395, 396. See also Bingham, *Antiquities of the Christian Church*, vol. iii, pp. 273-275.

<sup>2</sup> See *History of the Apostolic Church*, p. 568.

<sup>3</sup> *History of Planting*, etc., vol. i, p. 161.

<sup>4</sup> *Life and Travels of St. Paul*, vol. i, p. 439.

But the question of the post-apostolic mode of baptism has, we may say, been definitely settled by the "Teaching of the Twelve Apostles." Both parties to the long controversy which has been rife since the early days of the Reformation have been proved to be extreme in their positions. The instructions of the "Teaching" are these: "Concerning baptism, baptize in this wise. Having said all these things beforehand, baptize into the name of the Father, and of the Son, and the Holy Ghost, in running water (*ἐν ῥέματι ζῶντι*). But if thou hast no running water, baptize into other water; and if thou art not able to use cold, use warm. But if thou hast neither, pour water three times on the head, in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost."<sup>1</sup> Immersion is, therefore, according to this testimony, the mode to be adopted; but if that cannot be, pouring constitutes a sufficient baptism.

We have other direct testimony from various post-apostolic sources. Thus Tertullian (160-240), *De Corona Militis*, chap. iii, says: "When we are going to enter the water, but a little before, in the presence of the congregation, and under the hand of the president, we solemnly profess that we disown the devil, and his pomp, and his angels. Hereupon we are thrice immersed, making a somewhat ampler pledge than the Lord has appointed in the Gospel." Of the same purport is the language of Tertullian in his tract, *De Baptismo*, chap. xii. Cyprian, Bishop of Carthage (200-258 A. D.), being asked to determine whether clinic baptism by aspersion or sprinkling was sufficient, replies in a pungent letter to Magnus,<sup>2</sup> wherein he draws a clear distinction between a washing of the body and baptism as something spiritual. He argues that total submersion is not necessary to the efficacy of this sacrament; at the same time he plainly shows that immersion was the common practice of the churches of North Africa:

"You have asked also, dearest son, what I thought of those who obtain God's grace in sickness and weakness, whether they

<sup>1</sup> "Teaching," chap. vii, 1, 2, 3.

<sup>2</sup> Epistle lxxv; Oxford ed., Ep. lxix.

are to be accounted legitimate Christians, for that they are not laved, but sprinkled, with the saving water. . . . As far as my poor understanding conceives it, I think that the divine benefit can in no respect be mutilated and weakened; nor can anything less occur in that case, where with full and entire faith, both of the giver and receiver, what is drawn from the divine gifts is accepted. For in the sacrament of salvation the contagion of sins is not in such wise washed away, as the filth of the skin and the body is washed away in the carnal and ordinary washing, as that there should be need of saltpetre and other appliances also, and a bath and a basin wherewith this vile body must be washed and purified. Otherwise is the heart of the believer washed; otherwise is the mind of man purified by the merit of faith. In the sacraments of salvation when necessity compels, and God bestows his mercy, the divine methods confer the whole benefit on believers; nor ought it to trouble anyone, that sick people seem to be sprinkled or affused, when they obtain the Lord's grace. . . . Whence it appears that sprinkling also of water prevails greatly with the washing of salvation; and that when this is done in the church, where the faith both of giver and receiver is sound, all things hold and may be consummated and perfected by the majesty of the Lord and by the truth of faith."

Chrysostom, in his twenty-fifth homily on John iii, 5, says, "For when we immerse our heads in the water the old man is buried as in a tomb below, and wholly sunk forever; then as we raise them again the new man rises in its place." Also in his homily xl on 1 Cor. xv, 29, "Else what shall they do which are baptized for the dead?" He speaks of immersion in baptism as a sign of the descent into Hades and the return thence: "When without a sign thou believest, then he gives thee the sign also; when thou hast done thine own part, then also dost God fully assure thee. How and in what manner? By the water. For the being baptized and immersed and then emerging is a symbol of the descent into Hades and return

thence. Wherefore, also, Paul calls baptism a burial, saying, 'Therefore are we buried with him by baptism into death' (Rom. vi, 4)." Finally, the Apostolic Constitutions in book iii, sect. ii, chaps. xvi, xvii, speak thus: "Thou, O bishop, or a presbyter that is under thee, shall in solemn form name over them [the candidates for baptism] the Father, Son, and the Holy Ghost, and shall dip them in the water." And also in the seventeenth chapter: "This baptism is given therefore into the death of Jesus; the water is instead of the burial, and the oil instead of the Holy Ghost; the ointment is the confirmation of the confession; the mention of the Father as of the author and sender; the joint mention of the Holy Ghost as of the witness; the descent into the water the dying together with Christ; the ascent out of the water the rising again with Christ."

3. But while this may have been the usual form of administering baptism, instances occur in apostolic history wherein its application was, as far as we can see, impossible. Thus in Acts ii, 41, we are told that three thousand were baptized, and in chap. iv, 4, we read that the number of the men was five thousand. It is impracticable that so many could have been baptized by immersion in Jerusalem at one time, "since there is no water in the neighborhood of the city in summer but springs and the brook Siloam, and the houses are supplied from cisterns and reservoirs, so that there, as in all Palestine, private baths in dwellings are very rare. In these cases we must give up the idea of a total immersion and substitute that of a total affusion upon the head."<sup>1</sup> Paul baptized the Philippian jailer within the prison walls (Acts xvi, 33), and Peter baptized the family of Cornelius, as far as appears, in the house, where he preached to them (Acts x, 48).

As to the meaning of βαπτίζειν, it is defined by Cremer to mean to immerse, to submerge. "The peculiar New Testament, Christian use of the word to denote immersion, submersion, for a religious purpose, that is, to baptize, may be pretty clearly

<sup>1</sup> Schaff, *History of the Apostolic Church*, first edition, pp. 569, 570.

traced back to the Levitical washings" (Lev. xiv, 8, 9, etc.).<sup>1</sup> While, however, the original word has the primary meaning "to immerse," "to submerge," in the New Testament it goes in several instances far beyond that meaning. Mark, in chap. vii, 4, 8, speaks of the washings (βαπτισμοὺς) "of cups, and pots, brazen vessels, and of tables," where immersion is not in every instance either necessary or practicable. Heb. ix, 10, says of the ceremonies of the old covenant that they "stood only in meats and drinks, and divers washings (διαφόροις βαπτισμοῖς), . . . imposed on them until the time of reformation." These divers washings include all the Jewish modes of purification, some of which were by sprinkling. For instance, Lev. xiv, 7, directs the priest to sprinkle seven times the leper who is to be cleansed.

Thus, while we freely admit that immersion was the common mode of baptism in the apostolic Church, we have no reason to conclude that it was the only form; and while we admit that βαπτίζειν has the primary meaning, "to immerse," "to submerge," there is no reason to accept this as the sole New Testament sense. No directions are given in the New Testament as to the mode of baptism; there is no evidence that one precise mode is essential to make it a valid sacrament. Indeed, the insistence upon one mode without regard to conditions of sickness or health, coldness or warmth of climate, scarcity or abundance of water, partakes of the nature of superstition. We might as well insist that the Lord's Supper can be properly received only when the communicants recline on couches, as did Jesus and the twelve, after the oriental manner of eating. Christianity is a spiritual religion, and as such does not lay stress upon external methods. There is no prescription in the New Testament of the posture of the body in prayer or of the precise order of worship. We have seen that immersion was practiced in the post-apostolic Church; we have seen also that in the earliest times the baptism of the sick by affusion was practiced; we have seen, too, that the circumstances of some

<sup>1</sup> See Cremer, *sub voce*.



baptisms in the New Testament and the use of βαπτίζειν in certain cases suggest another mode of baptism besides immersion ; we may readily infer, therefore, (1) that no mode of baptism being prescribed in the New Testament we are left at liberty to use either ; (2) that from the very nature of Christianity as spiritual, the question of the mode of baptism is one of slight importance ; (3) that when the varieties of climate and condition make a choice of mode desirable, such a choice is proper.

4. As to infant baptism, it is admitted that traces of it appear in the Church after the middle of the second century, which would be about fifty years from the close of the apostolic age. But if we go further on, to the time of Chrysostom (347–407) and Augustine (354–430), we find evidence that infant baptism is then firmly established as a practice of the Church. Thus Chrysostom writes, “We baptize infants, though they are not defiled with sin.” And again, “There was pain and trouble in the practice of that Jewish circumcision ; but our circumcision, I mean the grace of baptism, gives cure without pain, and this for infants as well as men.” Cyprian (200–258), in the middle of the third century, is a witness to the same point. He speaks thus of a council convened by him A. D. 253 : “This was our opinion in council that by us no one ought to be hindered from baptism and from the grace of God, who is merciful and kind and loving to all. Which, since it is to be observed and maintained in respect of all, we think is to be even more observed in respect of infants, who, on this very account, deserve more from our help, and from the divine mercy, that immediately, on the very beginning of their birth, lamenting and weeping, they do nothing else but entreat.”<sup>1</sup> Origen gives the same testimony. He was born A. D. 185, scarce one hundred years after the close of the apostolic age. His father had been a Christian. He says : “The Church received from the apostles injunction or tradition to give baptism even to infants.”<sup>2</sup> Con-

<sup>1</sup> Epistle to Fidus, lviii, 6.

<sup>2</sup> *Commentary on Romans*, book v, chap. ix.

sidering that Origen had great advantages for obtaining the pure tradition of the practice of the apostles, his statement is of weight. Tertullian (160-240) argues against the practice in such a way as to show its prevalence in his time. He says: "According to the circumstances and disposition and even age of each individual the delay of baptism is preferable, principally, however, in the case of little children. For why is it necessary that the sponsors likewise should be thrust into danger? Who both themselves, by reason of mortality, may fail to fulfill their promises and may be disappointed by the development of an evil disposition in those for whom they stood. The Lord does indeed say, 'Forbid them not to come unto me.' Let them 'come' then, while they are growing up; let them 'come' while they are learning, while they are learning whither to come; let them become Christians when they have become able to know Christ."¹ Irenæus, who was born between 120 and 140 A. D., has a passage which, though not specific in mentioning the baptism of infants, is supposed to imply it, as an established practice. He says: "Christ came to redeem all by himself, all who through him are regenerate to God; infants, little children, boys, young men, and old. Hence he passed through every age, and for the infants he became an infant, sanctifying the infants; among the little children he became a little child, sanctifying those who belong to this age, and at the same time presenting to them an example of piety, well-doing, and obedience,"² etc. The phrase "regenerated to God" was used both by Irenæus and other fathers, of baptism, and if so, he may be taken to imply here the baptism of persons of all ages.

The inference from these testimonies that infant baptism was probably known in the apostolic age, and may have had apostolic sanction, is not a violent one. There is, however, no explicit mention of the baptism of infants, as such, in the New Testament; but in the baptism of households children have been supposed to be included. One of the most important

¹ *De Baptismo*, chap. xviii.

² *Against Heresies*, book ii, chap. xxii.

passages leading up to this point is 1 Cor. vii, 14: "For the unbelieving husband is sanctified by the wife, and the unbelieving wife is sanctified by the husband: else were your children unclean; but now are they holy." Here we have the root idea out of which infant baptism takes its rise, namely, that the children of a Christian parentage are designated members of the kingdom of God, that a consecration for the kingdom of God is granted to them, a gracious influence of the Spirit. "It is the idea of infant baptism," says Neander, "that Christ, through the divine life which he imparted to and revealed in human nature, sanctified that nature from the germ of its earliest development. The child born in a Christian family was, when all things were as they should be, to have this advantage above others, that he did not first come to Christianity out of heathenism, or the sinful nature-life, but from the first dawning of consciousness unfolded his powers under the imperceptible preventing influence of a sanctifying, ennobling religion; that with the earliest germination of the natural self-conscious life, another divine principle of life, transforming the nature, should be brought nigh unto him ere yet the ungodly principle could come into full activity; and that the later should at once find here its powerful counterpoise."<sup>1</sup>

5. The names by which the Lord's Supper is known in the New Testament are very simple. This precise term is used in 1 Cor. xi, 20. In 1 Cor. x, 21, Paul speaks of it as "the cup of the Lord," and "the Lord's table." The partaking of it is spoken of in Acts ii, 46, and also in Acts xx, 7, as the breaking of bread; in 1 Cor. xi, 23-25, Paul repeats the words of the institution of the supper as given by Luke in chap. xxii, 19, 20, almost exactly, showing that the tradition of the institution had been carefully preserved. He also explains the purport of this ordinance, as understood by him, and as doubtless taught by him, to the churches which he founded: (1) "For as often as ye eat this bread, and drink this cup, ye do show the

<sup>1</sup> *Church History*, vol. i, pp. 311, 312.

Lord's death till he come" (1 Cor. xi, 26). In the Gentile churches the Lord's Supper was a commemorative rite. (2) It was also the expression of the fellowship of believers with Christ as their Redeemer (1 Cor. x, 16-20). From the fact that Jesus is said in the gospels to have given thanks (*εὐχαριστήσας*) was derived the word "Eucharist," which came into use in the post-apostolic period. Paul's account in 1 Cor. xi, 20-26, proves that the celebration of the Lord's Supper was a settled practice, and accepted as of perpetual obligation. The hour, if we may judge from 1 Cor. xi, 21, and Acts xx, 7, most probably was evening. As to the frequency of the celebration, we learn from Acts ii, 46, that it was at first daily, but very soon this was changed to every Lord's Day. Justin Martyr says of the service of the Christians on this day: "After prayer, bread, wine, and water are brought in. The president of the meeting again prays, according to his ability, and gives thanks, to which the people respond, Amen! After this the bread, wine, and water are distributed to those present, and the deacons carry portions to such as are necessarily detained from the meeting."<sup>1</sup> The rebuke of the Corinthians by Paul (1 Cor. xi, 17-34) sheds light on the mode of celebrating the Lord's Supper in apostolic times. His words are: "When ye come together therefore into one place, this is not to eat the Lord's Supper. For in eating every one taketh before other his own [his private] supper: and one is hungry, and another is drunken. What! have ye not houses to eat and to drink in? or despise ye the church of God, and shame them that have not? What shall I say to you? shall I praise you in this? I praise you not" (xi, 20-22). Here we have a festival, to which each member contributed some of the bread and wine, and which was concluded by the Lord's Supper. Such, however, was the division of feeling among the Corinthians that instead of consuming the provisions in common each ate what he had brought and disregarded the others. The poor were thus made to feel

<sup>1</sup> Justin Martyr, First Apology, chap. lxvii.

their poverty, and some of those who had abundance ate and drank to excess. Hence, Paul asks, "What! have ye not houses to eat and to drink in? or despise ye the church of God, and shame them that have not?"

The Jewish passover meal was social; and so was the Lord's Supper instituted as the sequence of a social meal. In this Corinthian instance we see that the *ἀγάπαι*, or love feasts, preceded the administration of the Lord's Supper. But this term is found only once in the New Testament, namely, in Jude 12. In post-apostolic times, the love feasts and the Lord's Supper were separated. Paul's direction to the Corinthians points to this change: "Wherefore, my brethren, when ye come together to eat, tarry one for another. And if any man hunger, let him eat at home; that ye come not together unto condemnation" (1 Cor. xi, 33, 34). The post-apostolic opinion of the operation of the Lord's Supper shows a change from the view taken in the apostolic age. Justin, in chapter lxvi of his first Apology, speaks of the elements as being not common bread and wine, but "the flesh and blood of that Jesus who was made flesh." His language, which is not very precise, seems to mean that "by virtue of the consecration, the flesh and blood of Christ were really combined with the bread and wine."<sup>1</sup>

## NOTE TO CHAPTER VIII.

### THE TEACHING OF THE TWELVE APOSTLES.

This ancient document was discovered in 1875 by Philotheos Bryennios, Metropolitan of Nicomedia, in the Library of the Church of the Most Holy Sepulchre, Constantinople. It was not made public, however, till 1883. Since that time the manuscript has been removed to Jerusalem; but by the permission of the Patriarch of that city it has been photographed, and the *facsimile* is now to be had in the edition issued by Professor J. Rendel Harris, of the University of Cambridge. The "Teaching" is very ancient. Eusebius mentions it as one of the books not recited as Scripture by the Church of his time.<sup>2</sup> Scholars vary in their estimates of the date of its

<sup>1</sup> Neander, *History of Christian Dogmas*, vol. i, p. 239.

<sup>2</sup> *Church History*, book iii, chap. xxv. The language of Eusebius is: "Among the rejected writings must be reckoned, The Acts of Paul, and the so-called Shepherd, and the Apocalypse of Peter; and in addition to these the extant Epistle of Barnabas, and the so-called Teachings of the Apostles."

composition, some ascribing it to the last part of the first century, and others to the first quarter of the second. It belongs to the interval between the close of the apostolic age and the rise of the Apologists, an interval particularly barren of extant literary remains. The first part presents to the disciple, who is addressed as "my child," the way of life and the way of death; the second part gives instructions for the administration of baptism and the Lord's Supper, and contains information of great value to us; it also includes admonitions in regard to fasting and prayer; the third part treats of apostles, prophets, and teachers, and their reception by the churches; the fourth part is an appeal to the brethren to watch and be ready for the coming of the Lord. The "Teaching," in its tone, is Palestinian, rather than Gentile Christian, and shows the simplicity, and yet dignity, of the early Christian life.

But what is the precise age of this important writing? And how near does it bring us to the apostolic period? This is a mooted question, and the range of dates varies from 75 A. D. as one limit to 165 A. D. as the other. The discoverer of the "Teaching," Bishop Bryennios, makes its date from 120-160 A. D.; Harnack, from 120-165 A. D.; Zahn, from 80-130 A. D.; and Bishop Lightfoot, from 80-100 A. D. On every one of these suppositions it brings us near the close of the apostolic period. Nor is there good ground for believing that the first six chapters are separate in origin and time from the remaining chapters.



## CHAPTER IX.

## THE MORAL SPIRIT OF THE EARLY CHURCH.

CHRISTIANITY can prove itself divine only by the moral renovation of men. It can point with confidence to the change wrought in human conduct as evidence of its supernatural origin. The moral condition of the Gentile world in the apostolic period was so shocking that it cannot be fully described. Paul's arraignment of heathenism in the first chapter of Romans is no more than a faint outline of the truth. To say nothing of the prevalent immorality, parental authority was despotic, extending to the life or death of the child; the exposure of female infants was common throughout the Roman empire; slavery penetrated all ranks of society. The number of slaves far exceeded the number of the freeborn. Estimates of the proportion of bondmen to freemen vary, some writers making it two to one, others three to one, while Gibbon estimates the slave population in the Roman empire as being equal to the free; this, however, is below the usual reckoning. There were individual owners whose slaves numbered hundreds and even thousands. Slaves were not necessarily a debased class; mechanics, merchants, pedagogues, authors were slaves. Horace boasts that he was the son of a slave who had been set free. Captives in war were sold; and in this way almost whole nations were reduced to slavery. Suicide was defended as a dignified mode of exit from life by the most eminent philosophers. The Stoics expended all the wealth of their reasoning to give it honor. "Depart from life," says Seneca, "as your impulse leads you, whether it be by the sword, or the rope, or the poison creeping through the veins; go your way and break the chains of slavery. Man should seek the approbation of others in his life; his death concerns himself alone. The eternal law

has decreed nothing better than this, that life should have but one entrance and many exits. For this reason, but for this alone, life can be esteemed no just cause of complaint, that no one is obliged to live. The lot of man is happy because no one continues wretched but by his fault. If life pleases you, live; if not, you have a right to return whence you came."

By the Roman law wives could be divorced at pleasure. Gladiatorial shows were the chief popular amusement of Rome and other cities of the empire; in these very many lives were annually sacrificed. Even the virtues of antiquity, the virtues extolled by the Stoics—magnanimity, fortitude, and justice—were hard. The Stoics, who were the most earnest cultivators of pure morals, considered human affections to be of the nature of a disease. "Thus Seneca," says Lecky, "has elaborated at length the distinction between clemency and pity, the first being one of the highest virtues, the latter a positive vice. 'Clemency,' he says, 'is an habitual disposition to gentleness in the application of punishments. Pity is the weakness of a feeble mind that flinches at the sight of suffering. Clemency, in the midst of its noblest efforts, is perfectly passionless; pity is unreasoning emotion. Clemency is an essential character of the sage; pity is only suited for weak women and for diseased minds.'"<sup>1</sup> The Gentile ideal of virtue was, therefore, directly the opposite of the ideal of virtue in the Gospel. Judged by the Stoic standards Jesus Christ would be altogether a contemptible person; for his moving impulse was pity. To establish Christian virtue necessarily required a revolution in all the modes of thought of antiquity. A new standard of supreme human excellence had to be set up. If the classic models of virtue were the sage, the patriot, the soldier, the orator, the one model exhibited in the New Testament is the child, whose chief characteristic is the sense of dependence. Some of the Christian virtues were either unknown to the ancients or despised by them. They scorned humility as a degradation of

<sup>1</sup> *History of European Morals*, vol. i, p. 199.

manhood. But more than all, the spirit of the ancient world was everywhere cruel. Paul's terrible indictment, already referred to, ascribed these qualities to heathenism, "without natural affection, implacable, unmerciful" (Rom. i, 31).

After accomplishing the personal salvation of believers, the first step of apostolic Christianity in the redemption of the world was to reorganize the family. The heathen world into which Paul entered was in part polygamous, and when not polygamous was debased by the prevalence of concubinage and divorce; even the code of Moses tolerated polygamy. Christianity is a monogamous religion, and under its laws the marriage bond is indissoluble save for a single cause (Matt. xix, 3-9; 1 Cor. vii, 9, 10). In the Christian system the relation of the husband to the wife is analogous to that of Christ to the Church, and the relation of the wife to the husband is analogous to that of the Church to Christ (Eph. v, 22-29). This single statement gives to marriage a sanctity of which heathenism had no conception. The same purifying power was brought into the relation of parents to children. Under the Roman law the newly born child was brought to the father, who decided whether it should live or be exposed to perish. In Eph. vi, 4, fathers are exhorted to bring up their children "in the nurture and admonition of the Lord," and in Col. iii, 21, not to be bitter against them. The Christian estimate of the sacredness of marriage could not fail to impress itself on the relation of parents and children to each other.

The apostles could do nothing for the extirpation of slavery as a system, for they had no civil power. The Roman empire was governed by a single master, whose will was law; there was in the empire no possible appeal to public opinion. That system of agitation of moral questions, with a view to political reform, which is so important a factor of modern life, had no place in Roman civilization. In 1 Cor. vii, 21, 22, Paul directs the slave who has become a believer to abide in that condition, but, if he can, to obtain his freedom: "Art thou called being a

servant [slave]? care not for it: but if thou mayest be made free, use it rather. For he that is called in the Lord, being a servant [slave], is the Lord's freeman: likewise also he that is called, being free, is Christ's servant [slave]." And Paul sends back the runaway slave, Onesimus, not in chains, but with a beautiful letter, telling his master Philemon to receive him as he would the apostle himself (Philem. 16, 17).

But the most powerful influence of apostolic Christianity in neutralizing slavery was its constant representation that in Jesus Christ all artificial distinctions between man and man are abolished. Thus in Gal. iii, 28, Paul says, "There is neither Jew nor Greek, there is neither bond nor free, there is neither male nor female: for ye are all one in Christ Jesus." Rom. x, 12, and 1 Cor. xii, 13, repeat this thought in almost the same terms. In Col. iv, 1, Paul says, "Masters, give unto your servants that which is just and equal; knowing that ye also have a Master in heaven." Eph. vi, 5-9, is of the same purport. Servants are here exhorted to "be obedient to them that are your masters according to the flesh, with fear and trembling, in singleness of your heart, as unto Christ." The doctrine of the universal priesthood, which implies the equality of all believers before Christ, totally changed the character of the system of slavery, and prepared the way for its extinction.

The feature which most distinguishes the moral spirit of the early Christians is their effort to reach the lofty ideal exhibited in the character of Christ. To this the apostolic exhortations continually urged them. "Let this mind," says Paul, "be in you, which was also in Christ Jesus" (Phil. ii, 5). "Even as Christ forgave you, so also do ye" (Col. iii, 13). "Looking unto Jesus," says the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews, "the author and finisher of our faith: . . . consider him that endured such contradiction of sinners against himself" (Heb. xii, 2, 3). Peter follows in the same strain: "Christ also suffered for us, leaving us an example, that ye should follow his steps" (1 Peter ii, 21). Thus in life and worship the ethical and the spiritual

were wholly interfused. Thus, too, was the city of God established in the midst of the city of the world and mankind prepared for a new moral creation. The early Gentile Christians were by no means drawn from the choicest spirits of society. Paul, enumerating to the Corinthians the vile classes of the heathen world, adds, "And such were some of you" (1 Cor. vi, 9-11). That the apostolic counsels produced their effect in a strenuous effort of the Church to become Christ-like we can see from the epistles. When we reach the sub-apostolic age it becomes clear that the New Testament ideal had been measurably attained, and that a wholly new life had appeared in the midst of heathenism. Pliny, as we have seen, bears testimony that when the Christians met on the Lord's Day, they bound themselves by a solemn covenant not to do wrong things. Aristides in his *Apology* tells the emperor that Christian practice is precisely the opposite of the practice of heathen society. The author of the *Epistle to Diognetus* pays an eloquent tribute to the moral spirit of Christians as he knew them: "The Christians are not distinguished from the rest of mankind either by nationality or language. They have no separate cities, they use no special dialect, they practice no peculiar mode of life. They marry and bring up families like other folk, but they do not, like others, expose their infant children. They obey the established laws, and yet by their individual lives they surpass the laws. They love all men, and yet are persecuted by all. They are put to death, and yet are raised to life. They are poor, and yet make many rich. They are dishonored, and yet by their dishonor are covered with glory. They are defamed, and yet are counted righteous. They are reviled, and bless. They are insulted, and entreat men honorably. They do good, and are punished as evil-doers, and when punished they rejoice, as being raised to life."<sup>1</sup>

This anonymous document may date from the time of the emperor Marcus Aurelius (161-180); but more precise and

<sup>1</sup> From Cruttwell's *Literary History of Early Christianity*, vol. i, pp. 305, 306.



equally beautiful is the testimony of the apologist Aristides to the charity of the Christians in the time of Hadrian (117-138): "And he who has gives to him who has not without grudging; and when they see the stranger they bring him to their dwellings, and rejoice over him as a true brother; for they do not call brothers those who are after the flesh, but those who are in the spirit and in God; but when one of their poor passes away from the world, and any of them sees him, then he provides for his burial according to his ability, and if they hear that any of their number is imprisoned or oppressed for the name of their Messiah, all of them provide for his needs, and if it is possible that he may be delivered, they deliver him. And if there is among them a man that is poor or needy, and they have not an abundance of necessaries, they fast two or three days that they may supply the needy with their necessary food."

Next to purity the distinguishing moral trait of apostolic Christianity was benevolence. The characteristic virtues of the Gospel are enumerated in Gal. v, 22, 23: "The fruit of the Spirit is love, joy, peace, long-suffering, gentleness, goodness, faith, meekness, temperance." The catalogue corresponds nearly with that in 2 Peter i, 5-7. The benevolence of the early Christians was exhibited in the care of the poor which is manifest throughout the epistles and the Acts (Acts vi, 1, 2; see also 1 Tim. v, 2-10). In the free distribution of goods by the first converts, and the care of the sick and the destitute, apostolic Christianity laid the broad foundation of the whole structure of charity. Christianity also recognized the right of holding property, but carefully directed its use. Says Uhlhorn, "Nowhere can we find a trace of wealth being considered sinful, or as springing from sin. It is called uncertain in 1 Tim. vi, 17, and a Christian is enjoined not to be proud of nor to trust in his riches. And they that would be rich are warned (1 Tim. vi, 9) because so many temptations accompany wealth, but its possession in itself is recognized. St. John does not command the rich to throw away their riches, but to have an open hand



for a needy brother. Recognizing the rights of property, the apostle Paul lays great stress on the duty of almsgiving. He reminds us that the Lord gave himself for us, and that for our sakes he became poor (2 Cor. viii, 9). He points to the harvest which is to follow the sowing (2 Cor. ix, 6), and urgently exhorts to a contribution for the poor saints in Jerusalem (2 Cor. viii, 14). He praises the churches of Macedonia which had given almost beyond their power (2 Cor. viii, 2, 3). But nowhere is there a hint that it is a duty to give a certain proportion, but he insists that it is entirely at the free choice of the individual whether and how much he will give. 'Every man according as he purposeth in his heart, so let him give: not grudgingly, or of necessity: for God loveth a cheerful giver' (2 Cor. ix, 7; viii, 11; Rom. xii, 8). In like manner the apostles enjoined on the believers the duty of hospitality. It is required of a widow that 'she have washed the saints' feet' (1 Tim. v, 10). Be 'given to hospitality,' says Paul (Rom. xii, 13). 'Use hospitality without grudging,' says St. Peter (1 Peter iv, 9). Nay, the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews recalls that great reward of hospitality that 'some have entertained angels unawares' (Heb. xiii, 2)."

To show the full effect of the working of the compassionate spirit of apostolic Christianity we must proceed to the post-apostolic age. "A Roman lady," says Lecky, "named Fabiola, in the fourth century founded at Rome, as an act of penance, the first public hospital, and the charity planted by that woman's hand overspread the world, and will alleviate, to the end of time, the darkest anguish of humanity. Another hospital was soon founded by St. Pammachus; another of great celebrity by St. Basil, at Cæsarea in Cappadocia. St. Basil also erected at Cæsarea what was practically the first asylum for lepers. Xenodochia, or refuges for strangers, speedily arose, especially along the paths of the pilgrims. The Council of Nice ordered that one should be erected in every city. In the time of St. Chrysostom

<sup>1</sup> Uhlhorn, *Christian Charity in the Ancient Church*, pp. 84, 85, 91.

the church of Antioch supported three thousand widows and virgins, besides strangers and sick. St. Ephrem, in a time of pestilence, emerged from solitude to found and superintend a hospital at Edessa."<sup>1</sup> This is the fruit of which we see the germs in the New Testament. The same working of Christian benevolence appears through the post-apostolic period, in the suppression by the Church of the cruel sports of antiquity. The barbarism of the gladiatorial shows is evidenced by a few facts. At the triumph of Aurelian eight hundred pairs of gladiators fought; during some games given by Trajan, ten thousand; under Nero and Domitian female gladiators contended in the arena; and the latter emperor compelled an army of feeble dwarfs to fight for the amusement of the Roman populace. The post-apostolic Church expelled all members who frequented these shows and bore its testimony steadfastly against them. Athenagoras, in his *Embassy*, tells the emperor that the Christians of his time considered attendance upon these games to be as sinful as participation in them. The last at Rome in which men fought occurred A. D. 404, when a monk, named Telemachus, rushed into the arena, and parted the combatants. The spectators killed him with stones, but his death led to the suppression of the games. It is a singular fact that the gladiatorial show in which Telemachus interfered was given by the people of Rome as a tribute of honor to the Christian emperor Honorius, who had come from Ravenna to visit the capital city.

In the brief New Testament narrative we have no picture of the change wrought in the household relations by early Christianity. Trained in Judaism, the apostles had a higher ideal of the purity of family life than was prevalent in the Gentile world. The Bible was a text-book in the families of the early Christians. Sacred psalmody was cultivated, and was used in the training of children. Tertullian gives these instructions: "Speak of divine things not only in the social circle, but in the

<sup>1</sup> *History of European Morals*, vol. ii, pp. 85, 86.

family; the husband with the wife, the father with the child, and very frequently renew the subject. Let no man affirm that the child needs not to be addressed on these topics; for they must be discoursed of, not only sometimes but at all times." The influence of Christian mothers became conspicuous in the Church; Augustine and Chrysostom were brought to Christ through the instruction of their mothers, the former after a long wandering in sin. "After their private devotions," said Coleman, "the family met for united prayer, which was uniformly accompanied with the reading of the Scriptures. The recital of such doctrinal and practical sentiments as might best fortify them against the prevailing scandals and heresies of the times constituted also, as it would seem, part of their devotional exercises. In the family, as in all their devotions, the primitive Christians delighted to sing their sacred songs. At the table they reverently sought the blessing of God. Several of these examples of prayer before meals are given at length in the fathers. Here, also, they rehearsed some portions of Scripture and sang praises to God; ■ custom which Clement of Alexandria and Chrysostom earnestly recommend. The meal being ended, they concluded with prayer, giving thanks for the blessings received and supplicating a continuance of the divine mercy. The day was closed by devotions renewed in much the same manner as in the morning."<sup>1</sup>

We can have no doubt that these practices originated in the apostolic period and are the expression of its spirit. To this result all the careful instructions of the apostles lead.

<sup>1</sup> *Ancient Christianity Exemplified*, p. 67.

## CHAPTER X.

## THE GOVERNMENT OF THE EARLY CHURCH—FURTHER DEVELOPMENT.

It will help us to understand the character of the offices and the officers of the early Christian Church if we examine the composition of the Jewish synagogue, which served the first believers as a model.

Sacrifices could be offered only in the temple; but in the earliest times, in the schools of the prophets, the people were assembled on the Sabbath and taught. During the captivity in Babylon the Jews were accustomed to gather about some pious man or prophet, who instructed them, and especially the youth, out of the sacred books. These meetings, in process of time, became fixed at certain places. Such was the origin of the synagogue. There were in the synagogue no regular teachers who were specially appointed to deliver discourses to the people. In the time of Christ, the person who read the portion for the Sabbath, or anyone else who was of good repute for learning, addressed the people. In Luke iv, 20, Jesus delivers the address at Nazareth; in Acts xiii, 15, Paul and Barnabas are invited by the rulers of the synagogue at Antioch in Pisidia to speak. The elders, also called rulers, could inflict expulsion on any member. John xii, 42, says, "Nevertheless among the chief rulers also many believed on him; but because of the Pharisees they did not confess him, lest they should be put out of the synagogue." There was a servant who handed the book of the law to the reader. In Luke iv, 20, it is said that Jesus closed the book and gave it again to the minister, that is, to the servant. These facts will account for much in the organization of the early Church. If we suppose the case of the conversion to Christianity of an entire synagogue, or the most of its mem-

bers, there would be nothing to interrupt the established order of life. The elders would still preside; what was distinctly Christian would be added to what was distinctly Jewish. In Christian societies composed of Jews and Gentiles, we may suppose that the shaping of the organization would be guided by the apostles, who would naturally fall upon the system in which they had been educated, not, however, without such modifications as Gentile usage demanded. Paul, after preaching in the synagogue of Ephesus for three months, separated the disciples from the unbelieving Jews, and occupied for two years the school of one Tyrannus (Acts xix, 9), where, no doubt, Gentile converts were gathered. And it is in the parting at Miletus from the elders of Ephesus that he calls them *ἐπισκόπους* (Acts xx, 28), showing how easily the term had sprung up in a Gentile community and in a mixed church of Jewish and Gentile disciples.

If we read the New Testament aright, we shall hardly fail to see that in its pages no form of Church government is prescribed. It is not difficult to draw the line firmly between what was of divine gift and what was of human development, guided, of course, by the superintendence of the Church's Head. The Spirit gave "apostles, prophets, evangelists, pastors, and teachers;" he gave "governments and helps,"—the qualities requisite for administration; but the outshaping of these gifts into polity was left to human hands. We are sometimes confronted by the statement that Paul appointed Timothy bishop of Ephesus, and Titus bishop of Crete, but there is no evidence of the fact; the statement is found in the subscription to some late manuscripts of the epistles to these men; it pertains in no way to their texts.<sup>1</sup> Moreover, Christianity, in matters of form, attaches itself to what is already existing, modifying what it adopts to suit its own purposes. Presbyters, bishops, synods, order, ordination were terms current in the civic life of the apostolic age and perfectly well understood. The Church used them to ex-

<sup>1</sup> See Hatch, *Bampton Lectures*, Lect. IV, pp. 87, 88.

press similar relations among its own members, and in a sense corresponding with the established definition of each.

We may inquire next, How were the officers chosen? The evidence points to a cooperation of the people in their selection. The whole body of the disciples participated in the choice of the two—Joseph and Matthias—of whom one was to take the place of Judas (Acts i, 15-26). The believers chose the seven who were to serve tables, and their choice was confirmed by the apostles (Acts vi, 1-6). Paul and Barnabas, we are told in Acts xiv, 23, “ordained them elders in every church,” but the word used is indicative of the assent of the church. No doubt the apostles had great influence in the choice of officers, and, no doubt, also named them when the church was young and immature; yet they exercised their influence in no arbitrary spirit. “But from the fact,” says Neander, “that Paul committed to his disciples, Timothy and Titus, the appointment of presbyters and deacons, and called their attention to the qualifications for such offices, we are by no means justified in concluding that they performed all this alone without the cooperation of the churches. The manner in which Paul was wont to address himself to the whole Church and to take into the account the cooperation of the whole community, which must be apparent to everyone in reading his epistles, leads us to expect that where a church was already established he would admit it as a party in the common concerns.”

But what, in point of fact, was the position of the laity in the early Church? We have already indicated that the priesthood of believers made all Christians equal before God, and that the spiritual gifts (charisms) showed by whom special functions were to be performed. As long as these gifts were bestowed, the distinction between clergy and laity was impossible. The apostles alone, as founders and organizers, stood above all, but they discharged the duty of founding and organizing in a spirit of deep humility. From the New Testament records we can get little information upon our question, for the



very terms clergy and laity were still nonexistent. Indeed, 1 Peter v, 3, warns the elders not to "lord it" over God's heritage (τῶν κληρῶν), by which term this apostle describes the whole body of Christians. The people were, in his view, ὁ κληρος, the heritage of God. We must, therefore, go to the sub-apostolic age for the answer to our inquiry. Origen (185-254), while a layman, preached; the "Apostolical Constitutions" say: "Even if a teacher be a layman, still, if he be skilled in the word, and reverent in habit, let him teach; for the Scripture says, 'They shall all be taught of God.'" Tertullian claims that when no church officer is present baptism may be administered by a layman.<sup>1</sup> It has been argued that the exhortations of Ignatius that there should be no eucharist without the bishop imply that there had been administrations of the Lord's Supper without the presence of church officers; but this is, at best, a doubtful inference. As to discipline, we know from First Corinthians that the trial of offenders pertained among them to the whole body of believers; and most probably the practice was the same among the other Pauline churches. The Epistle of Clement is addressed in the name of the Church of Rome to the church of Corinth (chap. i), and is a dissuasive from the removal of officers by the congregation.<sup>2</sup> And although Clement speaks of the appointment of bishops by the apostles and other eminent men, yet he affirms that this was done with the consent of the Church (chap. xlv). The fiction of the administration of Church affairs by the divine right of the ministry has nothing solid in the New Testament to stand upon. The officers appear, even when named by apostles, to act as representatives of the congregation.

The induction to office was by the laying on of hands, called ordination. This ceremony is borrowed from Judaism (Num. xxvii, 18-23). Ordination was sometimes administered for

<sup>1</sup> *De Baptismo*, chap. xvii.

<sup>2</sup> See Hatch, *Bampton Lectures*, pp. 116-119, from whom I have taken these examples.

temporary purposes. Thus Paul and Barnabas were ordained by the church of Antioch for the special work to which God had called them (Acts xiii, 3). Ordination was performed unquestionably by the apostles, and also by their representatives, such as Timothy and Titus (Titus i, 5); it was performed by Barnabas in association with Paul (Acts xiv, 23), and also by presbyters (1 Tim. iv, 14): "Neglect not the gift that is in thee, which was given thee by prophecy, with the laying on of the hands of the presbytery." The word *χειροτονεῖν* which is used in Acts xiv, 23, and 2 Cor. viii, 19, signifies in classical Greek "to appoint to office." This was its meaning in the early period of Church history. The Latin word *ordinare* is said by Hatch to be found in almost all writers, from Tertullian onward, and is applied to the appointment of magistrates. "It is evident," says Hatch, "that most of the phrases which were in use in the earlier period to denote appointment to office in the Church were also in use to denote appointment to office or promotion to dignity in the empire. It may reasonably be inferred that they had in the former case meanings analogous to those which they had in the latter."<sup>1</sup> If this be so the whole subject of ordination is greatly simplified.

The terms bishop and presbyter undoubtedly refer to the same office. Presbyter was the Jewish designation; bishop or overseer, the Greek. The New Testament bishops were officers of congregations, not rulers of dioceses; they were the elders of the church in a town or city; of their identity the following passages are proofs:

1. In Acts xx, 28, Paul says to the elders of Ephesus, "Take heed therefore unto yourselves, and to all the flock, over the which the Holy Ghost hath made you bishops" (*ἐπισκόπους*).

2. In Phil. i, 1, Paul addresses the saints at Philippi, "with the bishops and deacons." Here presbyters are not named; yet it is the purpose of Paul to address the chief officers of the church; by bishops he no doubt meant presbyters.

<sup>1</sup> Article "Ordination," in Smith and Cheetham's *Dictionary of Christian Antiquities*, vol. ii.

3. In the pastoral epistles the usage of speech is the same : (a) In Titus i, 5, Paul directs Titus to ordain elders in every city. Then, speaking of the qualifications to be looked for, he writes, "For a bishop must be blameless." He has in his mind an elder and calls him by this second name. (b) In 1 Tim. iii, 1-7, Paul sets forth the qualifications of bishops ; and then in 8-13 those of deacons ; he does not name presbyters at all. In giving such important instructions he would not have omitted to mention presbyters had they not been identical with bishops.

4. Peter in his First Epistle, v, 1-3, exhorts the presbyters, as himself being a copresbyter, and tells them to feed the flock of God, taking the oversight (*ἐπισκοποῦντες*), that is, acting as bishops.<sup>1</sup>

5. We find these terms to be interchangeable in Clement of Rome. He writes that the apostles, preaching in every city or country, appointed their first fruits, having tested them by the Spirit, to be bishops and deacons unto them that should believe (chap. xlii). A little later (chap. xliv) he writes: "Our apostles knew, through our Lord Jesus Christ, that there would be strife concerning the authority of the bishopric. We shall incur no slight guilt if we eject from the bishopric those who have presented the offerings unblameably and holily. Blessed are the presbyters who have gone before, whose departure was crowned with fruit."

The appointment of deacons in the church at Jerusalem has already been noticed. The same officers were appointed by the Gentile churches. The deacons were everywhere employed to distribute alms to the poor and to visit the sick. The charism of "helps" may have prepared the qualifications needed for this office. Deacons are mentioned in Rom. xii, 7: "Or ministry, let us wait on our ministering;" in Phil. i, 1: "with the bishops and deacons." In the First Epis-

<sup>1</sup> It is very evident from this passage that Peter regards the presbyters as the highest officers in the churches addressed by him. The omission from some recently edited texts of the word *ἐπισκοποῦντες* does not affect the argument.

tle to Timothy the qualifications of a deacon are carefully described. The qualities mentioned by Paul in 1 Tim. iii, 8, 9, are uprightness, temperance, freedom from covetousness, and soundness in the faith. From the nature of the case their functions were pastoral; for the distribution of Christian alms has been in all ages the occasion for the giving of Christian consolation. A Christian officer appointed to visit the sick can hardly make a prayerless visitation. The last qualification named, soundness in the faith, points to their participation in teaching. "That these helpers at this time also preached the Gospel follows from the general liberty to teach, and is explicitly confirmed by the example of Stephen (Acts vi, 8-10; Acts vii), and of Philip, also one of the seven deacons of Jerusalem (Acts viii, 5-26)."<sup>1</sup> In Acts xxi, 8, Philip is called an evangelist, and in 1 Tim. iii, 13, Paul says, "They that have used the office of a deacon well purchase to themselves a good degree," which is usually supposed to mean a promotion to the presbytery.

The apostles exercised authority in no arbitrary spirit; they were not lords of God's heritage. A beautiful example of their instructions on this point is found in 1 Peter v, 1-5, where, in describing the duties of the elders to the flock, he adds, "Yea, all of you be subject one to another, and be clothed with humility." The apostles acted together as one body, and they might have naturally claimed to be autocratic. Yet they never appear to have settled any important question without the free consent of the people. "They demanded," says Schaff, "no acknowledgment of their authority which did not spring from the actual experience of the power of divine truth in the hearts of the people themselves. From all tyranny over conscience, from all arbitrary hierarchical despotism, they were infinitely removed. They regarded the object of the Church as one to be attained, not by some governing and others being governed, but by the active cooperation and mutual fraternal assistance of all

<sup>1</sup> Schaff, *History of the Apostolic Church*, first edition, p. 534.

under the common head, the Redeemer of the whole body " (Eph. iv).

Yet the Church was not without government; it was not a realm of disorder in which each followed the promptings of his own self-will. Obedience to lawful authority was strictly inculcated. "Obey them," says the apostle to the Hebrews, "that have the rule over you, and submit yourselves: for they watch for your souls, as they that must give account, that they may do it with joy, and not with grief" (chap. xiii, 17). The two epistles to the Corinthians are proofs of most energetic and efficient government, and yet of government administered with the utmost tenderness of brotherly love. In 1 Cor. xvi, 15, 16, Paul enjoins obedience to his helpers: "I beseech you, brethren, that ye submit yourselves unto such, and to every one that helpeth with us, and laboreth." That there was no broad line of separation between the officers and the people, making the governed a subject class, is evident from the fact that the apostolic epistles are addressed not to officers alone, but to the entire churches.

The discipline was administered in the apostolic Church, if with tenderness, yet with strictness. Its members were not perfect; on the contrary, they were very imperfect. The Gentile believers especially, from their long contact with heathenism, had been accustomed to lax ideas of morality. It was the work of the apostle to raise them to a higher plane of life. We have a picture of the apostolic method of correcting disorder in the two epistles of Paul to the Corinthians, to which reference has already been made. Never was a church more enriched with spiritual gifts, and never was a church, in the primitive period, more disorderly. It was split into parties, had tolerated an instance of gross unchastity, had perverted the Lord's Supper into a scene of confusion; some of the members had gone to law with one another before heathen judges, and some had partaken of idolatrous sacrificial meats. Indeed, all the epistles are evidence of the unceasing efforts of the founders of the Church to maintain Chris-



tian purity by applying correctives, in the spirit of love, to the evils which, from time to time, appeared.

Corrective discipline was administered by the church or congregation, and, whenever practicable, under apostolic advice. Paul writes to the Galatians: "If a man be overtaken in a fault, ye which are spiritual, restore such an one in the spirit of meekness; considering thyself, lest thou also be tempted" (Gal. vi, 1). And in the dreadful case of incest which appeared in the church of Corinth, he unites in spirit with the church when they are gathered together for the purpose of trying the offender: "For I verily, as absent in body, but present in spirit, have judged already, as though I were present, concerning him that hath so done this deed, in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, when ye are gathered together, and my spirit, with the power of our Lord Jesus Christ, to deliver such an one unto Satan for the destruction of the flesh, that the spirit may be saved in the day of the Lord Jesus" (1 Cor. v, 3-5).

This passage shows decisively how the apostles recognized the cooperation of the body of believers in disciplinary measures. Paul virtually commands the exclusion of the sinning member, but associates himself with the church, so that the act of exclusion may be its own. He says plainly that when they are assembled for the examination of the offender, they are gathered together with the power of the Lord Jesus Christ. In 1 Cor. vi, 1-6, Paul directs the church to decide disputed questions of money or property by a reference to the brethren. In this decision Paul gives us another view of apostolic discipline, and lays down a rule which has been observed among Christians to this day.



## CHAPTER XL

## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS—CLEMENT OF ROME.

WHEN we pass in Church history beyond the apostolic age we are, at once, sensible of a great change. The apostolic fathers, so called, who were next in time to the apostles, to wit, Barnabas, Clement of Rome, Ignatius, Polycarp, and Hermas, lack in their writings the sobriety of the founders of the Christian Church. In reaching them it is easy to see that we have left the age of inspiration. Nothing more clearly proves that the apostles were supernaturally endowed than the fall of the thought of their successors to a lower plane. Yet, as Schaff beautifully says, "The productions of these successors still shine with the evening red of the apostolic day." The enthusiasm, the patience in suffering, the moral earnestness of the apostolic Church, are here. What is wanting is the creative vigor which marked the period of inspiration. These fathers follow the apostolic form of composition; they do not, however, so much argue as exhort; yet in their epistles are to be found the germs of the doctrines which appear fully matured in the creeds of the Church. Though grouped together, they are not equally strong in conception and expression. Clement and Ignatius, in these particulars, far surpass the other three. From the calmness of Clement to the fiery zeal of Ignatius is a long interval; but both alike deal effectively with the subjects which they take in hand.

Clement of Rome was bishop of that city from 92 to 100 A. D., during the reigns of Domitian, Nerva, and Trajan. Beyond this fact nothing is certainly known of him. Irenæus says of him that he saw and conversed with Peter and Paul. By some he is identified with the Clement mentioned in Phil. iv, 3; but this Clement was most probably a Philippian. Bishop Light-

foot conjectures that "he was a man of Jewish parentage, a freedman, or the son of a freedman, belonging to the house of Flavius Clemens, the cousin of the emperor Domitian." We know from the Epistle to the Philippians that there were even then Christians in Cæsar's household; and we know also from secular history that Flavius Clemens, the emperor's cousin, suffered death for the Christian faith, and that his wife, Domitilla, was banished for the same cause. We have reason to believe that Cæsar's household was a stronghold of Christianity during many imperial reigns. When Diocletian began his persecution, he found that the men in closest personal association with himself were Christians.

We have from Clement one undoubted composition, his Epistle to the Corinthians. It was occasioned by dissensions in the Church of Corinth, similar to those which broke out in the time of Paul. On behalf of the Church of Rome, Clement expostulates with the Corinthians and urges them to be at peace with one another. The relation of Rome to Corinth here is that of influence, commanding influence, but not of authority. The mode of address shows throughout the ascendancy of the Church (not the Bishop) of Rome. It is the ascendancy which Ignatius calls the "presidency of love," and is such as might be expected of the Christian Church of the capital of the world. It is his Church which is always put forward by Clement; he never emphasizes his own episcopal authority. His opening words are: "The Church of God which sojourneth in Rome to the Church of God which sojourneth in Corinth." And yet this Roman Church speaks by the Spirit: "Ye will give us great joy and gladness if ye render obedience unto the things written by us through the Holy Spirit" (chap. lxiii). On this point Bishop Lightfoot says well: "The later Roman theory supposes that the Church of Rome derives all its authority from the Bishop of Rome, as the successor of St. Peter. History inverts this relation, and shows that, as a matter of fact, the power of the Bishop of Rome was built upon the power of the Church of

Rome. It was originally a primacy, not of the episcopate, but of the Church.”<sup>1</sup>

The only manuscript of the epistle known till recently was that bound up in the Alexandrian Codex of the Bible, now in the British Museum, and presented to Charles I by Cyril Lucar. This manuscript is incomplete, lacking as much of the latter end as would make one tenth of the whole. In 1875 the full text of this and of the so-called “Second Epistle” of Clement was published at Constantinople by Philotheos Bryennios, Metropolitan of Serræ, from a manuscript in the library of the Church of the Most Holy Sepulchre in that city. The date of this Bryennios manuscript is 1056 A. D. A few months later in the same year a Syriac version of the two Epistles of Clement was offered for sale in Paris as part of the effects of a deceased French scholar, and was purchased by the University of Cambridge. This version is complete and corresponds with the Greek manuscript of Bryennios ; its date is 1170 A. D. Unquestionably the estimate of the value of the Epistle of Clement has been greatly increased by its recovery in its complete form. We can see it now as a whole, and can make a satisfactory synopsis of its contents. Although it appears at first sight to be discursive, and is in some passages highly rhetorical, a consistent method is maintained throughout. The epistle divides itself naturally into two parts : (1) From chap. i to chap. xl, it contains the general considerations through which the writer hopes to influence the minds of the Corinthian Christians. (2) From chap. xl to the end, he applies these considerations to the case in hand.

After commending the good name of the Corinthian church, Clement speaks (1) Of the evil of jealousy and the blessedness of repentance. (2) He urges that we should follow the examples of those who have been perfect in obedience. (3) Christ is with the lowly-minded, as we can see from the examples of lowly-mindedness in Scripture. (4) God is a God of order,

<sup>1</sup> *St. Clement of Rome, Appendix*, p. 254.

as may be observed from his government of the visible universe. (5) We should be more bound to obedience by the fact that there will be a resurrection of the dead. (6) We are the special heritage of God, and therefore should forsake all evil. (7) We should be diligent in well-doing, for God will recompense us according to our works. (8) As in an army some command and some obey, and as in the body all the members unite in subjection, so must we be subject to one another.

The second part is practical, and comes directly to the seditions in the Corinthian church. Its points may be thus arranged: (1) Seeing that these things are manifest, we should do all things in order, and the ministrations should be performed in due season and by those appointed to perform them. Here is, no doubt, the application of the highly wrought description of God's government of the creation. Clement reasons that God would have the Church administered in the same orderly way. (2) The apostles foresaw that there would be strife over the bishop's office. They appointed, therefore, fit persons bishops and provided for their continuance. We consider those who have been so appointed and have ministered worthily to be unjustly thrust out from their places. (3) Righteous persons have not been thrust out by the righteous, but by the lawless, as we can see from many examples. (4) Ye are repeating the sedition for which Paul rebuked you. Root out this sedition with repentance and in love. (5) He that walketh in love will make sacrifices for the peace of the Church. Let him, therefore, who is a cause of sedition, retire. (6) Ye, then, who have laid the foundation of sedition, submit yourselves to the presbyters and receive chastisement unto repentance. (7) Let us join in prayer for the whole state of God's Church throughout the world. (8) The conclusion, with the benediction.

The evidence of the authorship of the Epistle of Clement is derived from Eusebius, and Origen's Commentary on John, and the general testimony of antiquity. We know that it was read in the church as an edifying work along with the apostolic

writings; from its text we learn that it was composed during, or immediately after, a persecution in Rome; and, if we assume the Domitian persecution, its date would be 97 A. D.

The contents of the Epistle of Clement show it to be Pauline in spirit, there being references to Paul and citations of his language. Paul and Peter are, however, held in equal honor by the writer; chap. xlvii names Paul's First Epistle to the Corinthians; chap. xlix refers to love in terms which are evidently suggested by 1 Cor. xiii, and also 1 Peter iv, 8; chaps. xxxi and xxxii speak of justification by faith, the great thought of Rom. vi; chap. xxxvi quotes at length the last verses of chap. i of the Epistle to the Hebrews. Chap. xvii says, "Let us be imitators also of them who went about in goat-skins and sheepskins."<sup>1</sup> In chap. xxxiv the language of Paul in 1 Cor. ii, 9, "Eye hath not seen, nor ear heard," etc., is repeated. In chap. xlvi the words of Jesus are quoted, "Woe unto that man, it were good for him if he had not been born" (Matt. xxvi, 24; Mark ix, 42). The evidential value of these citations is very great; they show that the written documents quoted were accepted by the Christians of A. D. 97 and were in general circulation. The manner of citation, which is not formal, naming chapter and verse, also implies that they were well known. Clement's generation overlaps the apostolic generation and touches the beginning of the Christian Church. As to its style, this epistle has been sharply criticised, too sharply, perhaps. There is an excess of rhetoric, and we miss the restraint and vigor of the apostolic writings. The weakest passage is paragraph xxv, in which the fable of the phoenix is used as an argument to prove the doctrine of the resurrection of the body, but at the same time the Pauline argument in 1 Cor. xv is not forgotten. Moreover, the scientific observation of nature was not a strong point in ancient classical culture. Other fathers follow Clement in the use of this fable as a symbol of the

<sup>1</sup> The translation used is Lightfoot's; from *St. Clement of Rome, Appendix*.



resurrection. Even Tacitus and Pliny state that the phoenix reappeared in Egypt after an interval of two hundred and fifty years.<sup>1</sup> On the other hand, its tone is most admirable, and the prayer with which it closes, and which was first made known by the Bryennios manuscript, is solemn, weighty in its language, and breathes the Christian spirit in supplications for the rulers who persecute the Church. This prayer is the oldest known of post-apostolic Christianity.

Doctrinally, also, this epistle is very interesting to the student. (1) The divinity of Christ is implied in such passages as chap. xx: "Our Lord Jesus, to whom be the glory and the majesty forever and ever." Also from Heb. i, already quoted (chap. xxxvi); also in the affirmation of the Trinity (chap. lviii): "For as God liveth, and the Lord Jesus Christ liveth, and the Holy Spirit, who are the faith and the hope of the elect." (2) Justification by faith is clearly set forth in the epistle: "And so we, having been called through his will in Christ Jesus, are not justified through ourselves, or through our own wisdom, or understanding, or piety, or works, which we have wrought in holiness of heart; but through faith, whereby the Almighty God justified all men that have been from the beginning" (chap. xxxii). The blood of Christ is described as the ground of our salvation: "Let us fix our eyes on the blood of Christ and understand how precious it is unto his Father, because being shed for our salvation it won for the whole world the grace of repentance" (chap. vii). "Let us fear the Lord Jesus, whose blood was given for us" (chap. xxi).

This chief of the apostolic fathers, from whom we have the oldest extant post-apostolic writing, worthily holds his place at the head of all uninspired Christian literature. He stands between the apostles and the apologists, and is one of the links that bind both together. The deep impression made by the apostolic mind and character is visible in every page of this Epistle to the Corinthians. To live as the apostles lived, to

<sup>1</sup> See Schaff's *Church History*, vol. ii, p. 646, note.



preserve unimpaired the doctrine which they delivered, and especially to follow Christ as they followed him—these are with Clement the great objects of Christian endeavor.

The so-called "Second Epistle of Clement" to the Corinthians is not an epistle, but a homily; and as a homily it is the oldest of the post-apostolic Church extant. There is no evidence in it of Clementine authorship. It was most likely preached at Corinth, and its date is supposed to be from 100 to 140 A. D. The evidence that it is a homily is furnished from the latter part, which was discovered in the Bryennios manuscript. Thus in paragraph xvii the writer says, "And let us not think to give heed and believe now only while we are admonished by the presbyters; but likewise when we have departed home," etc. In paragraph xiv the author speaks of the Old and New Testaments under the name, "The Books and the Apostles," thus bearing testimony to the use, in his time, of part of the New Testament collection. The affirmation of the divinity of Christ is very strong. The opening words of the homily are, "Brethren, we ought so to think of Jesus Christ as of God; as of the judge of quick and dead;" and in paragraph xiii, we have Christ's words, "It is no thank unto you, if you love them that love you" (Matt. v, 46); this passage is introduced with the expression, "For the Lord saith." Other sayings of our Lord are quoted, but they are not referred to any of our canonical gospels; one citation is evidently from an apocryphal gospel: "For the Lord himself being asked by a certain person when his kingdom would come, said, 'When the two shall be one, and the outside as the inside, and the male with the female, neither male nor female'" (chap. xii).

The author of the homily is obviously a Gentile, preaching to a Gentile congregation. Thus the opening paragraph: "What praise then shall we give Him? We who were maimed in our understanding and worshipped stocks and stones, gold and silver and bronze, and our whole life was nothing else but death." It is characteristic, too, of this discourse that presbyters only are

named as having chief authority in the Church. Thus in chap. xvii the presbyters admonish the people, as already cited ; and also in the same paragraph : "They shall be amazed when they see the kingdom of the world given to Jesus, saying, 'Woe unto us, for thou wast, and we knew it not and believed not; and we obeyed not the presbyters when they told us of our salvation.' " We learn from paragraph xix that the homily was read to the people after the reading of the Scriptures. "Therefore, brethren and sisters, after the God of truth hath been heard [that is, the Scriptures read], I read to you an exhortation, to the end that ye may give heed to the things which are written."

There is not much method in the homily, and its matter is plain, but its moral spirit is very earnest. The passage which perhaps shows it at the best is to be found in the last paragraph, and contains a really fine thought : "Neither suffer ye this again to trouble your mind, that we see the unrighteous possessing wealth, and the servants of God straitened. Let us then have faith, brothers and sisters. We are contending in the lists of a living God, and we are trained by the present life that we may be crowned with the future. No righteous man hath reaped fruit quickly, but waiteth for it. For if God had paid the recompense of the righteous speedily, then straightway we should have been training ourselves in merchandise, and not in godliness ; for we should seem to be righteous, though we were pursuing not that which is godly, but that which is gainful. And for this cause divine judgment overtaketh a spirit that is not just, and loadeth it with chains."

## NOTE TO CHAPTER XI.

### THE PRAYER OF CLEMENT.

[*The earliest extant prayer of the post-apostolic period.*]

Grant unto us, Lord, that we may set our hope on thy name, which is the primal source of all creation, and open the eyes of our hearts, that we may know thee, who alone abidest Highest in the highest, Holy in the holy ; who layest low the insolence of the proud, who scatterest the imaginings of nations ; who settest the lowly on high and bringest the lofty low ; who makest rich and makest poor ; who killest and makest alive ; who alone art

the benefactor of spirits and the God of all flesh ; who lookest into the abysses, who scannest the works of man ; the Succour of them that are in peril ; the Saviour of them that are in despair ; the Creator and Overseer of every spirit ; who multiplieth the nations upon earth, and hast chosen out from all men those that love thee through Jesus Christ, thy beloved Son, through whom thou didst instruct us, didst sanctify us, didst honor us. We beseech thee, Lord and Master, to be our help and succour. Save those among us who are in tribulation ; have mercy on the lowly ; lift up the fallen ; show thyself unto the needy ; heal the ungodly ; convert the wanderers of thy people ; feed the hungry ; release our prisoners ; raise up the weak ; comfort the faint-hearted. Let all the Gentiles know that thou art God alone, and Jesus Christ is thy Son, and we are thy people and the sheep of thy pasture.

Thou through thine operations didst make manifest the everlasting fabric of the world. Thou, Lord, didst create the earth. Thou that art faithful throughout all generations, righteous in thy judgments, marvellous in strength and excellence, thou that art wise in creating and prudent in establishing that which thou hast made, that art good in the things which are seen and faithful with them that trust on thee, pitiful and compassionate, forgive us our iniquities and unrighteousnesses and our transgressions and shortcomings. Lay not to our account every sin of thy servants and thine handmaids, but cleanse us with the cleansing of thy truth, and guide our steps to walk in holiness and righteousness and singleness of heart, and to do such things as are good and well-pleasing in thy sight and in the sight of our rulers. Yea, Lord, make thy face to shine upon us in peace for our good, that we may be sheltered by thy mighty hand and delivered from every sin by thine uplifted arm. And deliver us from them that hate us wrongfully. Give concord and peace to us and to all that dwell on the earth, as thou gavest to our fathers, when they called on thee in faith and truth with holiness, that we may be saved, while we render obedience to thine almighty and most excellent Name, and to our rulers and governors upon the earth.

Thou, Lord and Master, hast given them the power of sovereignty through thine excellent and unspeakable might, that we, knowing the glory and honor which thou hast given them, may submit ourselves unto them, in nothing resisting thy will. Grant unto them, therefore, O Lord, health, peace, concord, stability, that they may administer the government which thou hast given them without failure. For thou, O heavenly Master, King of the ages, givest to the sons of men glory and honor and power over all things that are upon the earth. Do thou, Lord, direct their counsel according to that which is good and well-pleasing in thy sight, that, administering in peace and gentleness with godliness the power which thou hast given them, they may obtain thy favor. O thou, who alone art able to do these things and things far more exceeding good than these for us, we praise thee through the High Priest and Guardian of our souls, Jesus Christ, through whom be the glory and the majesty unto thee both now and for all generations and forever and ever. Amen.

## CHAPTER XII.

THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS—IGNATIUS.<sup>1</sup>

WE come now to an apostolic father who was also a martyr, and all whose importance for us is derived from letters written by him while on his way to execution. In passing from Clement of Rome to Ignatius of Antioch we passed from the mitigated warmth of the temperate zone to tropical fervor. Clement, says Lightfoot, "is essentially a moderator; Ignatius is an impeller of men. In Clement the intensity of moderation, to use his own phrase, guides his conduct; in Ignatius it is the intensity of passion for doing and suffering which drives him onward."<sup>2</sup> These two were active in different imperial reigns, Clement in the reign of Domitian, and Ignatius in that of Trajan. It is a well-established fact of Christian history that the better the emperor the more terrible was he as a persecutor. The bad emperor slaughtered the Christians from mere caprice; the good as a means of saving the empire. Trajan, especially, had a dread of social clubs, and repressed them. To him the Christian societies were guilds which might become politically dangerous. Though he would not allow Christians to be hunted by spies or condemned on anonymous charges, he yet required that every one of them brought before a magistrate should offer incense on an altar to the emperor or suffer death.

Unfortunately, we know very little of the life of Ignatius, and that little must be gathered from his letters. The story of his martyrdom which has come down to us from ancient times is almost wholly legendary. He was the second or third bishop of Antioch; that we know. He suffered death at Rome during

<sup>1</sup> Free use has been made in this chapter of the great work of Lightfoot on the Apostolic Fathers, edition of 1885. In all cases the passages cited are distinguished by quotation marks.

<sup>2</sup> Lightfoot's *Apostolic Fathers*, Part II, vol. i, pp. 1, 2.

the reign of Trajan, about the year 110 A. D.; that also we know. "Of his origin, birth, and education," says Lightfoot, "we are told absolutely nothing." In his Epistle to the Romans, Ignatius says that he is ashamed to be counted one of the Christians, "for I am not worthy, as being one born out of due time." This thought, that he is the last—that is, the least—of the brethren, he repeats elsewhere.<sup>1</sup> He had been a heathen, had been converted late in life, probably had been a persecutor of the Church. Says Lightfoot, "Like St. Paul, like Augustine, like John Bunyan, he could not forget that his had been a dislocated life, and the memory of the catastrophe which had shattered his former self filled him with awe and thanksgiving." One tradition makes him a disciple of Peter, another a disciple of Paul, and still another a disciple of John; all these traditions must therefore be cast aside. Tradition also says that he had in Antioch an interview with Trajan, and was condemned to death by the emperor in person; for this there is no historical foundation. What was the cause of the trouble for the church in Antioch we cannot tell; but it is clear from the letters of the martyr that he was sentenced to death in that city, and was sent to Rome, not for trial, but for execution. He was put in charge of a guard of ten soldiers, whom he speaks of as ten leopards. Whether the party took the long route through Cilicia or went across the sea to Perga or Attalia cannot be discovered. Lightfoot tells us that at the junction of the Lycus and the Mæander rivers the road westward divides: the northern route, passing through Philadelphia and Sardis, leads on to Smyrna; the southern, following the valley of the Mæander, passes through Tralles and Magnesia, and so on to Ephesus. The ten soldiers in charge of Ignatius took the northern road; word was sent to the churches of Tralles, Magnesia, and Ephesus that the party would make a halt at Smyrna. Accordingly the churches at these cities sent their bishops and other representatives to meet Ignatius at that resting place. Of these friends he

<sup>1</sup> Eph. xxi; Trall. xiii.



speaks (in the letters soon to be described), and of the comfort they brought him by their presence and their prayers.

From Smyrna he wrote four letters, three to the churches whose delegates he had met, that is, Tralles, Magnesia, and Ephesus, and one to the Church of Rome, where his long journey was to end. From Smyrna the party proceeded to Troas, the city on the coast, from which Ignatius would set sail for Europe. From Troas he writes three letters, two to the churches of the cities through which he had passed, Philadelphia and Smyrna, and one to the bishop Polycarp. Thus the occasions for the writing of these seven letters are natural, and lend support to the claim that the letters themselves are genuine. No doubt this man of fervid temper felt that he was treading in the footsteps of the apostle Paul. As Paul had been carried a prisoner to the great city from Jerusalem, so was he going to the same city a prisoner from Antioch. As Paul had in his second missionary journey sailed from Troas to Neapolis, so was he sailing by the same route. As Paul went to Rome to suffer martyrdom, so was he going thither to receive the same coveted crown. We then have two facts, the coming martyrdom and the likeness of his sufferings to Paul's, to help us in accounting for the extraordinary tone of his letters.

Of these, that which affords us the clearest glimpses of his character is the letter to the Romans. Here he does not assume the tone of authoritative advice, almost of command, as in the other six epistles. He writes to ask these Roman brethren to take no measures for procuring a remission of his sentence. He fears they will use their great influence with the authorities to save him; he does not wish to be saved; he prefers to die. And this is the burden of the epistle. Thus he says: "Pray, then, do not seek to confer any greater favor upon me than that I be sacrificed to God while the altar is still prepared" (chap. ii). "I write to the churches, and impress on them all that I shall willingly die for God, unless ye hinder me. I beseech of you not to show an unseasonable good will toward



me. Suffer me to become food for the wild beasts, through whose instrumentality it will be granted me to attain to God. I am the wheat of God, and am ground by the teeth of the wild beasts, that I may be found the pure bread of Christ. Rather entice the wild beasts, that they may become my tomb and may leave nothing of my body, so that when I have fallen asleep I may be no trouble to anyone " (chap. iv). Thus we have seven letters from Ignatius: four written from Smyrna, namely, to the Ephesians, the Magnesians, the Trallians, and the Romans; and three written from Troas, namely, to the Philadelphians, the Smyrnæans, and to Polycarp. We can follow his journey as far as Philippi; we know from the letter of Polycarp to the Philippians that Ignatius arrived there. Beyond that point we lose all trace of him.

The seven letters have come down to us in two Greek recensions, a longer and a shorter one. The longer form was first discovered, and is so obviously interpolated that it has been wholly rejected by scholars. In 1646 Isaac Voss discovered the Greek manuscript of the shorter recension; but the question was raised, Are even these the genuine writings of Ignatius? And have we any writings from the martyr which we can depend on as his own? As many of the Protestants had, at this time, adopted Presbyterian government in their churches, and as Ignatius was strenuous for the maintenance of the three orders, bishop, priest, and deacon, the question of the genuineness became involved in theological controversy. In 1845 the controversy was reopened by the publication of a Syriac version of three of the Ignatian letters, namely, those to Polycarp, the Ephesians, and the Romans. Cureton, Canon of Westminster, discovered the manuscript of this version in the British Museum, and maintained that it represented the only genuine Ignatian writings. This claim was defended, among others, by Baron Bunsen and Lightfoot. The latter great scholar, however, changed his opinion, and in the closing years of his life accepted the seven letters of the shorter Greek recension as genuine.

Supposing the seven to be genuine, what are their contents? They are strenuous on two points : (1) The maintenance of the reality of Christ's humanity; (2) The maintenance of three orders of the ministry; of these he regards the bishops as the successors of Christ and the presbyters as the successors of the apostles. Of the bishops he writes thus : "Let no man do anything connected with the Church without the bishop. Let that be deemed a proper eucharist which is administered either by the bishop or by one to whom he has intrusted it. Wherever the bishop shall appear, there let the multitude also be; even as wherever Christ is, there is the Catholic Church."<sup>1</sup> "Everyone whom the master of the house sendeth to govern his own household we ought to receive as Him that sent him; clearly, therefore, we ought to regard the bishop as the Lord himself."<sup>2</sup> "Those live a life after Christ who obey the bishop as Jesus Christ."<sup>3</sup> "It is good to honor God and the bishop."<sup>4</sup> "Do ye all follow the bishop, as Jesus Christ followed the Father."<sup>5</sup>

Three views of the episcopate have come down to us from the ancient Church :

1. That of Cyprian, which makes the bishop the depository of the grace of the Holy Spirit. Under this the grace dwelling in the bishop, which he has received from the apostles, is conveyed by ordination, and qualifies the presbyter to administer valid sacraments. The grace flows through the sacrament into the heart of the believer. This is sacerdotal episcopacy, and is what is meant in our time by the phrase "historic episcopate."

2. That of Irenæus, which makes the bishop the depository of apostolic tradition. When Gnosticism broke in on the Church, the question had to be settled, "What is the true Christian faith?" It was not enough to appeal to the New Testament canon, for the practice of allegorical interpretation was so inveterate that an appeal to the original writings of the

<sup>1</sup> Smyrn., chap. viii. <sup>2</sup> Eph. vi. <sup>3</sup> Trall. ii. <sup>4</sup> Smyrn. ix. <sup>5</sup> Smyrn. viii.

apostolic age was not conclusive. Says Hatch: "Before the close of the apostolic age Christianity had come into contact with various large tendencies of contemporary thought. Its first contact was with the great school of fantastic syncretism which had grown up within Judaism itself, and which has left a considerable monument in the works of Philo. To that school all facts, past and present, were an allegory. Nothing was what it seemed to be, but was the symbol of the unapparent. The history of the Old Testament was sublimated into a history of the emancipation of reason from passion. To those who thought thus the records of the gospels were so much new matter for allegorical interpretation. To the lower intelligence, to the eye of sense, Christ was a person who had lived and died and ascended; and the Christian communities were the visible assemblies of his followers; and the Christian virtues were certain habits of mind which showed themselves in deeds. But to the spiritual mind, to the eye of reason, all these things were like the phantasmagoria of the mysteries. The recorded deeds of Christ were the clash and play of mighty spiritual forces; the Christian Church was an emanation from God; the Christian virtues were phases of intellectual enlightenment which had but slender, if any, links with deeds done in the flesh. Before long the circle widened in which Christian ideas were rationalized."<sup>1</sup> But bishops had always been chosen for their fidelity to the apostolic teaching. Therefore the apostolic tradition, especially that of the churches founded by apostles, could be ascertained by appealing to what the bishops of such churches had taught. This was the episcopate as the conservator of the faith.

3. The third view of the episcopate is that which makes the bishop the bond of unity. The lawlessness brought in by heresies could be best resisted by strictly maintaining the unity of the Church, both in doctrine and discipline. In the mind of Ignatius the episcopate was the surest means of protecting the

<sup>1</sup> Hatch, *Bampton Lectures*, Lect. IV, pp. 91, 92.

unity, and hence his exhortations. "There is not," says Lightfoot, "throughout these letters the slightest tinge of sacerdotal language in reference to the Christian ministry. The episcopate is here the centre of order. 'Have a care for union,' in his charge to Polycarp (Polyc., chap. i); and this idea runs through the letters. Heresies are rife; schisms are imminent. To avert these dangers loyalty to Church rulers is necessary. There is no indication that he is upholding the episcopal against any other form of Church government, as, for instance, the presbyterial. No definite theory is propounded as to the principle on which the episcopate claims allegiance. It is as the recognized authority of the churches which the writer addresses that he maintains it. Almost simultaneously with Ignatius, Polycarp addresses the Philippian church, which appears not yet to have had a bishop, requiring its submission 'to the presbyters and deacons' (Phil. v). If Ignatius had been writing to this church he would doubtless have done the same. As it is, he is dealing with communities where episcopacy had been already matured, and therefore he demands obedience to their bishops."<sup>1</sup>

Two points are also to be noted here: (1) Episcopacy had not at this time spread throughout the Church. It had developed rapidly in Asia Minor, as is clear from the language of Ignatius. As the church of Gaul owed its origin to Asia Minor, it followed in organization the churches of the mother country. Lightfoot finds ground for believing that even the bishops of Rome were not so far raised above their presbyters as in the churches of the East.<sup>2</sup> Thus we have the episcopate in various stages of development out of the presbyterate. (2) The presbyters, not the bishops, are, in Ignatius, the successors of the apostles. Obedience was due to the presbyters as to the law of Jesus Christ (Magn. ii). "If the bishop occupies the place of God, or of Jesus Christ, the presbyters are as the apostles, as the council of God" (Magn. vi; Trall. ii, iii). "This last comparison alone," says Lightfoot, "would show how

<sup>1</sup> Lightfoot's *Apostolic Fathers*, Part II, vol. i, pp. 381, 382. <sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 381.

widely the idea of the episcopate differed from the later conception, when it had been formulated in the doctrine of the apostolical succession. The presbyters, not the bishops, are here the representatives of the apostles." <sup>1</sup>

Theologically, these epistles are important. They bear strongly against a docetic heresy which denied the real humanity of Christ. Lightfoot thinks that it was more difficult in that day than we can readily imagine to accept the human in the person of Christ. "The oriental mind in its most serious moods was prone to regard matter as the source of evil. Contact with matter, therefore, was a thing to be shunned. The moral and spiritual supremacy of Jesus Christ was a matter of history. This carried with it his claim to divinity in some sense or other. But it was inconceivable that such a Divine being should have been born as a man, should have eaten and drunk as a man, should have suffered and died as a man. This gross admixture with material things in this Divine personage was intolerable. The only escape from this dilemma lay in Docetism. Christ's human life was not real, but apparent or putative." <sup>2</sup> The language of Ignatius on this subject leaves no doubt of his meaning or his purpose. Thus he says: "For he suffered truly, as also he raised himself truly, not as certain unbelievers say, that he suffered in semblance, being themselves mere semblance" (Smyrn. ii). And again: "For what profit is it if a man praiseth me, but blasphemeth my Lord, not confessing that he was a bearer of flesh. Yet he that affirmeth this doth thereby deny him altogether, being himself the bearer of a corpse" (Smyrn. v). There is also a strong polemic bearing against Judaism. Thus he writes: "It is monstrous to talk of Jesus Christ and to practice Judaism" (Magn. x). And again: "For if unto this day we live after the manner of Judaism, we avow that we have not received grace" (Magn. viii). He also speaks of the early Christians abandoning the Sabbath of the Jews: "If then those who had walked in ancient

<sup>1</sup> Lightfoot's *Apostolic Fathers*, Part II, vol. i, p. 383.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 365.



practices attained unto newness of hope, no longer observing Sabbaths, but fashioning their lives after the Lord's Day," etc. (Magn. ix). The similarity of these declarations against Docetism to those in John's Epistles, I, chap. iv, 2, 3, Ep. II, v, 7, is very noticeable.

Although the doctrine of the divinity of Christ was not at this time defined dogmatically, still the affirmations of it are in Ignatius very distinct. Thus to Polycarp he says: "Await him that is above every season, the Eternal, the Invisible, who became visible for our sakes, the Impalpable, the Impassable, who suffered for our sake, who endured in all ways for our sakes" (Polyc. iii). Again: "I bid you farewell always in our God, Jesus Christ, in whom abide ye in the unity and supervision of God" (Polyc. viii).

The testimonies to Ignatius are very ancient. Polycarp, in his Epistle to the Philippians, speaks of him. Irenæus quotes the following passage from the Epistle to the Romans: "I am the wheat of Christ, and by the teeth of the wild beasts I am ground, that I may be found the pure bread of God." Eusebius, in book iii, chaps. xxii and xxxvi, mentions Ignatius and ascribes seven epistles to him. He also quotes a passage from the Ignatian Epistle to the Romans. Jerome also speaks of Ignatius, and we have a homily of St. Chrysostom on St. Ignatius the martyr.

#### NOTE TO CHAPTER XII.

If Ignatius died as early as 107-115 A. D. his use of the fourth gospel is a very important link in the proof of its genuineness. The passages resembling John are brief and in the main are adaptations of his words, but are very striking. Thus we have in the Epistle to the Romans, chap. vii, "I desire the bread of God, which is the flesh of Christ," *ἄρτον θεοῦ θέλω, ὃ ἐστὶν σὰρξ τοῦ χριστοῦ*. Compare this with John vi, 26-28. In that same chapter occurs "living water," *ῥόδωρ δὲ ζῶν*. "The ruler of this world"—a phrase peculiar to John—*τον ἀρχοντος τοῦ οἰᾶνος τοῦτου* (Eph., chaps. xvii, xix, Magnesians i, Trallians iv, Romans vii, Philadelphians vi; compare John xii, 31; xiv, 30). "For it [the Spirit] knoweth whence it cometh and where it goeth" (Philadelphians, chap. vii), *οἶδεν γὰρ πόθεν ἔρχεται καὶ ποῦ ὑπάγει*. Compare John iii, 8. He is the door (Philadelphians ix), *αὐτὸς ὡν θύρα τοῦ πατρὸς*. Compare John x, 9.



## CHAPTER XIII.

## THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS—POLYCARP, BARNABAS, HERMAS.

IN one important respect the life and work of Polycarp are of the highest value in the history of the Church. He occupies an intermediate position between the apostles and the Christian leaders of the latter part of the second century. He was the disciple of St. John and the teacher of Irenæus. If John lived until the reign of Trajan, which began A. D. 98, and if Irenæus lived—as is probable, but not proved—till A. D. 202, we have in Polycarp and Irenæus witnesses to the Christian doctrine whose testimony covers the entire period from A. D. 100 to A. D. 200. Polycarp was born A. D. 69 or 70, and suffered as a martyr A. D. 155 or 156; he must, therefore, have been nearly thirty years old at the time of the apostle John's death. Irenæus, in a letter to an old friend, named Florinus, thus speaks of his intercourse with his revered teacher: "For I saw thee when I was still a boy in Lower Asia, in company with Polycarp. For I distinctly remember the incidents of that time better than events of recent occurrence; for the lessons received in childhood, growing with the growth of the soul, become identified with it; so that I can describe the very place in which the blessed Polycarp used to sit when he discoursed, and his goings out and his comings in, and his manner of life, and his personal appearance, and the discourses which he held before the people, and how he would describe his intercourse with John and with the rest who had seen the Lord, and how he would relate their words. And whatsoever things he had heard from them about the Lord, and about his miracles, and about his teaching, Polycarp, as having received them from eye-witnesses of the life of the Word, would relate altogether in accordance with the Scriptures. To these [discourses] I used to listen at the time, with attention by

God's mercy which was bestowed upon me, noting them down, not on paper, but in my heart, and by the grace of God I constantly ruminate upon them faithfully."

According to Irenæus, Polycarp was appointed Bishop of Smyrna, in Asia Minor, "by apostles." There is nothing in the case to contradict the supposition that it was an appointment as presbyter-bishop. He holds this office when Ignatius passes through Smyrna on his way to martyrdom; that is, in the early part of the second century. The two bishops are together, we know not how long; but from Troas Ignatius writes a letter to Polycarp, which is one of the seven already described. In the year 155 or 156, and during the consulship of Quadratus, Polycarp was burned at Smyrna for the faith. A persecution was raging in the city, and the bishop had retired to a farm near by. A boy in his service, being put to torture, disclosed his master's retreat. Mounted policemen were sent to capture him. He gave himself up quietly, only requesting a little time for prayer. This over, he was put on an ass and led to the city. It was now the morning of a Saturday, and the Jews were keeping holiday. The captain of the police tried, in vain, to induce the saint to say, "Cæsar is Lord," and to cast a few grains of incense upon the emperor's altar. He was carried to the *stadium*, and into the presence of the proconsul. The games were now over, so that he could not be cast to the wild beasts. "Swear," said the proconsul, "by the genius of Cæsar, and I will set thee free." "Fourscore and six years," answered Polycarp, "have I served Him, and he hath done me no wrong; how then can I speak evil of my King, who saved me?" Wood was hastily gathered from the baths and other buildings near by, the Jews being especially active in this work. The fire, when kindled, burned slowly, and probably, from the force of a wind, swept away from Polycarp; he was, therefore, dispatched by the stroke of a dagger.

The position of Polycarp as a disciple of John and a companion of many who had personally known Christ gave him great

power in the refutation of heresies. Irenæus describes the Gnostics as tampering with the oracles of the Lord, and Polycarp had, in his personal knowledge of the founders of the Church, a means of answering them which proved to be very effective. Irenæus thus describes the effect of his personal testimony during his visit to Anicetus, Bishop of Rome (154–155 A. D.): “But Polycarp also was not only instructed by apostles, and acquainted with many that had seen Christ, but was also appointed, by apostles in Asia, bishop of the church of Smyrna. We, too, saw him in our early youth; for he lived a long time, and died, when a very old man, a glorious and most illustrious martyr’s death, having always taught the things which he had learned from the apostles, which the Church also hands down, and which alone are true. To these things all the Asiatic churches testify, as do also those who down to the present time have succeeded Polycarp, who was a much more trustworthy and certain witness of the truth than Valentinus and Marcion and the rest of the heretics. He also was in Rome in the time of Anicetus, and *caused many to turn away from the above-mentioned heretics to the Church of God, proclaiming that he had received from the apostles this one and only system of truth which has been transmitted by the Church.* And there are those that heard from him that John, the disciple of the Lord, going to bathe in Ephesus, and seeing Cerinthus within, ran out of the bath house without bathing, crying, ‘Let us flee, lest even the bath fall, because Cerinthus, the enemy of the truth, is within.’”<sup>1</sup> It is evident from the remains of the lost work of Papias, Bishop of Hierapolis, that he relied on similar personal testimonies for confirming his *Expositions of the Oracles of the Lord*. It thus becomes evident that, in the age immediately succeeding the apostolic, the personal factor is of the highest value for determining the true Christian doctrine. What do the men who kept company with the apostles say that these

<sup>1</sup> Quoted by Eusebius in his *History*, book iv, chap. xiv: Irenæus, book iii, chaps. iii, iv. We have italicized part of the citation.

apostles taught? And in this chain of testimony Polycarp is the important link. What Papias might have added to his testimony we cannot tell, for his *Expositions* are lost.

We are now prepared to estimate the value of the one writing left us by Polycarp, his epistle to the church at Philippi. We see, at once, that he is another man than Ignatius. Ignatius is highly original, Polycarp is the least original of the apostolic fathers. If Ignatius exhorts in the tone of command, Polycarp exhorts with a gentleness which goes beyond the gentleness of Clement. The occasion of his writing to the Philippian Christians is simple and natural. He had been requested by them to write, and also to send them as many of the letters of Ignatius as he had by him. He asked, too, for news from them of the death of Ignatius, of which the church at Smyrna had not yet been notified. There is nothing striking in the thought of this epistle, yet its evidential value is very great. It contains from thirty to forty coincidences with, or references to, passages in the New Testament. We must bear in mind that the New Testament canon was not yet authoritatively made up; yet there are references in Polycarp to nearly all the apostolic compositions. He named Paul's epistle to this same church of Philippi, saying, "Who also, when he was absent, wrote a letter unto you, into the which if ye look diligently, ye shall be able to be builded up unto the faith given to you."<sup>1</sup> "Of Paul's thirteen epistles," says Lightfoot, "there are probably references to as many as eleven." Here we have many of the books of the New Testament quoted as early as 110-115 A. D. As far as quoted it is the same New Testament which is now in our hands. But these facts have another important bearing. It is claimed by the Tübingen school of critics that there was a feud between Paul and John and their followers; that is, between the Petrine and Johannean Christians on the one side, and the Pauline on the other. This feud could not be reconciled, and was not reconciled until, late in the second century, a gospel was forged in

<sup>1</sup> To the Philippians, chap. iii.

the name of John, which by its peculiar teachings (Jewish-Universal) brought these factions into harmony. Polycarp is a disciple of John, yet knows nothing of this feud; he indeed says of himself that he "is not able to follow the wisdom of the blessed and glorious Paul." Peter's first epistle is freely quoted by him. In Polycarp's mind Peter, Paul, and John are the Church's great chiefs, and are alike to be held in honor. If the Epistle of Polycarp is genuine, the Tübingen theory of a feud between these chiefs and their followers has no foundation in fact.

The references to the New Testament are such as: "But the love of money is a beginning of all troubles" (1 Tim. vi, 10); "As we brought nothing into the world, so we can carry nothing out" (1 Tim. vi, 7); "Judge not that ye be not judged" (Matt. vii, 1); "Blessed are the poor and they that are persecuted for righteousness' sake, for theirs is the kingdom of God" (Matt. v, 3, 10). But most important, as one of the evidences of the genuineness of the fourth gospel of John, is the opening of chap. vii, "For every one who shall not confess that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh, is antichrist." This may be compared with 1 John iv, 2-4. It is evident from the peculiarities of language and tone that the gospel of John and the First Epistle of John are from the same hand. Says Dr. Salmon: "A man must be devoid of all faculty of critical perception who cannot discern the proof of a common authorship." If therefore we find the First Epistle of John quoted by Polycarp, at the date of the death of Ignatius, about 110 A. D., we may be sure the gospel of John was extant at the same time.

More striking still are the references to the direct citations from the First Epistle of Peter. Eusebius calls attention to this as a peculiarity of Polycarp's letter.<sup>1</sup> They are such as, "Who bore our sins in his own body on the tree" (1 Peter ii, 24); "Gird up your loins" (1 Peter i, 13); "Who did no sin, neither was guile found in his mouth" (1 Peter ii, 22); "Ye

<sup>1</sup> *Church History*, book iv, chap. xiv.



have believed on him that raised up our Lord Jesus Christ from the dead, and gave unto him glory" (1 Peter i, 21); "Having your conversation unblamable among the Gentiles, that from your good works, both ye may receive praise, and the Lord may not be evil spoken of in you" (1 Peter ii, 12). Quite as striking as these citations is the fact that there is no allusion to episcopacy in this letter. Its opening salutation is, "Polycarp and the presbyters with him to the Church of God which sojourns at Philippi." He ascribes to the presbyters of Philippi the supreme oversight of their church.<sup>1</sup> Ignatius and Polycarp must have been much together at Smyrna, and what was uppermost in the mind of Ignatius in writing was probably with him a leading topic of conversation. As far as appears from the letter to the Philippians, Polycarp retains, nevertheless, the more moderate view of the episcopate; and in this is followed by his disciple, Irenæus, who, addressing Florinus, speaks of his episcopal predecessors as "the presbyters who were before us."<sup>2</sup>

The Epistle of Barnabas was by the Church fathers ascribed to the well-known companion of Paul, but the verdict of modern criticism is against this supposition. Among the reasons for the modern opinion are the following: (1) The epistle speaks of the fall of Jerusalem, A. D. 70, but it is probable that Barnabas died before Paul, A. D. 64. (2) Barnabas was a Levite, and therefore was accurately acquainted with the Jewish ceremonial law; the author of this epistle shows an imperfect knowledge of Judaism. (3) Barnabas was strongly attached to his people; yet the author of this epistle speaks coldly of the Jews. For these reasons we must assign it to some other, and an unknown, author; no other is named in the epistle itself. The whole of its text was discovered by Tischendorf, in the Codex Sinaiticus, where it immediately follows the Apocalypse; previously the first four and a half chapters were known to us only through a Latin version.

<sup>1</sup> To the Philippians, chap. vi.

<sup>2</sup> Quoted by Eusebius, *Church History*, book v, chap. xx.



Though its authorship is unknown, its antiquity is unquestioned; its date is probably between 125 and 150 A. D. Its object appears to be to hold to the true faith Christians whose tendencies were strongly Judaic. In this regard it resembles the Epistle to the Hebrews; but in its treatment it contrasts much with that New Testament writing. The Epistle to the Hebrews is sober in its explication of Old Testament types; the Epistle of Barnabas is extremely fanciful.<sup>1</sup>

With the seventeenth chapter the epistle apparently closes, and the remaining chapters are almost in the language of the "Teaching of the Twelve Apostles," recently discovered. Thus, in chap. xix, we read: "The way of light is this—thou shalt love him who made thee; thou shalt glorify him who ransomed thee from death; thou shalt hate everything which is not pleasing to God; thou shalt hate every hypocrisy. Thou shalt by no means forsake the Lord's commandments. Thou shalt not take evil council against thy neighbor; thou shalt not permit overboldness to thy soul." Also chap. xx of Barnabas may be compared with chap. v of the "Teaching." The matter here is so unlike that of the preceding chapters of the epistle that it is evident that Barnabas is quoting from some composition not his own. Moreover, he introduces all this new matter by saying, in chap. xviii, "Let us now pass to another sort of knowledge and teaching." It is possible, therefore, that the "Teaching of the Twelve Apostles" is the elder document, and that the author of Barnabas uses it freely, citing largely from memory. This epistle quotes from Matthew's gospel, chap. xxii, 14, using the form, "It is written, Many are called, but few are chosen." "It is written," is the customary formula for the citation of Scripture. In chap. xv he speaks of the observance of the Lord's Day, as established: "Wherefore, also, we keep the eighth day with joyfulness, the day on which Jesus rose again from the dead." In chap. v he quotes the words of Christ, saying, "That he came not to call the righteous but sinners to repentance."

<sup>1</sup> See Epistle of Barnabas, chaps. viii and ix.

As to the antiquity of this epistle we have good evidence. Clement of Alexandria (the later Clement) and Origen quoted it frequently; Eusebius speaks of it as a book well known and commonly circulated; in Jerome's time it was still read among the apocryphal gospels.

The *Shepherd of Hermas* was so called because the principal personage, an angel, appears in the guise of a shepherd. Its date is variously determined by critics. Schaff believes the author to be a contemporary of Clement, Bishop of Rome (92-100 A. D.), and thinks he may be the Hermas mentioned by Paul (Rom. xvi, 14). On the other hand, the author of the Muratorian fragment says: "Hermas composed the *Shepherd* very lately in our times, in the city of Rome, where his brother (the bishop Pius) occupied the chair of the Roman Church." The episcopate of Pius is assigned with some hesitation to the years 142 to 157 A. D. The original ascription of the authorship to the Hermas of the New Testament is due to a conjecture of Origen. The book is mentioned also by Clement of Alexandria, by Eusebius, and by Jerome. The manuscript of it was found at the end of the Codex Sinaiticus by Tischendorf; we also have another Greek text from Mount Athos. The *Shepherd* consists of three books: (1) Visions (four in number), in which the Church appears, first as a matron, then as a tower, then as a virgin. (2) Commandments (twelve in number), prescribed by an angel in the guise of a shepherd. (3) Similitudes, of which there are ten, in which the Church is represented as a building. In its theological aspect it suggests the Epistle of James, just as the Epistle of Barnabas suggests Hebrews. As the Epistle of Barnabas is extravagant in the interpretation of types, so Hermas strains, beyond the Gospel limit, the supposed efficacy of good works, and in Similitude v, chap. iii, teaches the value of works of supererogation. Although there are no direct citations in the *Shepherd* from the Old or the New Testament, yet there are in it evident allusions to St. James and the Apocalypse. There are also passages which are parallel with 1 Peter

and also with parts of St. Paul and St. John. Thus in Vision iv, chap. iii, "For as gold is tried by fire, so shall ye be tried who dwell among the men of this world." This may be compared with 1 Peter i, 7. There are also passages in Hermas which are obviously founded on the "Teaching of the Twelve Apostles;" one of these is in the book of Commandments, Commandment II. Its matter, judged by the usual standard of literary merit, is poor, but, being a collection of allegories, the book was popular, and was much read in the churches. It is throughout a call to repentance, and that fact may have contributed to its popularity. Doctrinally it is legal rather than evangelical; baptism washes away all previous sins, pardon of sins committed after baptism is difficult, if not impossible, of attainment.

## CHAPTER XIV.

## THE PERSECUTION OF THE EARLY CHURCH.

WE must find the reason for the persecution of the early Christians in the character of Roman civilization. The highest thought of antiquity was the perfection of the state. The highest thought of Christianity is the perfection of the individual.<sup>1</sup> Religion was, therefore, to the Roman empire a state institution. A non-political faith could not be understood by the Roman mind, for every religion before Christianity had been connected with national life. The Romans were not propagandists of the worship of their own gods; they tolerated the faith and worship of the nations conquered by them, and temples of foreign deities were to be found in Rome; but all such had first received legal recognition. One of the principles of the Roman law is laid down in the following words: ("Whoever introduces new religions, the tendency and character of which are unknown, whereby the minds of men may be disturbed, should, if of the higher ranks, be banished; if of the lower, be put to death.") The Christians refused to pay divine honors to the reigning emperor and to take part in the heathen festivals; they also lived in close fellowship with one another; and these facts subjected them to suspicion. Moreover, they were devoted to the idea of a kingdom of God, which was something other than a kingdom of this world. This idea the Romans could not comprehend, and saw treason in the zeal for the extension of heavenly citizenship. A writer of the second century describes the spirit of the Christians of his time in terms which help to explain the readiness of the Romans to persecute them: "They present a wonderful and confessedly paradoxical conduct; they dwell in their own native land, but as strangers. They take

<sup>1</sup> Col. i, 28.

part in all things as citizens, and they suffer all things as foreigners; every foreign country is a fatherland to them, and every native land is foreign."<sup>1</sup> Such a spirit carried out into life was so hostile to the spirit of the Roman state that it could not fail to excite anger and provoke outrage.

In classifying the Roman emperors who came into contact with Christianity, we must note the fact that under some of the best of them, Trajan, Marcus Aurelius, Decius, and Diocletian, the Church suffered most; under Commodus, Caracalla, and Heliogabalus, who were among the worst of the series of rulers, the Church had comparative rest. Nero, Domitian, and Galerius bitterly hated the Christians and were themselves monsters of iniquity. Taking the emperors in their order, we find these facts: Nero (54-68), after a six days' burning of Rome, charged the Christians with incendiarism and subjected them to horrible tortures. Some of them were covered with pitch and set on fire to illuminate the gardens of the emperor on the Vatican hill. During the reigns of Galba (69 A. D.), Otho (69 A. D.), Vitellius (69 A. D.), Vespasian (69-79), Titus (79-81), the Christians were not disturbed. Under Domitian (81-96) many believers were put to death. Flavius Clemens, a cousin of this emperor, who was consul, A. D. 95, was executed for being a Christian, and his wife Domitilla was banished for the same cause. The letter of Bishop Clement of Rome was evidently written during the Domitian persecution. He mentions the many and repeated calamities which were then befalling the Roman Christians, and speaking of the sufferings of the apostles he adds, "We are in the same lists, and the same contest awaiteth us." The Domitian persecution must have been serious for the Church of Rome. It was this emperor's practice to encourage informers and to put out of the way such persons as excited his suspicion. The charge of embracing Christianity was, therefore, frequently made from personal ill-will, and resulted in the death or the banishment of the accused. It was

<sup>1</sup> Epistle to Diognetus, chap. v.

easy, under the encouragement given to spies and informers, for slaves to accuse their masters or freedmen their patrons, and many Christians suffered thereby. Under Nerva (96-98) the whole system of using spies and informers was suppressed. He set at liberty those Christians who had been imprisoned, and restored to their homes such as had been banished. Moreover, he put to death slaves and freedmen who had appeared as accusers of their masters. The Christian religion was in no way recognized, but its professors were not disturbed.

Under the upright Trajan (98-117 A. D.) a new era for our religion begins ; it is condemned as unlawful, but the proceedings against Christians are required to follow legal forms. This emperor first promulgated a law against secret associations, which was accepted by the governors of provinces as a warrant for persecution. The fact that Christians met in private houses gave the Church the character of a secret association. Nothing shows more clearly the difficulty which the Roman scholar had in comprehending Christianity than the judgments upon it of Pliny and Tacitus. Tacitus is distinguished among Roman writers of the post-classic period for his stern sense of justice and lofty moral feeling. Yet he sees nothing in Christianity but a detestable superstition, and speaks of Christians as "men hateful for their crimes, who deserve the severest punishments." Pliny, after making careful inquiries and discovering that the Christians were morally pure, called their religion "a debased superstition." As gentle as he was, he put Christians to torture when he was governor of Bithynia, in order to wring confessions from them. The effect of Trajan's decision, given in answer to Pliny's inquiry for instructions, was that Christianity was expressly condemned, but with the following reservations: (1) Christians were not to be sought for ; (2) Anonymous accusations against them were to be disregarded ; (3) If found guilty when accused, they must sacrifice to the gods or be put to death. This decision of Trajan controlled in some degree the mode of dealing with the Christians by the government for more than a



century. It was, as has been well said, "both a sword and a shield." The persistent profession of our faith was now legally defined to be a capital crime. Governors of provinces could still exercise a large discretion and, according to their temper, tolerate popular outbreaks against Christians or strictly enforce Trajan's rescript. Under this emperor Symeon, Bishop of Jerusalem, suffered death (107 A. D.) at an advanced age; and also Ignatius, Bishop of Antioch, as we have already seen. Nothing shows more clearly Trajan's fear of clubs or associations, whether secret or open, than his refusal to permit the organization of a company of firemen in Nicomedia. A fire had broken out in the city and had destroyed much property. Pliny asks for permission to form a fire company to serve under his own supervision. Trajan's reply is, "Whatever name we may give to them [such companies], and whatever may be the purpose, those who have been brought together will before long form themselves into clubs all the same."<sup>1</sup> His refusal of permission is explicit.

Under Hadrian (117-138) the condition of Christianity was much relieved; he was a man of humane spirit and a lover of peace. His feeling toward Christians was a mixed one of respect and contempt. He checked the outrages which were sanctioned by Trajan's rescript, though he did not abrogate the rescript itself. Serenius Granianus, proconsul of Asia Minor, complained to Hadrian of the popular violence against the Christians. Thereupon the emperor issued a rescript in which he ordered that no accusations against them should be received, except such as were in legal form, and that they should no longer be arrested on mere popular clamor. When legally brought to trial and convicted of violating the laws they were to be punished according to their deserts; but a severe punishment was also to be inflicted on false accusers. On the other hand, in a letter to Serenius, Hadrian mentions Christianity in the most contemptuous terms. He writes: "There [in Egypt] those who

<sup>1</sup> See Lightfoot's *Apostolic Fathers*, Part II, vol. i, p. 19.

worship Serapis are Christians, and those who call themselves bishops of Christ are worshippers of Serapis. There is no ruler of the synagogue, no Samaritan, no presbyter who is not an astrologer or a soothsayer. The patriarch of the Jews himself, when he comes to Egypt, is forced by one party to worship Serapis, by the other, Christ. They have but one God who is none. Him, Christians, Jews, and all races, worship alike." Under Antoninus Pius (138-161) the Christians had much indulgence. He was gentle in disposition, but at the same time an assiduous cultivator of the rites of the old religion. In this reign Polycarp, Bishop of Smyrna, was put to death (A. D. 155 or 156). The persecution at Smyrna was, as far as appears, a popular outbreak.

But most remarkable of the persecutions of this period is that under Marcus Aurelius (161-180). Like all the Stoics, he considered composure in view of death as the highest attainment of virtue. He could not understand the enthusiasm with which the Christians met death, an enthusiasm inspired by the hope of immortality. One of his sentences about the religion of Christ is: "The soul when it must depart from the body should be ready to be extinguished, to be dispersed, or to subsist a little while longer with the body. But this readiness must proceed from its own judgment, and not from mere obstinacy, as with the Christians. It must be arrived at with reflection and dignity, so that you could even convince another without declamation." With all his love of justice Marcus Aurelius could not fail to see that the growth of Christianity was a growth of a high religious enthusiasm, and that as a religious enthusiasm it was dangerous to social order. One of his laws condemns to banishment those "who do anything whereby a superstitious fear of the Deity could be insinuated into men's excitable minds." Under this emperor search also was made for Christians. Though a Stoic philosopher, Marcus practiced the rites of the popular religion and offered many sacrifices to the gods. He was a promoter both of the worship of the em-

perors and of superstitious observances. His intimate friends and teachers, Fronto and Rusticus, were active opponents of Christianity, and, no doubt, influenced his mind. It was under Rusticus, as city prefect, that Justin Martyr suffered death (163 A. D.). The persecutions of the Christians extended throughout his reign. "They were fierce and deliberate. They were aggravated, at least in some cases, by cruel tortures. They had the emperor's direct, personal sanction. They break out in all parts of the empire, in Rome, in Asia Minor, in Gaul, in Africa, and possibly also in Byzantium."<sup>1</sup> One of the persecutions under Aurelius fell upon the church at Smyrna, in 167 A. D., the second upon the church at Lyons, 177 A. D., in which the aged Pothinus was a victim. The latter of these persecutions was accompanied with horrible cruelties. In the reign of the depraved Commodus (180-192) the Christians had rest. None of the laws of the former reigns aimed against them were repealed, but for some reason, possibly the influence of the emperor's mistress, Marcia, they were not disturbed.

The death of Commodus (192 A. D.) was followed by civil wars, in which the Christians suffered much. Clement of Alexandria says of the time, "Many martyrs are daily being burned, crucified, beheaded before our eyes." When Septimius Severus (193-211) obtained supreme power he, at first, showed himself favorable to the Church, probably because he had been relieved in illness by Proclus, a Christian slave; but political suspicions, or perhaps the extravagances of the Montanists, biased him against the Christian religion. In the year 202 A. D. he promulgated a law which forbade anyone to change to Judaism or to Christianity. This law created great distress. In Egypt and North Africa the persecution was so severe that the Christians regarded it as a sign of the speedy coming of anti-christ. In consequence of this edict Leonidas, the father of Origen, suffered death at Alexandria. Potamiæna, a beautiful virgin, after being severely tortured, was burned with her mother

<sup>1</sup> Lightfoot, *Apostolic Fathers*, Part II, vol. i, p. 510.

in boiling pitch. Felicitas, a female slave at Carthage, having given birth to a child in a dungeon, was reminded by her jailer of the pangs of martyrdom. She answered, "Now I suffer myself all that I suffer; but then another will suffer for me because I suffer for Him." The story of Perpetua, who was also of Carthage, is one of the choicest examples in the history of the Church of feminine heroism. Her beautiful spirit was indeed a light in a dark place, for it shone in the darkness of the dungeon.<sup>1</sup> Under Caracalla (211–217) no new laws against Christians were promulgated. The governors of provinces did as they pleased; many of them took pleasure in inflicting cruel punishments on the followers of Christ. Heliogabalus (218–222) was a worshipper of the sun, an oriental in taste and effeminacy. He wished to unite sun worship with all other religions, and for this reason tolerated Christianity.

Alexander Severus (222–235), a man of great nobility of spirit, was an eclectic in religion, and gave Christianity a place among the forms of faith which he cultivated. He set up a bust of Christ in his chapel along with the busts of other gods. Christ's golden rule, "As ye would that men should do to you, do ye also to them likewise," he inscribed on public monuments and the walls of his palace. Neander says that "in recommending a new mode of appointment to the civil offices of the state he referred for a model to the regulations in Christian churches." Yet he did not by express law give Christianity a place among tolerated religions. His successor, Maximinus (235–238), a rude Thracian, who had once been a herdsman, and who assassinated Severus, was of a totally different temper. He took pleasure in persecuting the bishops with whom Severus had been on friendly terms. The provincial governors, following his example, encouraged the outbreaks of the people against the Christians. Under Gordianus (238–244) the Church was not disturbed. But Philip the Arabian (244–249) was popularly said to have become a Christian. This story, however,

<sup>1</sup> Neander, *Church History*, vol. i, pp. 123, 124.

may be doubted. Origen, who lived in this reign, and corresponded with the imperial family, speaks of the great friendliness of the emperor to the Christians, but nowhere of his conversion. Origen was the chief Christian teacher of this period, and he says of it: "The number of the Christians God has caused continually to increase, and some addition is made to it every day; he has, moreover, given them the free exercise of their religion, although a thousand obstacles still hinder the spread of the doctrines of Jesus in the world. But since it was God who willed that the doctrines of Jesus should become a blessing also to the heathen, the machinations of men against Christians have been put to shame, and the more emperor, governor, and the populace have endeavored to destroy Christians the more powerful they have become."<sup>1</sup> Origen anticipated that persecutions would occur again, but he had the firm conviction of the certain supremacy of Christianity.

What Origen had foreseen soon came to pass. Decius Trajan (249-251) conquered Philip the Arabian and made himself emperor. He was jealous for the old pagan faith, and determined to suppress Christianity. In the year 250 he published an edict requiring all persons who had left the ancient religion to return to it again. He was especially bitter against the bishops. He directed a search to be made for Christians and persons suspected to be Christians. Those who were arrested were examined, tortured, and many put to death. Many yielded to danger and offered sacrifice to the gods, for it was a time of separating the tares from the wheat. This was the first general persecution, and its outbreak under the direction of an emperor shows that the Christian Church had grown strong enough to create alarm in the imperial mind. It began now to be clear that either Christianity or the old Roman state must be overthrown; that their coexistence was an impossibility. Decius saw this, for he was a strong, capable ruler; he tried, therefore, to crush the Church by one overwhelming blow.

<sup>1</sup> See Neander's *Church History*, vol. i, p. 128.



There were several classes of Christians who lapsed ; some sacrificed to the gods ; some procured from the magistrates false certificates stating that they had sacrificed, and some made other false depositions. On the other hand, a zeal for martyrdom was developed, and many rushed to death to obtain the martyr's crown. The number of martyrs was greater in this than in any former persecution. Some of the bishops concealed themselves ; others remained at their posts and met death. Among those who sought a place of refuge was Cyprian, Bishop of Carthage, who afterward, in the reign of Valerian, was beheaded. In the reign of Gallus (251-253) the persecution continued. Pestilence and famine led the superstitious to deprecate the anger of the gods and stimulated a fresh outbreak against the Christians. Valerian (253-260) began his reign with a display of gentleness toward the Church ; but its progress alarmed him, as it had alarmed Decius. He found himself surrounded by believers in Jesus. To check the spread of Christianity he first banished the ministers and important members. This not accomplishing his purpose, severer measures were taken. His decree is remarkable, as being in some of its particulars the model of that on which the first decree of Diocletian against the Church was framed.<sup>1</sup> According to the account of Cyprian it provided, (1) That bishops, presbyters, and deacons should be immediately put to death. (2) That senators and men of importance and Roman knights should lose their dignity, and moreover be deprived of their property, and if when their means were taken away they should persist in being Christians, then they should also lose their heads. (3) That people of Cæsar's household, whoever of them had either confessed before or should now confess, should have their property confiscated and should be sent in chains by assignment to Cæsar's estates.<sup>2</sup> This edict begins what has been called the third stage in the persecution of the Church. The first stage is marked by

<sup>1</sup> Mason, *The Persecution of Diocletian*, p. 111.

<sup>2</sup> Cyprian, Epistle lxxxi, lxxx of Oxford ed.



the rescript of Trajan, which declares Christianity a *religio non licita*. The second is marked by the Decian or first general persecution. The empire, as has already been shown, tries to smite the Church down with one fell stroke. In the third stage, under the decree of Valerian, punishments are specified and graded according to rank and office in Church and state. Little is now left to the discretion of provincial governors. By the murder of the clergy the Church was to be deprived of its overseers; by the degradation of the laity the profession of Christianity was to be made infamous, and if persisted in, a capital crime. In this persecution Cyprian, Bishop of Carthage, and Sixtus II, Bishop of Rome, were put to death. Cyprian died the death of a saint in September, 258 A. D.

Gallienus (260–268) acknowledged Christianity as a *religio licita*. Under him began a peace for the Church which lasted till toward the close of the reign of Diocletian (284–305), a peace of forty years. Under Diocletian the conflict between Christianity and the empire entered upon its last stage. This emperor had completely changed the mode of administering the empire. There were two Augusti or chief emperors, and under them two Cæsars, who were to become Augusti in their turn. By the terms of this arrangement Italy and Africa were assigned to Maximianus Herculus, one of the Augusti; Thrace and Asia became the portion of Diocletian; as one of the Cæsars, Constantius Chlorus held Gaul, Spain, and Britain; and Galerius as fellow Cæsar held the region of the Danube and Illyricum. The emperors-in-chief were, in due time, to resign and the two Cæsars were to take their places. The two Augusti were coming to the self-imposed ending of their terms of office. Diocletian was not disposed to persecute the Church, but his son-in-law, Galerius, was a bigoted heathen. Originally a herdsman, he had by the sheer force of military talent gained his high place. He and Hierocles, governor of Bithynia, labored for a long time in the winter of 303 A. D. to wring a consent to the persecution of the Church from the old emperor,

and, at last, succeeded. During the forty years of peace beginning with the reign of Gallienus the Church had advanced greatly. Many of its places of worship were stately; there were said to be forty of these in the city of Rome; that at Nicomedia was in sight of the emperor's palace. Diocletian lived surrounded by Christians; the most important servants of his household were Christians; his daughter, Valeria, married to Galerius, and his wife, Prisca, professed the Christian faith. The persecution began with the pulling down of the church in Nicomedia; two fires which broke out in the imperial palace roused in the emperor's mind the suspicion that the Christians were conspiring against him, and led him to adopt the severest measures. Some of his confidential servants were tortured and put to death; his wife, Prisca, and his daughter, Valeria, were subjected to examination, but renounced the faith.<sup>1</sup> With quick decision edicts were issued ordering all Christian churches to be pulled down, all copies of the sacred writings to be destroyed, all officers of the Church to be seized and cast into prison, all Christians to be deprived of office and civil rights, and finally commanded them to sacrifice to the gods or to suffer death. Thus begun, the persecution raged fiercely all over the Roman empire, with the exception of Gaul, Spain, and Britain, where Constantius Chlorus, the Cæsar, showed favor to the followers of Christ. In 305 A. D. Diocletian and Maximianus Herculus resigned the imperial office, but Galerius and Maximin Daza, who succeeded to the government of the East, carried on the persecution with relentless severity. In 308 A. D. Galerius issued an order requiring all articles of food sold in the markets to be sprinkled with sacrificial wine. "All the pains," says Schaff, "which iron and steel, fire and sword, rack and cross, wild beasts and beastly men could inflict were employed to gain the useless end."<sup>2</sup> The behavior of the believers under the stress of this fiery trial was most exem-

<sup>1</sup> Mason, *The Persecution of Diocletian*, p. 122.

<sup>2</sup> *Church History*, vol. ii, p. 68.

plary. An enthusiasm for martyrdom prevailed which carried many, more than willingly, even joyfully, to death. A new class of lapsed, however, appeared, known as *traditores*, who gave up their copies of the Scriptures, or what they pretended were copies. In this, as in the Decian and Valerian persecutions, those who suffered, but not to death, were known as confessors; those who were put to death, as martyrs. As to the number of the sufferers, we have no precise information; but a passage from one of Cyprian's letters written during the Valerian persecution is significant. Comforting the confessors in prison in North Africa, he says: "Blessed women also, who are established with you in the same glory of confession, have afforded an example to other women by their constancy. And lest anything should be wanting to the glory of your number, that each sex and every age also might be with you in honor, the divine condescension has associated with you boys in a glorious confession."<sup>1</sup> We may be sure that in this last persecution the variety of sufferers was at least as great as in the time of Cyprian. But it was of no avail. A quick retribution came upon the chief promoters of these cruelties. Maximianus in 310 A. D. was put to death by Constantine for plotting murder against him. Diocletian committed suicide in 313 A. D. Galerius, stricken with a loathsome disease, which in time destroyed him, issued in 311 A. D. an edict of toleration in which he begged the Christians to offer prayer for him.

The edict of Galerius practically closed the persecution, but the remains of it lingered a little longer. Maxentius, a son of Maximianus, and son-in-law of Galerius, seized Italy and became the champion of heathenism; in the East Maximin continued the effort to suppress the Church. But Constantine, the son of Constantius Chlorus, had been proclaimed emperor by his army. He inherited the tolerant spirit of his father. Advancing rapidly from the west, he crossed the Alps, and defeated Maxentius in the battle of Milvian Bridge, near Rome, 312 A. D. Maxentius

<sup>1</sup> Cyprian, Epistle lxxx.

perished in the Tiber. In conjunction with his brother-in-law, Licinius, who ruled over Illyricum, Constantine issued in 313 A. D. an edict of toleration. Maximin was compelled to give his assent to it, and shortly after committed suicide. This decree conceded the liberty of conversion to the Christian faith; the wrongs done to the Church during the persecution were, as far as possible, undone. But an estrangement between Constantine and Licinius broke out into open war between them. Licinius took the heathen side, was defeated in 323 A. D., and put to death the same year.

The triumph of Christianity was now complete. The Roman empire became Christian and a new era in the history of the world began. Freeman speaks of this event as the greatest of the Christian miracles. The way was now prepared for the next important step in the advance of Christianity, the union of the Roman and the Teuton for the forming of modern civilization.

## NOTES TO CHAPTER XIV.

### I. TRAJAN'S RESCRIPT TO PLINY.

Thou hast followed the right course, my Secundus, in treating the cases of those who have been brought before thee as Christians. For no fixed rule can be laid down which shall be applicable to all cases. They are not to be searched for; if they are accused and convicted, they are to be punished; nevertheless, with the proviso that he who denies that he is a Christian, and proves it by his act, that is, by making supplications to our gods, although suspected in regard to the past, may by repentance obtain pardon. Anonymous accusations ought not to be admitted in any proceedings; for they are of most evil precedent, and are not in accord with our age.

### II. EPISTLE OF HADRIAN TO MINUCIUS FUNDANUS.

TO MINUCIUS FUNDANUS: I have received an epistle written to me by Serenius Granianus, a most illustrious man, whom you have succeeded. It does not seem right to me that the matter should be passed by without examination lest the men be harassed and opportunity be given to the informers for practicing villainy. If, therefore, the inhabitants of the province can clearly sustain this petition against the Christians so as to give answer in a court of law, let them pursue this course alone, but let them not have resort to men's petitions and outcries. For it is far more proper, if anyone wishes to make an accusation, that you should examine into it. If anyone, therefore, accuses them, and shows that they are doing anything contrary to the laws, do you pass judgment according to the heinousness of

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the crime. But, by Hercules! if anyone bring an accusation through calumny, decide in regard to his criminality, and see that you inflict punishment.

### III. HODGKIN'S CLASSIFICATION OF THE ROMAN EMPERORS FROM AUGUSTUS TO JULIAN.<sup>1</sup>

Augustus..... B. C. 27-A. D. 14.

#### 1. *The Julian and Claudian Emperors.*

Tiberius.....	A. D. 14-37	Claudius.....	41-54
Caligula.....	37-41	Nero.....	54-68

#### 2. *The Flavian Emperors.*

Vespasian.....	69-79	Domitian.....	81-96
Titus.....	79-81		

#### 3. *The Adoptive Emperors.*

This was the happiest period of the empire, lasting nearly one hundred years. Each emperor selected a successor, had him acknowledged by the army, and adopted him as a son. Marcus Aurelius broke away, at least in appearance, from this system and adopted his own son as his successor.

Nerva.....	96-98	Antoninus Pius.....	138-161
Trajan.....	98-117	Marcus Aurelius.....	161-180
Hadrian.....	117-138	Commodus.....	180-192

#### 4. *The Barrack Emperors.*

During this period the empire was usually sold by the army to the highest bidder.

Septimius Severus.....	193-211	Decius.....	249-251
Caracalla.....	} 211-217	Gallus.....	251-253
Geta (d. 212).....		Valerian.....	253-260
M. Opilius Macrinus.....	217-218	Gallienus.....	260-268
Heliogabalus.....	218-222	Claudius II.....	268-270
Alexander Severus.....	222-235	Aurelian.....	270-275
Maximin I (the Thracian)...	235-238	Tacitus.....	275-276
The third Gordianus.....	238-244	Probus.....	276-282
Philip.....	244-249	Carus.....	282-284

#### 5. *The Partnership Emperors.*

Diocletian (d. 313).....	284-305	Constantine the Great....	} 309-323
Maximian, joint emperor with Diocletian.....	} 286-305	Galerius (d. 311).....	
Constantius (d. 306)....		Licinius (d. 323).....	
Galerius (d. 311).....	} 304 or 307	Maximin (d. 313).....	
Licinius (d. 323).....		Maxentius (d. 312).....	

#### 6. *The Theological Emperors.*

Constantine the Great.....	323-337	Constantius (alone).....	350-361
Constantius II.....	} 337-350	Julian the Apostate.....	361-363
Constantine II (d. 340)...			
Constans (d. 350).....			

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<sup>1</sup> Emperors whose reigns were very brief are here omitted.



## CHAPTER XV.

THE CONFUTATION OF HEATHENISM BY THE APOLOGISTS—  
ARISTIDES.

THE story of the constancy of the Church under the stress of persecution shows that we are in its heroic age. It had to be proved that force could not suppress the Gospel of Christ, and the proof was given. Three causes may be said to have contributed to the triumph of Christianity in the empire: (1) The constancy of the martyrs. (2) The pure morals of the Christians. (3) The confutation of heathenism by the apologists. To this third cause we now direct attention.

The course which Christian thought follows in the post-apostolic ages is one of progressive advance. First, the apostolic fathers write epistles which in form are largely imitative of the epistles of the New Testament; next, the apologists defend the truth of Christianity against the persecutions of heathen rulers and the assaults of heathen scholars. By this exercise of their faculties they prepare the way for the formation of systematic theology. Christian culture, properly so called, begins with the apologists.

The assaults of the writers and scholars upon Christian truth date from the middle of the second century (A. D. 150). The first of these assailants was Lucian (born at Samosata, in Syria, about A. D. 120; died before A. D. 200), who brought to bear upon Christianity wit and ridicule, of which he was a master. Unconsciously, however, in ridiculing Christians he bears testimony to their superior traits of moral character. Lucian describes the life of Peregrinus Proteus, a Cynic philosopher and hypocrite, who joins the Church, and, being imprisoned, is held in high honor. He scoffs at the virtues of the Christians and calls them fanatics; but he none the less acknowledges their



virtues. "They still worship," he says, "that great man who was crucified in Palestine, because it was he by whom the initiation into these new mysteries was introduced into human life. These poor creatures have persuaded themselves that they are all immortal and shall live forever. Their first lawgiver has persuaded them to believe that as soon as they have broken loose from the prevailing customs, and denied the gods of Greece, reverencing instead their crucified teacher, they stand to each other in the relation of brethren. Thus they are led to despise everything alike, to consider everything else as profane, adopting these notions without any sufficient grounds of evidence."

What greater praise could be given to Christians than is unintentionally uttered by this mocker? Of their benevolence he says, "In a short space they give away all." Peregrinus Proteus, Lucian's hero, after imposing himself on the Church as a sincere believer, is excommunicated for eating something forbidden, becomes a Cynic again, and, finally, to win fame, plunges himself into a funeral pile, and burns himself to death in honor of philosophy. Lucian was a contemptuous unbeliever in all religion and all philosophy. But a writer who cannot treat any faith seriously is of little, if any, weight. Peregrinus, his hero, was a real personage, whose death by self-immolation at the Olympian games in 165 A. D. was well known. The title of Lucian's work, *On the Death of Peregrinus*, which was written soon after the event, gave the fictions of his satire currency. Lucian had practiced law in Antioch, and had visited Ionia and Bithynia, and must have learned much about the Christians from direct observation. Lightfoot sees in some of the imaginary incidents of the life of Peregrinus resemblances to incidents in the story of Ignatius. Thus Lucian says, "Moreover, there came from certain of the cities in Asia deputies sent by the Christian communities to assist and advise and console the man."<sup>1</sup> This is an exact repetition of the experience of Ignatius.

<sup>1</sup> *Apostolic Fathers*, Part II, vol. i, pp. 332, 333.

A more formidable opponent was Celsus, whose precise date is unknown.<sup>1</sup> His work against the Christians is entitled *The True Word*. His objections to Christianity are these: That it claims that God has troubled himself to make a revelation to man; that Christians were continually repeating, "Only believe, faith will make you blessed;" that the Gospel was offered to the poor and miserable; that it promised forgiveness of sins, regeneration, and the resurrection of the body; that the Christians were ignorant, superstitious, a medley of mechanics, slaves, women, and children. "It is manifest," he says, "to everyone that it lies within no man's power to produce an entire change in a person to whom sin has become a second nature, even by punishment, to say nothing of mercy; for to effect a complete change in nature is the most difficult of things; but the sinless are the safer companions in life."

But, more in detail, the philosophic objections of Celsus to the religion of Christ are: (1) He objects, as already stated, to the invitation to sinners to enter the kingdom of God. "They who invite us," he says, "into other religious mysteries begin by proclaiming, 'Let him approach who has lived a good and upright life.' But let us hear who it is these Christians call: 'Whosoever is a sinner,' say they, 'whosoever is foolish, unlettered, in a word, whosoever is wretched, him will the kingdom of God receive.'"

(2) He objects to the fundamental Christian idea that man is the end of the creation and of the divine government. Against this he affirms the prevailing opinion of antiquity, that the universal whole is the object of the divine care, and that man, as a part of the whole, is subject to the iron necessity by which the world is controlled.

(3) He objects to the Christian idea of a divine purpose in the government of the world. Redemption is for him out of the question; evil is without beginning and without end. The world travels in a perpetual circle, so that in morals the history of mankind repeats itself. "The universe has been provided, once for all,

<sup>1</sup> Lightfoot assigns *The True Word* to the reign of Antoninus Pius.

with the powers necessary for its preservation and for developing itself. God has not, like a human architect, so executed his work that at some future period it would need repair."<sup>1</sup> Thus we see on the one hand that the Christians of that age taught the distinctive ideas of the Gospel which we receive to-day, and on the other that Celsus could not comprehend its transforming power. He concludes that Christianity is an imposture, that Jesus learned the arts of magic in Egypt, and afterward palmed them off in Palestine. Our knowledge of the writings of Celsus is derived from Origen, who in the year 249 wrote a refutation in eight books. This is considered one of the most valuable of all the early apologetic productions.

Before proceeding to the next assailant of Christianity we must examine for a moment the rise of neo-Platonism. Just as Christianity was compelled to meet the brute power of the empire, and to win a victory by suffering, so it had in the realm of ideas to encounter the hostility of heathen thought, for our religion is thought as well as all-abounding charity. In neo-Platonism it encountered an effort to unite all the partial and national religions of the world into a universal religion, and so set up a last barrier against the universalism of the Christian religion. The elements combined were incongruous, and the effort was predestined to failure, but the effort was none the less earnestly made. The distinctive idea of this philosophy is that the Cause of all things is unknowable, and that the gods worshipped by men are emanations from him. In this mode it comprehended all religions under one fundamental principle. The neo-Platonist could reverence Jesus as a great sage in whom some of the power of the divine had been exhibited. More specifically stated, the ideas of neo-Platonism were: (1) "The dualistic opposition of the divine and earthly." (2) "An abstract conception of God, excluding all knowledge of the divine nature." (3) "Contempt for the world of the senses, on the ground of the Platonic doctrines of matter and of the descent of the soul from a

<sup>1</sup> Neander, *Church History*, vol. i, pp. 167, 168.

superior world into the body." (4) "The theory of intermediate beings, through whom God acts on the world of phenomena." (5) "The requirement of an ascetic emancipation from the bondage of the senses."<sup>1</sup>

This system originated with Ammonius Saccas (the sack bearer), who was born in Alexandria, of Christian parents, but became an apostate. His period is from 175–250 A. D. His disciple, Plotinus (204–269), who was born in Lycopolis, Egypt, developed neo-Platonism into a systematic form. One of these neo-Platonists, Porphyry by name, made a very learned attack on Christianity toward the close of the third century. He was born in Batanea, or perhaps Tyre, in Syria, in 232 or 233 A. D., and died 304 A. D. He was a disciple of Plotinus, and wrote an exposition of the neo-Platonic system. His work against Christianity is in fifteen books. In them he attacks Christian doctrine, and especially the divinity of Christ. He labors to point out contradictions between Peter and Paul, between the Old Testament and the New. He alleges that the prophecies of Daniel were delivered after the event, and charges Jesus with equivocation and inconsistency. In another work of his, entitled *Concerning the Theology of the Ancient Oracles*, he holds a different strain, and speaks of Jesus in the following terms: "That pious soul, exalted to heaven, is become by a sort of fate an occasion of delusion to those souls from whom fortune withholds the gifts of the gods and knowledge of the eternal Zeus." In a letter to his wife, Marcella, first published by Cardinal Mai in 1816, he says: "What is born of the flesh is flesh; by faith, love, and hope we raise ourselves to the Deity; God is holy, the most acceptable sacrifice to him is a pure heart; the wise man is at once a temple of God and a priest in that temple." This passage is an example of the manner in which the neo-Platonists adopted Christian ideas, while they rejected Christianity itself. Porphyry was refuted by Methodius of Tyre, Eusebius of Cæsarea, and Apollinaris of Laodicea. Unfortunately the copies

<sup>1</sup> Ueberweg, *History of Philosophy*, vol. i, p. 223.

of his work against the Christians were burned by order of the emperor Theodosius II, and it is known only from fragments in the fathers. The last of the writers against Christianity is Hierocles, who was governor of Bithynia during the Diocletian persecution, and was himself one of the persecutors; he could both argue with and burn the followers of Christ. His work was entitled *Truth-loving Words to Christians*. It was destroyed by order of the Christian emperors, and is known to us through the answer of Eusebius of Cæsarea. His arguments are repetitions of those of Celsus and Porphyry. "He indulges himself," says Neander, "in retailing the most abominable falsehoods about the history of Christ." The miracles ascribed to Christ he tries to offset by the miracles of Apollonius of Tyana. "You hold Christ to be God," he says, "because he is reported to have made a few blind men see, and to have performed some other works of the same kind; and yet the Greeks hold an Apollonius, who was the author of so many miracles, not to be a god, only a man particularly beloved by the gods." This Apollonius was a Pythagorean philosopher, born in Cappadocia, about 4 B. C. His life was written in the reign of Septimius Severus, by Philostratus, and abounds in fabulous legends. It suited the purposes of the neo-Platonists to set him up as a rival of Jesus. This biography was written about two hundred years after his birth, and therefore lacks the support of contemporary evidence.

These attacks upon the faith called forth the writings of the apologists. The first of them, Quadratus, who belongs to the time of Hadrian (117-138), was an evangelist and in high repute for his prophetic gifts. His work is lost. The following sentence from it has been preserved by Eusebius: "The works of our Saviour were always to be seen, for they were real. Those who were healed and those who were raised from the dead were seen; not only when they were healed or raised, but they were always there, not only whilst he dwelt on earth, but also after his departure, which they long survived, so that some



of them have lived even to our own times." With the name of Quadratus is associated the name of Aristides. The Apology of Aristides was long supposed to be lost, but was discovered by Professor J. Rendel Harris, in a Syriac version, in the library of the Convent of St. Catharine, on Mount Sinai, in the year 1889. While the translation of the Apology was going through the press Mr. Armitage Robinson discovered in Vienna a Latin translation of an ancient romance called *The History of Barlaam and Josaphat*. Some resemblance between the opening passage of the Apology and a passage in the romance induced him to look up the Greek original of *The History of Barlaam and Josaphat* which is printed by Migne in the works of John of Damascus. "Mr. Robinson," says Cruttwell, "soon found himself reading the actual words of the apologist himself, transferred bodily into the History as a defense of Christianity delivered by Barlaam before the Indian monarch Abenner and his son Josaphat. The restored Greek text is, on the whole, in fairly close accord with the Syriac. We may therefore feel tolerably certain that we possess this ancient and much valued Apology entire."<sup>1</sup> This singular story suggests that we may be in possession of other literary treasures of ancient Christianity without knowing that they are so near us.

Aristides affirms in his Apology what Celsus denies, that the universe was created and is governed for the sake of man. Thus in his opening he says, "But I say, concerning the Mover of the world, that He is God of all, who made all for the sake of man." He divides all mankind into four races, Barbarians, Greeks, Jews, and Christians. He presents the ideas which each of the races has entertained of God; in this presentation he criticises the mythologies of the Greeks and of the Egyptians with great severity. Of the Jews he says, "Their service is to angels and not to God, in that they observe Sabbaths and new moons, and the Passover, and the great fast; which things not even thus have they perfectly observed." Professor

<sup>1</sup> *Literary History of Early Christianity*, vol. i, p. 290.



Harris finds in the Apology the rudiments of a Christian creed, in form resembling the creed of the apostles. It has been arranged by him as follows :

We believe in one God Almighty,  
 Maker of heaven and earth ;  
 And in Jesus Christ his Son,  
 Born of the Virgin Mary.

*He was pierced by the Jews ;  
 He died and was buried ;  
 The third day he rose again ;  
 He ascended into heaven ;<sup>1</sup>  
 He is about to come to judge.*

The divine sonship of Christ is thus stated: "It is said that God came from heaven, and from a Hebrew virgin, took and clad himself with flesh, and in a daughter of man there dwelt the Son of God."

Lastly he describes the Christians in a series of traits which he claims to belong to them, reminding us of the language of the "Teaching of the Twelve Apostles." One of the expressions in this description is, "And whatsoever they do not wish that others should do to them, they do not practice toward anyone." And also, "They do good to their enemies." Both of these suggest the Sermon on the Mount. Aristides also mentions a Christian practice which we know was prevalent in the early Church. He says, "And if there is among them a man that is poor or needy, and they have not an abundance of necessities, they fast two or three days, that they may supply the needy with their necessary food." He also bears testimony to the existence of the Christian writings; he says: "Take now their writings and read in them, and lo! ye will find that not of myself have I brought these things forward, nor as their advocate have I said them; but as I have read in their writings, these things I firmly believe, and those things which are to come." This Apology is simple in its structure and breathes a most devout spirit. According to Eusebius, both Quadratus and Aristides addressed their Apologies to the

<sup>1</sup> The italicized passages are found together in the Apology.

emperor Hadrian. Modern criticism suggests the name of Antoninus Pius. Its date is placed between 124 and 140 A. D. Melito of Sardis, Claudius Apollinaris and Miltiades, who belong to the time of Marcus Aurelius (161-180), wrote Apologies which are lost. We possess, however, the whole of the Apology of Justin the Martyr (died 163). Of him we shall give an account in the next chapter.

## CHAPTER XVI.

## JUSTIN, PHILOSOPHER AND MARTYR, AND HIS SUCCESSORS.

WE have seen that the heathen objectors against Christianity were met by the apologists with such success as to vindicate our religion before the world. Among them no one has a more honorable place than Justin Martyr. He was born at about the close of the first century in Neapolis, the ancient Sychem, and was educated in the Greek philosophy. He first tried the Stoics, then the Peripatetics, then the Pythagoreans, and quit each school with disgust. The Stoic philosopher could tell him nothing about God; his Peripatetic teacher was more solicitous about his fee than about the progress of his disciple; the Pythagorean prescribed music, astronomy, and geometry as studied preliminary to the doctrines of philosophy. Finally, Justin found a brief satisfaction in Platonism; but an aged Christian whom he met in one of his solitary walks convinced him that he could not from this obtain true divine knowledge. This stranger also directed him to the prophets who had foretold the coming of Christ. "When he had spoken these and many other things," says Justin, "bidding me to attend to them, he went away, and I have not seen him since. But straightway a flame was kindled in my soul, and a love of the prophets and of those men who are friends of Christ possessed me; and whilst revolving his words in my mind I found this philosophy alone to be safe and profitable. Thus, and for this reason, am I a philosopher."<sup>1</sup> Led thus to Christianity, he studied it, accepted it with all his heart, and united with the Church. He had before his conversion been impressed by the courage of the Christians. "For I myself," he says, "when an adherent of the Platonic school, heard the imputations cast upon the Christians; but when I

<sup>1</sup> *Dialogue with Trypho*, chap. viii.

observed their fearlessness in reference to death, and to all those things that are usually objects of dread, it struck me as utterly impossible that they could indulge in vice and voluptuousness. A voluptuary, one who could reckon it a luxury to feed on human flesh, how could such a man embrace death, which would deprive him of his indulgences? Would he not rather attempt, by every means, to prolong his existence in the world and avoid falling into the hands of the magistrate?"<sup>1</sup>

Converted to Christ, Justin devoted his life to the promulgation of the Gospel. He retained his philosopher's cloak, and without an office in the Church did the work of an evangelist. He was an itinerant lay preacher, in the garb of a philosopher, and was exceedingly conscientious in this work. He says: "Everyone who is able to speak the truth and does not speak it will be condemned by God." No doubt this itinerant life suited his temperament; it gave him large opportunities to study Christianity under various manifestations, and thus added to his resources as an apologist of the faith. In the course of his travels he visited Rome twice, and suffered martyrdom in that city 166 A. D. Later authorities give 163 A. D. as the date of his death.

That Justin suffered martyrdom is the universal testimony of the ancient Church. His surname, "the Martyr," is a witness to the fact. It is said that a Cynic philosopher named Crescens was his accuser and the instigator of the proceedings against him. With this same philosopher Justin once had a disputation, and in his Second Apology he speaks of Crescens in this way: "I too expect to be plotted against and fixed to the stake by some of those I have named, or perhaps by Crescens, that lover of bravado and boasting; for the man is not worthy of the name of philosopher who publicly bears witness against us in matters which he does not understand, saying that the Christians are atheists and impious."<sup>2</sup> He met death with joy. "Art thou a Christian?" asked the Roman prefect. "I am

<sup>1</sup> Second Apology, chap. xii.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, chap. iii.

a Christian," answered Justin. "Thou believest then," said the prefect, "in thy ascension to heaven when I have caused thee to be scourged and beheaded?" "I hope," was the reply, "that I shall receive the gift of Christ's grace when I have suffered that." He said again: "We wish nothing more than to suffer for our Lord Jesus, for this will give us salvation and joy at his dread tribunal, before which all the world must appear." An account of Justin's end is found in the *Martyrologium*, a document of much later date than the event which it commemorates. "But the absence of dramatic detail, the quiet tone of the narrative, the general coincidence with what we know of Justin's views, combined with minute discrepancies in less important matters, all these points give the stamp of truth to the record."<sup>1</sup>

The principal writings of Justin are three in number: the *Dialogue with Trypho*, in which he refutes the objections of the Jews to Christianity; and two Apologies for the Christian religion, one larger and one smaller. The first of the Apologies was addressed to Antoninus Pius in the year 139; but later criticism assigns it to 147 A. D., the year in which Marcus Aurelius was made joint regent with Antoninus. In this Apology Justin speaks of himself as the author in these words: "To the Autocrat Titus Ælius Hadrian Antoninus Pius Augustus Cæsar, and to Verissimus his son the philosopher, and to Lucius the philosopher, Cæsar's son by nature and of Pius by adoption, a lover of learning, and to the sacred senate with the whole people of Rome, I, Justin, son of Priscus, grandson of Bacchius of Flavia Neapolis, in Syria, Palestine, have made this appeal and supplication on behalf of men above any other race hated and traduced, being myself one of them." The Second Apology was addressed to Marcus Aurelius, and was prepared, it is supposed, between 161 and the date of his death.

These Apologies are the earliest after that of Aristides that have come down complete to our times. The following is an

<sup>1</sup> Gildersleeve, *Justin Martyr*, Introduction, p. xx.

analysis of the contents of the First Apology. It may be divided into three parts: 1. A plea for the Christians, under two heads: (a) They should be judged by their conduct, and not on the ground of their name. (b) They are innocent of all crime. 2. A series of arguments for the truth of the Christian religion. 3. An account of Christian worship.

1. Justin begins by demanding justice for the Christians on the ground that they should be treated according to their lives, and not according to popular clamor. "Those," he says, "among yourselves who are accused, you do not punish before they are convicted; but in our case you receive the name as proof against us, and this, although, so far as the name goes, you ought rather to punish our accusers. Again, if any of the accused deny the name, and say that he is not a Christian, you acquit him as having no evidence against him as a wrong-doer; but if anyone acknowledges that he is a Christian, you punish him on account of this acknowledgment. Justice requires that you inquire into the life both of him who confesses and of him who denies, that by his deeds it may be apparent what kind of man each is." He next takes up the charge of atheism made against Christians, because they did not join in the worship of the gods. He answers this by showing that Christians worship the one true God; that they look, not for a human but a divine kingdom, and that they live under God's eye. On this last point he says: "More than all other men are we your helpers and allies in promoting peace, seeing that we hold this view, that it is alike impossible for the wicked, the covetous, the conspirator, and for the virtuous, to escape the notice of God, and that each man goes to everlasting punishment or salvation, according to the value of his actions."

2. Under the second head, the proof of the truth of the Christian religion, he proceeds to show: (1) What Christ himself taught, (a) In relation to chastity. (b) In relation to love to all. (c) In relation to kindness to the needy. (d) Concerning patience.



(e) Concerning truth-speaking. (f) Concerning obedience. (2) He next enters on a proof of immortality and of the possibility of the resurrection of the body. (3) Thence he proceeds to show the analogies in heathen mythology to the history of Christ, citing these as the unconscious prophecies of heathendom. (4) He then proceeds to a charge upon the vices of heathen society, and asserts that Christians are free from these. (5) In order to meet the objection that Christ did his mighty works by magical art he shows that his coming was predicted by the Hebrew prophets, and that the predictions were uttered ages before the events. (6) He next endeavors to prove that the doctrine of Plato is drawn from Moses, and that demons have imitated in the heathen mythologies what is ascribed in prophecy to Christ.

3. The third part is a full account of the Christian mode of worship, including the administration of baptism and the Lord's Supper. For illustration of the life and worship of the Christians of his time this is the most important passage of the *Apology*. Part of it has already been given in chapter viii. After describing the administration of baptism Justin says: "After we have thus washed him who has believed and assented to our doctrine, we lead him to those whom we call the brethren, where they are met together to offer earnest prayers at once for themselves and the newly enlightened, and for all men everywhere, that, having learned the truth, we may be found worthy to be practisers of good works and keepers of the commandments, that we may obtain eternal salvation.

"Our prayer ended, we greet one another with a kiss. Then bread is brought to the president among the brethren, and a cup of wine and water mingled, and he, receiving it, utters praise and glory to the Father of all, through the name of the Son and Holy Spirit, and offers thanks at some length for these merciful gifts. And when the prayer and thanksgiving are ended, the whole people present assent to them by answering Amen! This done, the deacons give to each of those present some of the

bread and wine and water, over which thanks have been given, to partake thereof, and some they carry away for the absent. And this nourishment we call the eucharist, and none are allowed to partake of it but such as believe our doctrines to be true and have been washed in the laver of remission of sins and regeneration, and live in the manner that Christ handed down. For we do not receive it as common bread or common drink, but just as Jesus Christ, our Saviour, became flesh, through the word of God, and took flesh and blood for our salvation, even so we have been taught that the food blessed by the word of prayer from him, by which through physical change our own flesh and blood is nourished, is both the flesh and blood of the same incarnate Jesus. For the Apostles, in the Memoirs composed by them, which are called Gospels, have handed down that so it was commanded them; that Jesus took bread, and when he had given thanks he said, 'Do this in remembrance of me. This is my body.' And in the same way he took the cup, and when he had given thanks he said, 'This is my blood,' and gave it to them alone."<sup>1</sup>

In this account we have evidence that the early worship of the Church was conducted with great simplicity. (1) There are no liturgical forms used. (2) In the administration of the Lord's Supper there is no trace of ritualistic symbolism. (3) Without special preciseness of definition Justin affirms as his belief that the bread and wine "blessed by prayer" are to the Christian the flesh and blood of Jesus. (4) The words of the original institution of the Lord's Supper are recited as is done by St. Paul in the First Epistle to the Corinthians.

The *Dialogue with Trypho* is an elaborate effort to prove to a Jew that Jesus is the Messiah. In the opening of this dialogue occurs the account of Justin's experience with the philosophers and his conversion to Christianity, already quoted.

The writings of Justin refer freely to the words of Christ. Aristides speaks in his Apology of "their writings," that is, the

<sup>1</sup> First Apology, chaps. lxv, lxvi.

writings possessed by the Christians. Justin cites in this manner also, but in addition he directly quotes as his authority the "Memoirs of the Apostles." Thus in the First Apology, chap. lxvi, he says, "For the Apostles in the Memoirs composed by them, which are called Gospels;" and again, in the *Dialogue with Trypho*, chap. ciii, "For in the Memoirs which I say were drawn up by his Apostles and those who followed them is recorded," etc. This will imply a knowledge of the fact that more than one of the Gospels was composed by a companion of the apostles. In the *Dialogue with Trypho* the "Memoirs of the Apostles" are so quoted ten times; and the "Memoirs" four times. In the First Apology the "Memoirs of the Apostles" are named twice, and the "Memoirs" once. Summing up we have the following forms of Justin in relation to the Gospels: (1) "Memoirs;" (2) "Memoirs of his Apostles;" (3) "Memoirs of the Apostles;" (4) "His Memoirs;" (5) "Memoirs of all things which relate to Jesus Christ;" (6) "Memoirs composed by his Apostles and those who followed them."

In chap. lxi of the First Apology, which treats of baptism, occurs the citation from John iii, 3, 5, over which so long and fierce a contest has been waged. In speaking of the administration of baptism by the Christians Justin writes, "For Christ also said, Except ye be born again ye shall not enter into the kingdom of heaven," and adds, "Now, that it is impossible for those who have once been born to enter into their mothers' wombs is manifest to all." The lack of verbal accuracy in this passage has been made a ground of objection to its acceptance as a citation from John iii, 5. But literal quotation is not the habit of the early fathers. Excepting in citations from the Old Testament, Justin quotes his authorities freely. On this point Cruttwell remarks: "His memory, though extensive, was not always accurate. He speaks of Herod as sending the manuscript of the Hebrew Scriptures to Ptolemy, an error of more than a century. He speaks of Moses as keeping the flock of his maternal uncle, apparently confounding him with Jacob. He quotes

several passages from his favorite Plato incorrectly. There is, therefore, no need to suppose that in his professed citations from the words of Christ, and the Memoirs of the Apostles, he used different documents from those which have come down to us."<sup>1</sup>

Ezra Abbot has pointed out to us that the rendering of this passage of the fourth gospel (chap. iii, 5), in the baptismal service of the English Prayer Book, is as far from being literal as Justin's. Since the recovery of Tatian's *Diatessaron* the controversy over this chapter of Justin's Apology has lost its importance. Besides baptism and the Lord's Supper, other doctrinal topics are brought forward in his writings: (1) The Logos and the divinity of Christ. (2) The Holy Spirit. (3) The Trinity. (4) Redemption. (5) Future punishment. (6) The millennium. (7) The resurrection and the judgment. Of the divine Sonship he says: "Jesus Christ is the only proper Son who has been begotten by God, being his Word and first begotten and power; and becoming man according to his will, he taught us these things for the conversion and restoration of the human race."<sup>2</sup> He likewise says that "Christ being the first begotten Word of God is even God."<sup>3</sup> His doctrine of the Logos dwelling in mankind, as "the one light that enlighteneth every man," shows great breadth of view. To this "Spermatic Word" he ascribes all the suggestions of the natural reason which have brought men near to the knowledge of God. "Whatever," he says, "has been rightly spoken among all men belongs to us Christians: for we worship and love next to God the Logos that is from the unbegotten and unutterable Deity, since for us he became man that he might share our sufferings and effect our cure. For all their writers have been able dimly to discern the truth through the implanted seed of the Logos within them."<sup>4</sup> In the treatment of this topic the Second Apology is very important.

<sup>1</sup> *Literary History of Early Christianity*, vol. ii, p. 336.

<sup>2</sup> First Apology, chap. xxiii.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, chap. lxiii.

<sup>4</sup> Second Apology, chap. xiii.

Of the merits of Justin it is enough to say that his thoughts and even his language are repeated in the writings of some of his successors. His style is not compact, his digressions are not a few, and on some points of history he is wide of the mark. He is, however, the first of the fathers to bring classical scholarship and Platonic philosophy into contact with Christian theology. Like Hermas he nowhere notices St. Paul, though several allusions to St. Paul's epistles can hardly be mistaken. Whatever may be the defects of his exegesis or his reasoning, no disparagement can be made of Justin's manliness and courage. In his First Apology such passages as these occur: "You can kill but not hurt us;" "You seem to fear lest all men become righteous, and you no longer have any to punish. Such would be the concern of public executioners, but not of good princes."

The next of the apologists is Tatian of Assyria, a pupil of Justin's, who was, also, before his conversion an itinerant student of philosophy. When in despair of finding the truth he saw a copy of the Old Testament, became deeply interested in its contents, and was led by it into the truth. Of the facts of his early career we know little. After his conversion he was in Rome several years, and produced in that period a *Book of Questions* upon obscure points in the Old Testament. This work is lost. To this, the orthodox time of his life, is referred his Apology, which he called *An Address to the Greeks*. It is vigorous, trenchant, and puts in strong contrast the follies of heathenism and the truths of Christianity. The opening sentence is a declaration of war against Greek self-sufficiency: "Be not, O Greeks, so very hostilely disposed toward the barbarians, nor look with ill-will on their opinions; for which of your institutions has not been derived from the barbarians?" From this point he proceeds to point out the corruptness of the Greek mythology with great severity. There are references in the *Address* to the gospels, but these are anonymous. In the later part of his life Tatian became a Gnostic, and founded a sect of Gnostics, called Encratites; its distinguishing characteristic was an extreme ascet-



icism. Tatian adopted docetic views in regard to the human nature of Christ, and his asceticism harmonized with his docetic theory.

But of greatest importance to us for its evidential value is Tatian's harmony of the four gospels, which he called *Diatessaron*, or the Gospel by four. It was an arrangement of the matter of the four evangelists, Matthew being the basis, but John obviously his favorite writer. Taking the docetic view of the human person of Christ, Tatian consistently omitted in the harmony the genealogies of Matthew and Luke. He begins with John's prologue, contained in the first chapter of the fourth gospel. The sceptical work known as *Supernatural Religion* denied that Tatian knew of John's gospel or used it, and even denied that he had ever compiled the *Diatessaron*. The story of the recovery of this ancient document, and the consequent confutation of scepticism, is most extraordinary.

1. Eusebius tells us that Tatian composed a harmony of the four gospels, which he called *Diatessaron*; Eusebius, however, had not seen it. It was not much known out of Syria, and probably its original language was Syriac. 2. Theodoret, an Eastern bishop (423-457 A. D.), says that he found two hundred copies of the *Diatessaron* in his diocese, used by as many churches; he called them in and suppressed them, (a) for the reason that Tatian had in his later years become a Gnostic, and (b) for the reason that the harmony omitted the genealogies of Matthew and Luke. 3. In 1876 there was published at Venice, from the Armenian, a commentary on the *Diatessaron* written by Ephrem, the Syrian, a father of the fourth century; died about 378. Thus we have written in the ancient times both the *Diatessaron* and a commentary on it. 4. It had been long, but never widely, known that there was a copy of the *Diatessaron* in Arabic in the Vatican library. This Arabic version had not been thoroughly examined until in 1883 an account of it was published by Father Ciasca, one of the Vatican librarians, who also promised to print it with a



Latin translation. 5. A Coptic bishop, looking, when in Rome, at this manuscript, remembered that he had seen another of the same work in Egypt. It was forwarded by him to the Vatican library and proved to be more perfect than the Vatican manuscript. This was printed in 1888 by Ciasca with a Latin version. Comparing the text of this with the text of Ephrem, we find that the two agree. The harmony begins with the prologue of John's gospel. Thus it is proved beyond doubt that Tatian knew the fourth gospel, and that he derived his knowledge from his master, Justin, for he was with Justin in Rome. We may, therefore, affirm most confidently that the apparent citation by Justin in his First Apology, chap. lxi, from John iii, 3, 5, is a real quotation from that gospel. The date of the First Apology is either 138 or 139 A. D. Modern critics fix the date at some point between 143 and 147 A. D. At that time John's gospel was a well-known apostolic writing. Its early date is therefore put beyond serious doubt or question.

Athenagoras was a philosopher of Athens, converted to Christianity. It is remarkable that very little mention of him is made by ancient Christian writers, and especially that he is not noticed by Eusebius, the historian. His Apology, or, as he styles it, his *Embassy* (*Πρεσβεία*), was presented to the emperors Marcus Aurelius and Commodus. This would place his composition at about 171 A. D. He is also the author of a treatise on the resurrection. Both of these works are written with great elegance; the Apology is considered to be one of the most finished, as well as one of the ablest of the early defenses of our faith. He notices three charges brought against the Christians: (1) Atheism; (2) Cannibal Feasts; (3) Incest. It was almost impossible for the heathen to conceive that the Christian meeting for the celebration of the Lord's Supper was unaccompanied with abominable vices. The charge of atheism Athenagoras refutes by showing, as Justin Martyr did, that the Christians were worshippers of one God. He affirms that Christians worship the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. "Who, then," he

asks, "would not be astonished to hear men who speak of God the Father, and God the Son, and God the Holy Spirit, and who declare both their power in union and their distinction, in order, called atheists?" He then makes a trenchant exhibition of the absurdities of polytheism. The charges of cannibal feasting and incest he meets by appealing to the lives of the Christians and to the morals of the New Testament. To show to what extent heathen hatred reached a short passage may be cited: "For we cannot eat human flesh till we have killed some one; if anyone should ask them [the accusers] whether they have seen what they assert, not one of them could be so barefaced as to say that he had. For when they know that we cannot endure to see a man put to death, though justly, who of them can accuse us of murder or cannibalism? Who does not reckon among the things of greatest interest the contests of gladiators and wild beasts, especially those given by you? But we, deeming that to see a man put to death is much the same as killing him, have abjured such spectacles. How then when we do not even look on, lest we should contract guilt and pollution, can we put people to death?"

The references in Athenagoras to the New Testament writings are not numerous. In chap. xi of the *Embassy* he quotes Matt. v, 44, 45, saying: "These are the words with which we are nourished, and in which we are reared, 'I say unto you, love your enemies; pray for them that persecute you,' " etc. In chap. x, John i, 3, seems to be in his mind, "By Him and through Him are all things made;" that is, the Logos.

Theophilus of Antioch, the next apologist, was a native of the East; was born a heathen, and according to his own statement was converted to Christianity by the reading of the Old Testament Scriptures. He is mentioned by Eusebius, who says that Theophilus was the sixth bishop of Antioch after the apostles, and that he became bishop of that city A. D. 168. His Apology is addressed to Autolycus, a heathen, and is in three

books. It is written with abundant knowledge and in a vigorous style. He is the first of the fathers to use the word "triad" (*τριάς*). He is also the first of the early Christian writers to cite the evangelist John by name. This occurs in book ii, chap. xxii: "And hence the holy writings teach us and all the spirit-bearing (*πνευματοφόροι*) men, one of whom John says: 'In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, the Word was God;'" and in book iii, chap. xiv, he quotes the New Testament as a "divine word." This passage runs thus: "Moreover, concerning subjection to authorities and powers and prayer for them, the divine word gives us instructions in order that 'we may lead a quiet and peaceable life,' and it teaches us to render all things to all, 'honor to whom honor, fear to whom fear, tribute to whom tribute, to owe no man anything, but to love all.'" (Compare 1 Tim. ii, 2; Rom. xiii, 7, 8.)

We find then in the early apologists of the Church: (1) The application of the forms of Greek culture to the defense of Christian truth. (2) A comparison of Christianity, which they describe as the true philosophy, with the philosophy of Greece. (3) The germs of Christian theology. In describing to the heathen the God whom they worshipped they exhibit their own apprehension of the Trinity in the divine unity. (4) They bear testimony to the use of the epistles and gospels in their time, and finally one of them, Theophilus, cites the evangelist John by name.

## CHAPTER XVII.

## ORIGEN.

ALTHOUGH Origen is numbered among the early apologists he is more than an apologist; he is one of the Church's theologians, the foremost Christian scholar of his age, a confessor who passed heroically through more than one persecution, a saint of unblemished name for goodness. He was born in Alexandria, 185 A. D., of Christian parents. His father, Leonidas, was a teacher of rhetoric in that city, and during the persecution in 202 A. D. by Septimius Severus was imprisoned and, at last, beheaded. Origen wished to share the prison and death with his father, but was prevented from so doing by his mother. After his father's execution he supported himself, his mother, and her other children by teaching Greek philology and literature and copying manuscripts. The family property had been confiscated and the widow and children of Leonidas were left to struggle with poverty. Throughout his youth Origen displayed a most intrepid spirit. He visited with great zeal imprisoned Christians, attended them to the place of death, and at the peril of his own life prayed with and for them. He was, at times, threatened with violence by the heathen mob of Alexandria, but escaped bodily harm. His scholarship and piety secured for him from Demetrius, Bishop of Alexandria, the appointment of catechist. He was at this time only eighteen years of age. His work in this office was without compensation, and to maintain himself he sold his library, now valuable, and subsisted upon the proceeds for several years. His days were spent in teaching and his nights in studying the Scriptures. He became familiar with the Hebrew, and in order to meet the objections of heathen scholars attended the lectures of Ammonius Saccas, the founder of neo-Platonism. He not

only mastered these speculations, but was in some measure drawn away by them. Still he drew the line firmly between Christian knowledge and Gnosticism, and was the means of converting some Gnostics to the faith.

One of these converts, Ambrosius, became his steadfast friend and helper. Through his liberality Origen was furnished with seven scribes, who, by turns, took down what he dictated, and a large number of copyists, who transcribed, in fair hand, what had been taken down. Of his studies Origen himself says: "Even the night is not granted me for repose, but a great part of it is claimed for philological inquiries. I will not mention the time from early in the morning till the ninth and sometimes the tenth hour of the day; for all who take pleasure in such labors employ those hours in the study of the divine word and in reading."<sup>1</sup> In order to gain more time for studious pursuits he transferred part of his catechetical work to his friend Heraclas, and gave his attention to the advanced catechumens only. In the excess of his zeal for a perfect life, and misapplying Matt. xix, 12, he, while still a young man, emasculated himself. According to the canons of the Church of that age he was thereby debarred from entering the ministry.

As may well be imagined, Origen won a great reputation for learning. His catechetical school in Alexandria grew to be a school of theology and Christian philosophy. Says Neander: "He expounded to his pupils all the ancient philosophers in whom a moral and religious element was to be found, and sought to train them to that mental freedom which would enable them everywhere to separate truth from the mixture of falsehood. Thus he entitled himself to the great merit of diffusing a more liberal system of Christian and scientific education, of which the schools that resulted from his labors are the evidence."<sup>2</sup> Eusebius gives this account of the wide range of Origen's work as a teacher: "A great many heretics and not a

<sup>1</sup> Neander, *Church History*, vol. i, pp. 701, 702.      <sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, i, p. 701.

few of the most distinguished philosophers studied under him diligently, receiving instruction from him not only in divine things, but also in secular philosophy. For when he perceived that any persons had superior intelligence he instructed them also in philosophic branches, in geometry, arithmetic, and other preparatory studies, and then advanced to the systems of the philosophers and explained their writings. And he made observations and comments upon each of them, so that he became celebrated as a great philosopher even among the Greeks themselves. And he instructed many of the less learned in the common school branches, saying that these would be no small help to them in the study and understanding of the divine Scriptures."<sup>1</sup> His predecessor in the school of Alexandria, Clement, had led the way to larger culture, but had unfortunately drawn a distinction between faith and knowledge which became in time a fruitful source of error. Gnosis was in Clement's estimate above faith, and the knowing Christian stood higher in the kingdom of God than the mere believing Christian. This became a prevailing mode of thought in Alexandria.

In the year 216 the emperor Caracalla, while visiting Alexandria, ordered a persecution of Christians, especially of the literary men of the Church. Origen fled to Palestine, where he was befriended by Bishop Alexander, of Jerusalem, and Theoctistus, of Cæsarea. These bishops requested him to expound the Scriptures in their presence to an assembly of Christians; and Origen, though not ordained, complied. When Demetrius, the bishop of Alexandria, heard of this, he was very angry, and said: "Such an act was never heard of or done before, that a layman should deliver discourses in the presence of bishops." The bishops of Jerusalem and Cæsarea, Origen's friends, denied that the practice of the Church was as stated by Demetrius.<sup>2</sup> Upon the command of Demetrius, Origen returned to Alexandria. In the year 228 he visited Greece, being sent

<sup>1</sup> Eusebius, *Church History*, book vi, chap. xviii.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, chap. xix.



for to settle important ecclesiastical affairs. On his way thither he was ordained presbyter by his friends, the bishops of Jerusalem and Cæsarea. Returning in 230 to Alexandria, he found a storm of persecution raging of which he was the object. Demetrius, the bishop, was offended by Origen's ordination, and, summoning a council, procured his expulsion from the church of that city. In a second council, called by Demetrius in 231 A. D., and composed of bishops only, Origen was deprived of the office of presbyter. No doubt jealousy was the chief cause of persecution, but the reasons assigned were Origen's false doctrines and his disregard of the laws of the Church. Notice of the excommunication was given to the churches, but those of Palestine, Arabia, Phœnicia, and Achaia did not recognize it.

Origen bore this great wrong with meekness, for he was one of the gentlest of men. He retired to Cæsarea, where he opened a theological school, which soon eclipsed the fame of that of Alexandria. Here he labored for twenty years. He was much consulted by the Church leaders of the age, and had a large correspondence, among others, with the emperor Philip, the Arabian. After some years of exile he received an invitation to return to Alexandria, where his pupil Dionysius had become bishop. But in the Decian persecution he was imprisoned and died of the effects of the imprisonment, at Tyre, in the year 254, aged sixty-nine years.

In character Origen was one of the noblest persons of Christian antiquity. His intellect was acute and philosophic, his imagination brilliant, his spirit disinterested. He made Christ his model, and hesitated at no sacrifice in order to become like his Master. His life was saddened by suffering, but the suffering was patiently borne. Origen, says Schaff, "did more than all his enemies combined to advance the cause of sacred learning, to refute and convert heathens and heretics, and to make the Church respected in the eyes of the world. He may be called the Schleiermacher of the Greek Church. He was a guide from the heathen philosophy and the heretical Gnosis to the

Christian faith. He exerted an immeasurable influence in stimulating the development of the catholic theology and forming the great Nicene fathers, Athanasius, Basil, the two Gregories, Hilary, and Ambrose, who consequently, in spite of his deviations, set great value on his services. He can by no means be called orthodox either in the Catholic or Protestant sense. His leaning to idealism, his predilection for Plato, and his effort to reconcile Christianity with reason, and to commend it even to educated heathen and Gnostics, led him into many and fascinating errors. Among these are his extremely ascetic and almost docetistic conception of corporeity, his doctrine of the pre-existence and the pre-temporal fall of souls, of eternal creation, of the extension of the work of redemption to the inhabitants of the stars and to all rational creatures, and of the final restoration of all men and fallen angels. Also in regard to the dogma of the divinity of Christ, although he powerfully supported it, and was the first to teach expressly the eternal generation of the Son, yet he may be almost as justly considered a forerunner of Arianism or Semi-Arianism as of Athanasianism.”<sup>1</sup> In asserting the true personality of the Son, as the product of an eternal generation, he conceived the idea that the Son has only a secondary grade or species of divinity, that he is God, but not the God. He therefore prepared the way for both Arianism and Semi-Arianism. It required a long struggle for the Church to reach the definition of the Nicene Creed, to wit, that the Son is “very God of very God.”

The writings of Origen are said to have numbered six thousand, which may not be extravagant if we include his short tracts. They are divided into (1) Exegetical, (2) Critical, (3) Apologetic, (4) Dogmatic, (5) Practical. The reply to Celsus consists of eight books, making in print over six hundred octavo pages. “It has always been regarded as the great apologetic work of antiquity; and no one can peruse it without

<sup>1</sup> Schaff, *Church History*, vol. ii, pp. 790, 791.

being struck by the multifarious reading, the wonderful acuteness and rare subtlety of mind which it displays. But the rule which Origen prescribed to himself of not allowing a single objection of his opponent to remain unanswered leads him into a minuteness of detail and into numerous repetitions which fatigue the reader and detract from the unity and interest of the work."

The most important of the dogmatic works of Origen is that entitled *Περὶ Ἀρχῶν*; we have it only in the Latin translation of Rufinus, under the name *De Principiis* (of first principles). This is the chief repository of his speculative opinions. It belongs to the earlier period of his life, whereas the reply to Celsus is the fruit of his old age, and contains his ripest thoughts. In the *De Principiis* Origen discussed the doctrines of Christianity in consecutive order, endeavoring to present and explain the catholic view of each. In this manner he treats of God, of Christ, of the Holy Spirit, of the world, the resurrection, and the judgment, of the freedom of the will, and of the inspiration of the Scriptures. One of the strongest passages in relation to the eternal generation of the Son is in book i, chap. ii, par. 4: "Because his generation is as eternal and everlasting as the brilliancy which is produced from the sun. For it is not by receiving the breath of life that he is made a Son, by any outward act, but by his own nature." On this thought of Origen the Church built its doctrine of the divinity of the Son. The Son, according to Origen, is of the essence of the Father.

The most important critical work of Origen is the *Hexapla*, or revision of the text of the Septuagint. The six columns of the *Hexapla* consist (1) of the Hebrew text, (2) of the Hebrew text in Greek characters, (3) of the version of Aquila,<sup>1</sup> (4) of the version of Symmachus,<sup>2</sup> (5) of the version of the

<sup>1</sup> Aquila was a native of Sinope in Pontus. According to Irenæus he was a Jewish proselyte. He lived in the second century. His translation is extremely literal.

<sup>2</sup> Symmachus was probably an Ebionite. His time is about 200 A. D. His version of the Old Testament is not as literal as that of Aquila.

Seventy, (6) of the version of Theodotion.<sup>1</sup> Certain marks show what in his opinion ought to be taken from or added to the version of the Seventy. The exegetical works are his commentaries, those on Matthew, John, and Romans being extant, and two hundred homilies on the books of the Old and New Testaments. Origen is the prince of the early exegetes. His brilliance and suggestiveness made him an authority for his times. His interpretation of Scripture is, however, marred by his theory of its threefold sense: (1) the literal, (2) the moral, (3) the allegorical. Notwithstanding this defect his rank as an interpreter is very high. Chrysostom and the school of Antioch generally, to which Chrysostom belonged, interpret the Bible with greater sobriety. Origen is always acute and suggestive in exegesis, but his method of interpreting allegorically many historical passages, especially of the Old Testament, makes him an unsafe guide. It is in his commentary on John i that he draws the distinction between the divinity of the Father and that of the Son, saying that the Son is *θεος*, but not *ὁ θεος*—"God," but not "very God;" that the Son's divinity is derivative, and that therefore his personality is subordinate to that of the Father. Thus Origen prepared the way for both the Athanasian and the Arian developments of doctrine.

Much of what Origen says of the canon of the New Testament has been preserved by Eusebius: "In the first book of his commentaries on Matthew," says Eusebius, "he testifies that he knows only four gospels, writing to this effect: 'I have learnt by tradition concerning the four gospels, which alone are uncontroverted in the Church of God spread under heaven, that that according to Matthew was written first; that according to Mark second; that according to Luke third; that according to John last of all.'"<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Theodotion is called by Irenæus a Jewish proselyte. In freedom of rendering his translation stands between that of Aquila and that of Symmachus.

<sup>2</sup> *Church History*, book vi, chap. xxv.

## CHAPTER XVIII.

**THE HISTORY OF THE CONSTITUTION OF THE CHURCH.—  
A. D. 100 TO A. D. 325.**

SINCE leaving the apostolic Church we have considered the life and work of the apostolic fathers, the persecutions to which the followers of Christ were subjected until the time of Constantine, and the defense of the faith by the apologists from Quadratus and Aristides to Origen. The apostolic fathers represent to us the descent of the Church to a lower plane of uninspired guidance; the persecutions, the struggle with the brute force of the Roman empire; the apologists, the conflict with heathen thought. In the nature of the case, Christianity had to win a victory in the realm of mind, to prove that its ideas of God, providence, and redemption were richer than any ideas possessed by heathenism, and that these ideas were a divine gift to the world. The apologists, therefore, assumed the task of demonstrating the historical validity of the Gospel history and the immeasurable superiority of Gospel doctrine.

We must now trace the inner life of the Christian community, and inquire: (1) How was the Church organized? (2) What was its mode of life and worship? (3) What was the body of doctrine received? To the first of these, the constitution of the Church, we now give attention.

The apostolic history has made it clear that the first government of the Church was not monarchical. The apostles might, with some show of justification, have ruled the churches in a monarchical spirit; for they were immeasurably superior to the great body of believers in the churches. But inspired guidance kept all cravings for power in check; Peter and John speak of themselves as elders with other elders. The priesthood of all believers placed the whole community of disciples on an

equality with each other as before God. The elders as chosen men performed the functions of guidance. Bishops and presbyters were interchangeable names of officers holding the same office. Monarchy was unknown; yet in the period which we now consider the constitution of the Church underwent a great revolution. The bishops became supreme; for the priesthood of the people was substituted the priesthood of the ministry. With this grew up a confidence in the efficacy of external rites, and so the way was prepared for displacing the mediation of Christ by the mediation of the Church. Neander describes the changes in the Church constitution during this period under three heads: "(1) The distinction of bishops from presbyters, and the gradual development of monarchico-episcopal Church government. (2) The distinction of the clergy from the laity, and the formation of a sacerdotal caste, as opposed to the evangelical idea of the priesthood. (3) The multiplication of Church offices."<sup>1</sup>

The distinction of bishops from presbyters may have grown up in a natural way. Possibly in the apostolic age the elders may have presided in the councils of the Church in rotation. Some one of these would easily be distinguished above his associates for energy and capacity. In the time of conflict through which the Church passed such an one would readily become the important man of the governing body. There are some, however, who hold that the apostle John, when, in the latter part of his life, he established himself in Asia Minor, appointed individual presbyters as bishops to ward off the incursions of erroneous doctrines. There is no such historical evidence for this opinion as warrants the supposition of a change of the Church's constitution. The questions in relation to the origin of episcopacy, as still, at the present day, discussed in the Churches, are two: 1. Is episcopacy of apostolic origin and appointment? 2. Or, is it a natural outgrowth, under the circumstances, of government by presbyters? The advocates of

<sup>1</sup> Neander, *Church History*, vol. i, p. 190.



the first theory rely on such arguments as the following: (1) The testimony of Ignatius, who, in his epistles, assumes the episcopate as already existing; now Ignatius was a disciple of John. (2) The statements of Irenæus, Tertullian, Eusebius, and Jerome, that John nominated Polycarp, Bishop of Smyrna; and also the statement of Clement of Alexandria that John instituted bishops after his return from Patmos. (3) The tradition of the churches of Antioch and Rome, which trace their succession of bishops to the apostles. The tradition, as to the Church of Rome, is thus expressed by Irenæus: "The blessed apostles, then, having founded and built up the Church [of Rome], committed into the hands of Linus the office of the episcopate."<sup>1</sup>

Those who hold that the episcopate grew up in a wholly human way rely upon the following arguments: (1) The identity of bishops and presbyters in the New Testament. (2) The interchangeable use of the names bishop and presbyter in the second century. Thus, Irenæus sometimes uses the names bishop and presbyter as synonymous, while, at others, he distinguishes the one office from the other. He also calls the bishops of Rome presbyters. Clement of Rome says that the apostles appointed bishops and deacons, omitting presbyters, as Paul does in Phil. i, 1. (3) Jerome ascribes the episcopal office to custom only, saying that the Church was originally governed by a council of presbyters, and that later it became the practice to appoint one presbyter to watch over all the Church interests. (4) The practice of the church of Alexandria, in which, from the time of Mark its founder to the middle of the third century, the bishop was elected by the twelve presbyters from out of their own number. (5) Cyprian, Bishop of Carthage, who as much as any other of the fathers consolidated the episcopal system, declares that he did nothing without the advice of the presbyters, and calls them con-presbyters (co-presbyters). (6) Irenæus speaks interchangeably of the succession of presbyters

<sup>1</sup> Irenæus, *Against Heresies*, book iii, chap. iii, par. 3.

and bishops, and of such succession as apostolic. Thus he says of the succession of presbyters: "But again, when we refer them [the heretics] to that tradition which originates from the apostles, and which is preserved by means of the successions of presbyters in the churches."<sup>1</sup> And again: "Wherefore, it is incumbent to obey the presbyters who are in the Church; those who, as I have shown, possess the succession from the apostles; those who, together with the succession of the episcopate, have received the certain gift of truth according to the good pleasure of the Father."<sup>2</sup> Here the presbyterate is identified with the episcopate, and the succession of each is the same. "It behooves us to adhere to those who do hold the doctrine of the apostles, and who together with the order of presbyters display sound speech and blameless conduct."<sup>3</sup> And again: "Such presbyters does the Church nourish, of whom also the prophet says, 'I will give thy rulers in peace, and thy bishops in righteousness (Isa. lx, 17).'"<sup>4</sup> Here Irenæus identifies bishops and presbyters. The fact, therefore, that he speaks of the appointment of a Bishop of Rome by Peter and Paul, and also of Smyrna by John, must be interpreted in the light of his identification of the presbyterate and the episcopate.<sup>5</sup>

We have then before us two facts which are easily reconciled with each other: (1) That Peter and Paul are said to have appointed the first Bishop of Rome, and John the first Bishop of Smyrna; and (2) That Irenæus, who names the fact, speaks of the succession of presbyters as well as that of bishops, and identifies the presbyterate with the episcopate. We may say, therefore, that the apostolic appointment of a bishop, even if conceded, was not intended to change the constitution of the Church, as it had existed during the apostolic age. But there

<sup>1</sup> *Against Heresies*, book iii, chap. ii, par. 2.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, book iv, chap. xxvi, par. 2.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, book iv, chap. xxvi, par. 4.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, book iv, chap. xxvi, par. 5.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, book iii, chap. iii, pars. 2, 3, 4.

were perfectly natural causes for the rise of the episcopate out of the body of presbyters. If, for instance, the apostolic teaching was to be preserved, the question arose, By whom? The presbyterate was a plural body, and to intrust the apostolic teaching to a plural body involved the danger of dissension. It was an act of common prudence, therefore, to select the bishop to become the depository of apostolical tradition; and hence he rose from a position of primacy to that of supremacy over the elders. St. Jerome confirms this view, for he declares "that the churches were originally governed by a plurality of presbyters, but that in course of time one was elected to preside over the rest, as a remedy against division, lest different presbyters, having different views of doctrine, should, by each of them drawing a portion of the community to himself, cause divisions in it."<sup>1</sup> "The supremacy of a single officer, which was thus," says Hatch, "forced upon the churches by the necessity for unity of doctrine, was consolidated by the necessity for unity of discipline."<sup>2</sup> The following is the history of this change: In the Decian persecution many Christians lapsed; when the persecution ceased the question arose, On what terms shall they be restored to the Church? As the martyrs were believed to have atoned for their sins in their own blood, so the confessors who had faced death, but had escaped it, were deemed worthy to exempt the lapsed from the operation of Church penalties, and to restore all such by their own authority. This practice of giving to the lapsed certificates of exemption grew to be a great scandal. Cyprian says that thousands of them were given every day. Armed with his certificate, the lapsed church member went to the body of the faithful and asked to be restored. But, as time often pressed, the church officers granted the restoration without consulting the congregation. It was finally decided that indi-

<sup>1</sup> Hatch, *Bampton Lectures, Organization of the Early Christian Churches*, Lect. IV, p. 99. See also Epistle of St. Jerome, cxlvi, To Evangelus.

<sup>2</sup> *Bampton Lectures, Organization of the Early Christian Churches*, Lect. IV, p. 100.

vidual presbyters and deacons must not act, in such cases, without the sanction of the president of the body of presbyters. And so the president of the presbytery came to exercise this function personally and to claim it as an episcopal prerogative.<sup>1</sup> It followed naturally that a claim was made that there should be only one bishop in a city. For the disaffected portion of the church of a city might withdraw and elect a bishop for themselves, and thus a schism would be created. It was determined, first at Rome in the time of Cyprian, that there should be but one bishop for the church of any city, and that whoever would be in regular standing as a Christian must be under his jurisdiction.

We have seen that the Ignatian idea of the bishop was that he stood in the place of Christ, and that the presbyters stood in the place of the apostles. But when it was conceded that the bishop was the custodian of apostolic teaching, the idea gradually obtained that the bishops had succeeded to apostolic powers. It was argued that the powers bestowed by our Lord on the apostles were bestowed in order that they might be conveyed to successors in office, and that bishops were their successors. This view was more fully developed in the fourth and fifth centuries. Still another step was taken when it was held that the bishops had succeeded to the apostolic power of conferring spiritual gifts, and that in confirmation and ordination the Holy Spirit was conveyed by them to the human soul. Thus we have (1) The bishop as president of the body of elders of whom he is one. (2) The bishop as the custodian of apostolic tradition. (3) The bishop as the guardian of unity in discipline. (4) The bishop as a successor to the apostolic dignity and the apostolic power of binding and loosing. (5) The bishop as the successor to the apostolic power of conveying the gift of the Spirit. Thus it appears that the episcopate arose from the presbyterate and by a natural process accumu-

<sup>1</sup> Hatch, *Bampton Lectures, Organization of the Early Christian Churches*, Lect. IV, p. 103.

lated power so as, in the end, to be the supreme order. But the highest Church episcopal idea is embodied most distinctly in Cyprian. His energy and ability, says Neander, contributed in no small measure to its victory over the presbyterate; yet he had not a conscious plan, but was the representative of a tendency. The effects of the growth of the monarchico-episcopal system were threefold: (1) It entirely obscured the idea of the priesthood of the people. (2) It made the clergy a sacerdotal caste. (3) It gradually led to the doctrine of the mediation of the Church in the place of the mediation of Christ. This connection of ideas is illustrated by Cyprian, who reasons thus: "Christ communicated to the apostles, the apostles to the bishops by ordination, the power of the Holy Ghost. By the succession of bishops, the power of the Holy Ghost is extended through the channel of this outward transmission to all times. Thus is preserved that divine life which is thus distributed to all the members united with the organic whole; and whoever breaks off his outward connection with this outward organism does, by so doing, exclude himself from participating in that divine life and from the way to salvation."<sup>1</sup> Irenæus pressed the same thought in a formula which has been famous ever since he uttered it, "*Ubi ecclesia, ibi et Spiritus Dei.*" He afterward adds, "*et ubi Spiritus Dei, illic ecclesia.*" The true Gospel order is the reverse of this; where the Spirit is, there is the Church: the Spirit is first in the order of time. In the idea of a mediating Church is laid the foundation of the Roman Catholic system.

The next two effects, the retiring from view of the idea of the priesthood of the people and the formation of the ministry into a sacerdotal caste, may be treated together. The difference between the Old Testament and the New Testament is that in the former some are priests, in the latter all are priests. In the one, only a distinct order or caste have access to God; in the other, all have this access. Now it is pos-

<sup>1</sup> Neander, *Church History*, vol. i, p. 210.



sible to recede from the New Testament to the Old Testament position, and this was done. The term *κληρος*, from which we have "clergy," but which originally means "heritage," and is applied in 1 Peter v, 3, to the whole Church, was now applied to one class only. Instead of all being consecrated to God, these only were so consecrated. Instead of life being in all its forms spiritual, the distinction was set up of a spiritual life and a secular life, of a spiritual order and a secular order—a distinction without warrant in the New Testament. All contact with the world was to be avoided by the spiritual class, and thus the way was prepared for celibacy and the priesthood of the Middle Ages.

It may be asked what was gained by this visible unity of the Church through and by means of the episcopate. One gain was that it compacted the Christian body so that the Church presented an undivided front against heathenism. Another was that it preserved the Church against the inroads of the Gnostic sects, which, carried away by the love of speculative idealism, would have divided the Christian body into numberless schools. It was a protest against the tendency to separate Christians into the cultured and the uncultured, the disciples of the spirit and the disciples of the letter. Still another advantage was that it checked the schismatic tendencies of men who would have seceded from the Church for unimportant reasons. A final advantage was that it enabled the Church to act with greater vigor as the teacher and disciplinarian of barbarous nations. It created an energetic, but still a legal, mediating Church deeply tinged with Old Testament ideas.

The last point to be noticed is the multiplication of Church offices. This grew partly out of the wants of the Church in the cities and partly out of the increase of the sacerdotal spirit. As the clergy became more and more priests, they added more and more to the pomp of service and required helpers in the administration of religious rites. The new officers were subdeacons, who cooperated with the deacons in administering the



temporal affairs of the Church; the *lectores* (readers), who read the Scriptures to the assembly of Christians and took care of the manuscripts; the acolytes (*ἀκόλουθος*—follower), who waited on the bishops when performing service; the exorcists, who prayed for those who were supposed to be possessed by evil spirits; the doorkeepers (*θυρωροί*), who attended to the opening and closing of the church edifice. The office of acolyte was not adopted in the East. Nothing so well shows the growth of a mechanical idea of the working of the Holy Spirit as the election of persons to the function of expelling demons.

## CHAPTER XIX.

## CHRISTIAN LIFE AND WORSHIP.—A. D. 100 TO A. D. 325.

It is not the design of Christianity to discard the natural relations in which men subsist as members of the family, society, and the state. It aims to penetrate them all with its own spirit, and thus to be their sanctification. In this sense Jesus came "not to destroy, but to fulfill." As soon as our religion entered into the common life of the heathen world it proved its purifying power by working a reformation from within outward. Origen in his reply to Celsus bears this testimony: "The work of Jesus reveals itself among all mankind where communities of God exist, which are composed of men reclaimed from a thousand vices, and to this day the name of Jesus produces a wonderful mildness, decency of manners, humanity, gentleness, and goodness in those who embrace the faith in the doctrines of God and of Christ and of the judgment to come, not hypocritically, for the sake of worldly advantage and human ends, but in sincerity and truth."<sup>1</sup> And in this testimony all the fathers of the apologetic period concur.

Those forms of benevolence which we, in our day, consider most characteristic of Christianity, charity to the poor and the helping of the sick, even to the sacrifice of the life of the helper, appeared in this early time. "In particular," says Neander, "it was considered as belonging to the office of the Christian matron to provide for the poor, for the brethren languishing in prisons, to show hospitality to strangers."<sup>2</sup> According to Tertullian monthly contributions of money were made by the churches of North Africa for the relief of the needy. Thus he says: "Everyone deposits a moderate con-

<sup>1</sup> *Against Celsus*, book i, chap. lxvii.

<sup>2</sup> Neander, *Church History*, vol. i, p. 255.

tribution monthly, if he chooses and if he can, for no one is forced, but each contributes voluntarily. It is, so to speak, ■ *depositum* of piety. For it is not applied to feasts and drinking bouts, but to the support or the interment of the poor, the bringing up of boys and girls who have neither property nor parents, the relief of the aged, the shipwrecked, and those who are in mines, in prisons, or in exile.”<sup>1</sup> Oblations of gifts in kind were also made for the *Agapæ*, part of which gifts were applied to the needs of the poorer members of the church.<sup>2</sup> The rich churches of the cities helped the poor churches in times of distress. Thus, for example, when in Numidia men, women, and children had been carried off captives by the barbarians, Cyprian raised a large sum to procure their ransom. But especially in seasons of pestilence the difference between the Christians and the heathen was shown most strikingly. In the reign of the emperor Gallienus (260–268) Alexandria was visited with a contagion. Dionysius says of the Christians of that city: “Their only anxiety was a mutual one for each other; and as they waited on the sick without thinking of themselves, they cheerfully gave up their own lives. Many died after others, by their care, had been recovered from the sickness. But with the heathen it was quite otherwise. Those who showed the first symptoms of the disease they drove from them. They fled from their dearest friends. The half dead they cast into the streets, and left the dead unburied.”<sup>3</sup>

Christians were distinguished by their fidelity to the laws of the state, while they maintained their freedom as the children of God. They paid their taxes cheerfully; Tertullian said that what the state lost by their absence from the temples was more than made up by their honesty in paying what was due the state, in comparison with the prevalent practice of fraud. He put the twofold obligation of the Christian in these words:

<sup>1</sup> Apology of Tertullian, chap. xxxix. See Uhlhorn, *Christian Charity in the Ancient Church*, p. 142.

<sup>2</sup> Uhlhorn, p. 144.

<sup>3</sup> Dionysius, Epistle xii, To the Alexandrians.

“ Let the image of Cæsar, which is on the coin, be rendered to Cæsar, and the image of God, which is in man, be given to God. Hence give the money to Cæsar, but yourself to God ; for what will be left for God if all belongs to Cæsar.”<sup>1</sup> No one who followed a trade or occupation which was contrary to the principles of Christianity was admitted to baptism. This rule was applied especially to the handicrafts which were in any way connected with idol worship ; such as, the making or ornamenting of the images and the statues of the gods. Every such person was required, before admission to the Church, to find a new occupation. Christians did not, however, shun intercourse with the world. Tertullian says of them : “ We are no hermits, no exiles from life. We dwell, therefore, with you in this world, not without markets and fairs, not without baths, inns, and shops and every kind of intercourse.”<sup>2</sup> The Church took a firm stand against heathen amusements. The abstention of Christians from gladiatorial shows has already been noticed ; but the attendance upon pantomimes, comedies, tragedies, chariot races and foot races was also forbidden. The Christian spirit instinctively shrank from contact with these spectacles, and the obligation to renounce them was included in the baptismal covenant. It came to pass that a man was known to be a Christian by absenting himself from the theatre. There were careless Christians then who tried to defend these amusements, but the sentiment of the Church was against them. Whether a Christian should hold a civil office the Church in this age was not agreed in determining. On the whole, Christians were inclined to shun public office for the reason that it often involved a participation in heathen acts of worship. Yet Christians were in this period to be found in the service of the state.

As in the apostolic period, so in this, prayer was the life of Christians. Clement of Alexandria says of the genuine Christian : “ In every place he will pray, though not openly in the sight of the multitude ; even in his walks, in his intercourse

<sup>1</sup> Tertullian, *On Idolatry*, chap. xv.    <sup>2</sup> *Apology of Tertullian*, chap. xlii.

with others, in silence, in reading, and in labor, he prays in every way. And though he commune with God only in the chamber of his soul, and call upon the Father only with a quiet sigh, the Father is near him." The use of the Lord's Prayer was general. Tertullian speaks of it as the "regular and usual prayer, a brief summary of the whole Gospel and the foundation of all the other prayers of Christians." The Gloria in Excelsis, which dates from the third century, was a morning prayer of the Church. With prayer was connected fasting; and from the carrying of this to an extreme arose the asceticism which glorified a contemplative, celibate life and led to monasticism. The ancient world had developed the sense of the hostility of the flesh to the spirit, and many, mistaking the aims of Christianity, sought perfection in the crushing of the body. From this the transition to monastic celibacy was very easy. The ascetic spirit was, however, in the world before Christ's appearance. It is to be found among the Jews, the Essenes, in Hinduism, in Parseeism, and in some schools of the Greek philosophy. Some of the early apologists had been ascetic philosophers. Asceticism is the direct opposite of justification by faith. It makes a merit of formal works, such as fasting, almsgiving, and poverty. Under the Gospel good works are the fruit of faith; under an ascetic system they are a substitute for faith. The ascetic discipline found its way into the Christian Church especially through Gnosticism, which held that all matter, and therefore the body, is inherently evil.

The moral earnestness of the early Church which was aroused to vigorous action by the spectacle of heathen vices naturally tended to an opposite extreme. There appeared soon a distinct class of members known as "abstinents," who gave up property, renounced marriage, and devoted themselves to religious contemplation, and were held in high esteem. The Alexandrian teachers recognized two classes of Christians, a higher and a lower, who practiced, the one a higher, and the other a lower, morality. From all these causes the tendency toward a volun-

tary poverty and celibacy acquired great force. The original community of goods, or what was supposed to be such, was the justification of the one, and such passages of the New Testament as Matt. xxii, 30, were alleged as authority for the other. The growth of this spirit in the Church dates from the middle of the second century. It is found in Justin Martyr, Athénagoras, Origen, Tertullian, and Cyprian. The celibacy of the clergy was enforced by slow degrees. First there was a disapproval of a second marriage, and then of marriage after ordination, and, finally, of all marriage of members of the clerical order. It was proposed in the Council of Nice to make the celibacy of priests obligatory, but the proposal was abandoned. In the Latin Church the disapproval became in the fourth century a prohibition; in the Greek Church the prohibition of marriage was limited to bishops; for the other clergy the prohibition was of a second marriage.

The family life of the Christians has been described in a previous chapter. We notice now the feeling for the dead and the care for their bodies. The Church, with its inspiring hope of the resurrection from the grave, was from the beginning opposed to the prevalent practice of cremation, and buried its dead with tender and solemn rites. "The bodies of the dead were washed, wrapt in linen cloths, sometimes embalmed, and then in the presence of minister, relatives, and friends, committed to the earth."<sup>1</sup> Visits were made to the graves of the martyrs on the anniversaries of their dying. Places of common burial for Christians were early chosen and used. The most noted are the subterranean cemeteries called catacombs. This method of burial could not have arisen, as has been supposed, from the necessity for secrecy in the interments of the early Christians, nor could the catacombs have been originally intended as places of refuge in times of persecution. Undoubtedly during persecutions the entrances to them were concealed and their labyrinths used as hiding places, but not to the extent imagined. Under-

<sup>1</sup> Schaff, *Church History*, vol. ii, p. 383.



ground cemeteries as large as the catacombs of Rome grew to be could not have escaped public knowledge. The Roman government, besides, was always tolerant of burial clubs, however rigidly the law might be enforced against other associations. The early Church fathers, with the exception of Jerome and Prudentius, scarcely speak of the catacombs. Jerome, in telling of his visits to these places of burial in Rome when a schoolboy, about A. D. 354, describes them most accurately. They were evidently, from his account, seldom used then for interment. He says that he used to go with his schoolmates on Sundays to visit the graves of the apostles and martyrs, "where in subterranean depths the visitor passes to and fro between the bodies of the entombed on both walls, and where all is so dark that the prophecy here finds its fulfillment, 'The living go down into Hades.'<sup>1</sup> Here and there a ray from above, not falling in from a window, but only piercing in through a crevice, softens the gloom; as you go onward it fades away."<sup>2</sup> With the decline of the city of Rome came the neglect and desecration of these burial places. To check the ravages thus produced, some of the early popes repaired and redecored the tombs and chambers, thereby making the chronology of the painted symbols of early Christian faith found in the catacombs very difficult to determine. Other popes, a little later, carried off the bones of the saints as relics. Thus losing what gave them interest, the catacombs of Rome were gradually forgotten and for more than six hundred years were unknown. They were accidentally rediscovered in 1578. Fifty-four of them have been explored, and the total length of their passages has been estimated at between three and four hundred miles. They are dug in the volcanic tufa which underlies the city and which is of such softness that it can be readily cut with a mattock. The opening to a catacomb is an arch with a staircase descending from the ground, or an aperture of some wider form. Galleries from two and a half to four feet wide and from seven to ten feet high are cut at right angles to one another. The wall

<sup>1</sup> See Psalm lv, 15.

<sup>2</sup> Commentary on Ezekiel, chap. xl.

on each side of every gallery is lined with tiers of graves, cut accurately to the sizes of the bodies interred, and closed with tiles or slabs of stone. At times the galleries open into chambers large enough to hold twenty persons each ; these are supposed to have been used as chapels, either at the time of burial or after burial, for commemorative services. Apertures from above admitted light and air ; niches for lamps at the crossings of galleries are also found. At some places in the vicinity of Rome the catacombs are several stories deep, cemeteries under cemeteries, especially where a hill permits excavation to a considerable depth. It is impossible to state the number of dead thus buried. That the cemeteries under Rome contain several million graves is one conjecture. A few epitaphs of martyrs have been discovered in the Roman catacombs. One martyr suffered under Hadrian, one under Antonine, one or two under Diocletian, and one under Julian. The monogram of the name of Christ, composed of X and P, the first two letters of *Χριστός*, with A and Ω, from the Book of Revelation, is often found on the graves. The X was finally changed to a cross, and the P affixed to its upper limb, and the A and Ω placed on the sides of the horizontal limb. These monograms, however, date from the time of the Council of Nice.

In this period Christians began to worship in public buildings erected for their use. The practice of assembling in private houses continued till the close of the second century. The house chosen was the home of some well-known teacher ; thus Paul preached in his own hired house in Rome ; and Justin Martyr says that when he came to that city he made his abode in one particular place, where those who wished to hear his discourses might come. Simple arrangements were provided in such homes for worship. An elevated seat was prepared for the teacher, and a table for the Lord's Supper. In the third century church building began. As early as the time of Diocletian (284-305) there were splendid churches in the chief cities. At the beginning of the fourth century there were forty in Rome. In adapt-

ing public buildings to Christian uses the ancient basilicas were found to be the most readily available. The Roman basilica was partly a court of justice and partly a business exchange. In shape it was rectangular, the width not more than half or less than one third of the length. The interior was divided lengthwise, by two rows of columns, into three parts. The centrespace was known as the nave, the two side parts were called aisles. Over the aisles were galleries, which were frequented by men and women who came to see what was going on. At the farther end was a semicircular tribune, where the court was held; this could be separated by gratings from the business section of the building, when the judges sat for the trial of causes. The basilicas were not only utilized as churches, but served as models when church building began. The nave and aisles and galleries were appropriated to the congregation; where the prætor sat the bishop placed his chair; where the judges had been ranged on either side of the prætor were seats for the clergy. On the front line of the tribune, nearest the nave, was the altar or communion table; on either side of it the reading desk or pulpit. Thus the tribune became the chancel, and, as in ancient usage, was raised a few steps above the level of the nave.<sup>1</sup> The use of images was foreign to the spirit of the early Church, but it gradually found a way into domestic life, and from there to the places of worship. Instead of heathen ornaments Christian families adopted those which were representative of Christian feeling, such as a shepherd carrying a lamb on his shoulder, the dove, the anchor, the fish. The fish was used as an anagram (*ἰχθυς*), being compounded of the first letters of *Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς Θεοῦ Υἱὸς Σωτήρ*. These emblems were to be found as early as the end of the third century painted on the church walls. The cross, the common token of our faith, was very early used as a symbol both in domestic and church life.

<sup>1</sup> For ancient basilicas see Smith and Cheetham's *Dictionary of Christian Antiquities*. For the origin of Christian church architecture see Bennett's *Christian Archæology*.

The observance of Sunday in this period became universal. "It was distinguished," says Neander, "as a day of joy, by being exempted from fasts and by the circumstance that prayer was performed on this day in a standing and not in a kneeling posture, as Christ by his resurrection had raised up fallen man again to heaven."<sup>1</sup> The Christians of Jewish stock continued to observe both their Sabbath and the Christian Sunday. Friday of every week and Thursday were consecrated to a commemoration of the sufferings of Christ. On these days meetings for prayer were held, with fasting, until three o'clock in the afternoon. The Easter festival was celebrated yearly, though a violent controversy arose between the East and the West as to the proper time of the celebration. The observance of Pentecost began as early as the second century, but it was not till the fourth century that Christmas became a Church festival.

A description of the Christian worship by Justin Martyr has already been given in a previous chapter. Toward the end of the second century the celebration of the Lord's Supper was separated from the other services, and the worship was divided into two parts, to which, in time, the names were given of *Missa Catechumenorum* and *Missa Fidelium*.

"*Missa*" is a part of the formula of dismissal—*missa est*; that is, the congregation is dismissed. The word was finally applied to the Lord's Supper, and from it we have mass. The first service consisted of a reading of the Scriptures, prayer, preaching, and singing, and was open to all. The latter was for the believers only. When this began the catechumens and all others were required to retire, and the door was closed and strictly guarded. The communion held, during the most of this period, to the New Testament idea of a commemoration of the sacrifice of Christ and the offering of the bodies and souls of believers as a thanksgiving to God.

Although baptism was accompanied with repentance and faith, yet the signs of the ascription of a magical effect to the

<sup>1</sup> Neander, *Church History*, vol. i, p. 295.

baptismal water appear as early as the time of Tertullian. The neglect of baptism was regarded a mortal sin, and yet, as it was deemed to be efficacious in procuring salvation, it was postponed by some to the last hours of life in order that they might die in a regenerate state. The idea of penance as a satisfaction for sins committed after baptism is found in Tertullian and Cyprian. As the baptism of adults was, for a time, the practice of the Church, the candidates for this ordinance were ranked as catechumens, and received instruction in doctrine under appointed teachers. Justin, Athenagoras, Tertullian, and other fathers came into the Church in this way. Usually catechetical training continued for two or even three years. After the time of Justin Martyr some appendages were added to baptism, such as the signing with the cross on the forehead and breast of the candidate and the giving of milk and honey in token of his adoption of God.

## CHAPTER XX.

## HISTORY OF CHRISTIAN DOCTRINE.—100 TO 325 A. D.

CHRISTIANITY was not given to man in the shape of a rigorous system of doctrines, but as a revelation of facts to be appropriated by faith. "The divine revelation," says Neander, "was so delivered and so calculated, that its substantial contents might be elaborated and evolved through the divinely enlightened reason of man, actuated by the new divine life, in the same proportion as he became more fully penetrated by it, and with the free activity befitting its proper essence."<sup>1</sup> It remained for men thus enlightened to shape out a doctrinal system which should represent the meaning of the Scriptures. In considering this subject we may inquire: (1) What is the relation of doctrine to revelation? (2) What doctrines received the earliest and closest attention of the fathers of this period? (3) What was the relative influence of the East and the West upon the final result? (4) What are the causes of the appearance of heresies? (5) Who were the men who had most to do with the shaping of the doctrines of the Church?

The relation of doctrine to Scripture is, first, that of dependence, and, second, that of development. Christian doctrine is not philosophic speculation; it starts from accepted and revealed facts, and beyond these facts it cannot go. But it is a necessity of our minds to combine our knowledge into systematic form, and therefore to explore the relation of doctrine to doctrine. The facts of revelation are the germs of theology; the history of doctrine in any period is the history of the effort to unfold these truths of revelation into a complete system. Our reflective faculties can add nothing to Scripture; they can only bring out its truths into clear and logically connected statements. In

<sup>1</sup> *Church History*, vol. i, p. 336.



theology our function is not to discover, but to apprehend what has been revealed.

In the nature of the case the growth of doctrine under these conditions would only be gradual. It was necessary to adhere to Scripture ; it was equally necessary to develop into consistent logical statements the substance of the truth contained in Scripture. Had adherence to Scripture been neglected there would have been no criterion by which to distinguish the catholic faith from heresy. Christianity, with its original and far-reaching ideas, set the minds of men to fermenting, and, as Neander says, it worked as a leaven till it had penetrated the whole mass of ancient culture. Thus by a gradual process, with many conflicts of opinion, the apprehension of the contents of Scripture was wrought out by the Church to clearness. A century or two centuries did not make a long time in which to establish a single important dogma. The thoroughness with which every proposition was discussed helped to give peace to the Church when the final statement was reached.

As the chief fact of revelation is the manifestation of Jesus Christ, the earliest development of doctrine related to the nature of his person. We have seen that the apologists, in meeting the charge of atheism brought against the early Christians, described the character of the Christian's God. They were led, therefore, naturally to investigate what was said in the New Testament of the manifestation of the Word, and of the unity of the Word with God. Theology, as distinguished from anthropology, first occupied the attention of the Church. The earliest undertaking was to show that the Word is a personal being, of the same substance as the Father, and eternally begotten of him. There were fathers, such as Origen, who, to make the personality of the Son clear, affirmed his subordination to God, and thereby led to the Arian controversy. The Church could not reconcile the subordination of the Son with his real divinity, and therefore emphasized his equality with the Father in all the essentials of his being. On the other hand, there were Christian

thinkers, as Sabellius, who, to secure the absolute divinity of the Son, obscured or denied his personality. But with this was held the idea of the subordination of the Son to the Father, which led to the Arian controversy and the Council of Nice. The doctrine of the personality of the Holy Spirit received form more slowly. The Spirit was spoken of as an effluence from God, and was only later conceived as a person. The Church, avoiding extremes, affirmed its faith in the Nicene Creed.

In this period the canon of the New Testament was completed. By the year 254 A. D. the gospels, the Acts of the Apostles, the thirteen epistles of Paul, the Epistle to the Hebrews, the First Epistle of John, and the First Epistle of St. Peter had been admitted into the canon. Opinions were not settled as to the canonicity of the Second and Third Epistles of John, the Epistles of James, Jude, and Second Peter, and the Book of Revelation. These were known for a time as *ἀντιλεγόμενα* (disputed).

The relative influence of the East and the West was of the greatest importance in the formation of the doctrine of the Church. The East, which was Greek, was speculative; the West, conservative. There was good reason for the difference. The Roman people never had an original literature of any value; what was best in their literary work was imitative. The Greek mind was fertile, especially in philosophy; and as many of the fathers were Greeks they left the impress of their intellectual energy on the theology of the Church. The Western fathers were inclined to appeal, in settling controversies, to the tradition of the apostles and the apostolic churches. They exerted a restraining influence and were distinguished for soberness of opinion. In the term West, North Africa, or the region about Carthage, is always included. Thus Justin Martyr, Tatian, Athenagoras, Clement of Alexandria, and Origen, who were of the East, were active in the development of doctrine; while Irenæus and Cyprian were close followers of apostolic report. Tertullian had a degree of the philosophic spirit and was the

originator of the term "Trinity." Cyprian had most to do with the development of monarchico-episcopal ideas.

The causes of the appearance of heresies may be divided into general and special. Among the general causes we may name the reaction of ancient thought against Christian thought, accompanied by an effort to appropriate Christianity. But this appropriation of Christian thought by heretics was always partial; and as might be expected, the Christian and the foreign matter could not be held together by living union. "Wherever," says Neander, "the religious tendencies of the old world, which at first presented themselves in outward hostility to Christianity, became so mixed in with its inner development as to lame the foundation of the Christian faith itself by appropriating to themselves only a part of the whole, those appearances arose which were designated by the name of heresies."<sup>1</sup>

Another general cause of heresies is to be found in the crudeness of some of the early efforts made by sincere men who formulated doctrine. The imperfect, and in part erroneous, statement had to be corrected, and a true formula ascertained. These discussions terminated in councils, each of which either condemned an error or formulated a doctrine.

The special causes of the appearance of heresies were mainly two: a Jewish interest, which refused to see anything more than a man in Jesus, and a Greek interest, which refused to be controlled by the letter of Scripture, and which made a basis for Christianity in philosophy. A false fidelity to the written word, and a disregard of the binding obligation of the word, may characterize both. The heretics of the first class were known as Ebionites; of the second, as Gnostics. According to Ebionism, Jesus was a lawgiver only; according to Gnosticism, Jesus was one of many manifestations of divinity. Gnosticism contained elements derived from oriental theosophy, Greek philosophy, Judaism, and Christianity. From oriental theosophy it obtained the habit of representing the attributes of God as

<sup>1</sup> *Church History*, vol. i, p. 338.

living, personal beings. It peopled the universe with æons, or spiritual emanations from the absolute God. From Greek philosophy it derived the eternity of matter and the idea of its intractability in the hands of the Creator. From this the inference that matter is the cause of sin was very easy. From Judaism it derived the idea of a world-ruler, the Jehovah of the Old Testament, whom it styled the Demiurge, and classed as inferior to the infinite God. From Christianity it derived the idea of a Redeemer. But Christ, according to Gnosticism, is only an æon who leads back the spirits that have become tainted by a union with matter to pure spirit life. Gnosticism denied, therefore, the real humanity of Christ, and placed the redemption of the soul of man in his deliverance from matter. The schools of Gnostics were very many, and were distinguished by a greater or less divergence from Christianity. This heresy may be described as the first great effort of heathen philosophy to appropriate and take possession of our religion. If it be asked, "Did Gnosticism infect the Church?" the answer is, "Yes, to a certain extent." Even Origen, who succeeded in restoring some of the Gnostics to the true faith, is tinged with Gnostic error. And it may be said, in general, that the school of Alexandria was inclined to divide Christianity into an exoteric and an esoteric doctrine and to exalt Gnosis above faith.

As Gnosticism was an abuse of the reasoning faculty in Christian thinking, so Montanism was the suppression of the reasoning faculty. Gnosticism developed Christianity independently of Scripture; Montanism claimed that doctrinal progress could be achieved only through supernatural revelations. Montanus himself was not a person of much importance. He was a native of Phrygia, a country of Asia Minor noted for its tendency to religious extravagance. In a state of ecstatic transport he assumed to foretell as a prophet the coming of new persecutions, the victory of the Church, the second appearing of Christ and his millennial reign. Montanus thus assumed the free agency of the Spirit in the development of the Church; but

this development is by the inspiration of prophetic persons as the Spirit's organs. "As it disdained," says Neander, "the instrumentality of reason, which was appointed to administer, by its own peculiar activity, the treasure imparted to it from above, nothing else remained but to assume that Christianity must be continually integrated and perfected by means of extraordinary revelations continually accruing from without, in relation to which the human mind was to remain in a state altogether passive."<sup>1</sup> Montanism was, therefore, the antithesis of Gnosticism. Montanism found its theologian in Tertullian, who was a member of this sect in the closing years of his life.

As the heresies were a reaction of thought foreign to Christianity, which had found its way into the Church, against Christianity itself, so in the effort to expel them (the heresies) the Church was educated to clearer doctrinal ideas. Neander well says: "The Christian mind, while engaged in repelling such a reaction, must still more clearly develop and express itself than it could have done if these fundamental principles had merely been brought to assail Christianity from without. These conflicts could not fail to result in a conscious knowledge, more clearly developed and more sharply defined, of the distinguishing essence of Christianity generally and of the substantial contents of its several documents."<sup>2</sup>

As the first view of the divine Word (*λόγος*) was that of a being begotten of God, and subordinate to him, so there were those who, maintaining the unity of God, denied the personality of the Logos. These were styled Monarchians and also Alogi. The Monarchians were chiefly of two classes: (1) Those who held that Jesus was only a man endowed with divine wisdom, that is, "actuated by the divine reason and power bestowed on him in a larger measure than on any other messenger of God."<sup>3</sup> These may be called Dynamistic Monarchians. (2) Those who considered the names Father and Son as "only two different modes of desig-

<sup>1</sup> Neander, *Church History*, vol. i, p. 512.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. i, p. 339.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. i, p. 577.



nating the same subject; that in his previous relations to the world God is called the Father, and that in his relations established through Christ he is called the Son." These may be termed Modalistic Monarchians. In the course of time the latter were called Patripassians, because they were supposed to believe that the Father suffered in Christ. The founder of the Monarchians of the first class was Theodotus, a leather dresser of Byzantium. He promulgated his doctrines in Rome and was excommunicated by Bishop Victor (192-202). The founder of the Monarchians of the second class was Praxeas of Asia Minor. He taught that the Father himself had become man and had suffered in the form of Christ. He was powerfully and successfully answered by Tertullian (160-230) in a treatise still extant. Noetus of Smyrna was also a leading Patripassian. When he was cited to answer for heresy he asked, "Of what evil am I guilty when I glorify Christ?" He appealed for justification to the gospel of John: "He that hath seen me hath seen the Father." Thus Monarchianism and Patripassianism are efforts to avoid the twofold idea of the distinct personality of the Word and his hypostatic union with the Father. The Church, however, sought to establish, and, pressing through all contradictions, did establish, two positions: (1) The personal distinction of the Son from the Father; (2) The real divinity of the Son and his coequality with the Father. But the most eminent of the Monarchians was Sabellius (died 270). He extended his theory to the whole Trinity. His fundamental thought is an extension and a contraction of the Godhead. In the course of the world's history God unfolds himself in three forms: in giving law he reveals himself as the Father; in redemption as the Son; in inspiration as the Holy Spirit. When the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit have fulfilled their mission they return to the absolute Monad. Thus the Trinity of Sabellius is a Trinity of manifestations, not of essence.

We notice now the inquiry, "Who were the men who had



most to do with the shaping of the doctrines of the Church? " We owe to the apologists the first attempts to define "Trinity." Origen suggested the thought of the eternal generation of the Son, and on this, as a fundamental thought, the Church built the dogma of Christ's divinity. We owe to Athanasius and Hosius, bishop in Spain, a clear statement of the same doctrine of the divinity of our Lord. From Cyprian we derive the ideas, which obtained for more than a thousand years, that ministers are sacrificing priests, and that the Church is a mediator between man and God. We owe to Pope Leo the Great the statement of the relation to each other of the divine and human in Christ, which was formulated by the Council of Chalcedon, 451 A. D. Augustine laid the foundations of anthropology as distinguished from theology, in his doctrine of sin and grace. His opinions, however, were not received by the Church of his own century, and the centuries following, in their totality. The development of the doctrine of atonement belongs to the Middle Ages; its great name is that of Anselm. Arius became, in the fourth century, the chief of the deniers of Christ's divinity, and the controversy over his opinions led to the calling of the Council of Nice. In forming the dogma of the Trinity, Justin Martyr, Tatian, Athenagoras, Theophilus, Clement, and Origen helped to bring the Church's thought to clearness. Theophilus first used the word *τριάς*, Tertullian the word Trinity; Origen first emphasized the thought of the eternal generation of the Son from the Father. Arius, who comes into notice in 318 or 320 A. D., was originally from Antioch, but removed to Alexandria. He denied the equality of the Logos with the Father, but admitted his personal distinction from the Father. He was excommunicated by a synod of Alexandrian bishops; but being supported by a synod in Bithynia, and the strife increasing, a council was called by the emperor Constantine to settle the question. In this council Athanasius, a deacon of Alexandria, was the chief defender of the faith against the Arian party.

## NOTES TO CHAPTER XX.

## I. INFLUENCE OF THE GREEK MIND UPON THE DEVELOPMENT OF CHRISTIAN DOCTRINE.

In entering upon the history of Christian doctrine we enter, in fact, upon the study of the action of the Greek mind on the contents of the New Testament. Not that the Latin mind is without influence upon the result, but the Greek mind is the first in the order of time. Here, as elsewhere, the two races, the Latins and the Greeks, show their distinctive characteristics. The Greeks deal with pure theology; the Latins, with Christian institutions. The Greeks are above all else metaphysical; the Latins, legal. The Greeks deal with theology; the Latins, with anthropology. The Greeks treat of God as he is in his essence; the Latins, as he is in his relations of government over the human race. The Greeks found it a short passage from philosophy to theology. The apologists, as we have seen, speak of Christianity as the true philosophy, and Aristides, Athenagoras, and Justin are philosophers. As philosophy was occupied with the discerning of the right knowledge of God, Christianity appeared to them as answering all their questions with a certainty to which Greek philosophy could lay no claim.

For my part I consider this action of the Greek mind upon the contents of the New Testament as both natural and providential. If there was a fullness of time prepared for the manifestation of the Son of God, part of that preparation must have consisted in the intellectual fitting of the world for the reception and assimilation of the truth which Christ was appointed to bring to us. Greece is the perpetual educator of mankind, and that Greek thinking was to play a part in the shaping of the doctrinal formulas of the Church seems of providential arrangement. Logic and metaphysics are indispensable to the formation of theological dogma; and if the logic and metaphysics of the Greeks had not been at hand for the purpose, the logic and metaphysics of some other race would have been required. The concrete statements of the New Testament must be analyzed and put into abstract form, and by such mode alone do we create dogmatic theology.

It has been objected to this work of the Greek mind that it gave a metaphysical shaping to Christianity which is foreign to its nature. Thus Hatch puts in contrast the Sermon on the Mount, which Matthew places in the forefront of his account of Christ's teaching, with the Nicene Creed, relative to the divinity of Christ, the first great achievement of Greek Christian thought. His inference is that the development of Christianity was deflected from its true path by the Greek metaphysics.<sup>1</sup> This would be valid reasoning if the Sermon on the Mount contained the whole of Christ's teaching. But when we open the New Testament we find propositions stated which compel abstract thought in those who have any capacity for such thoughts: "In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God;"<sup>2</sup> "I and my Father are one;"<sup>3</sup> "He that hath seen me hath seen the Father;"<sup>4</sup> "The Son of Man came to give his life a ransom for many;"<sup>5</sup> "The Father sheweth the Son all things that

<sup>1</sup> *The Hibbert Lectures*, 1886, *The Influence of Greek Ideas and Usages upon the Christian Church*.

<sup>2</sup> John i, 1.

<sup>3</sup> John x, 30.

<sup>4</sup> John xiv, 9.

<sup>5</sup> Matt. xx, 28.

himself doeth ;"<sup>1</sup> Peter's confession, "Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God;"<sup>2</sup> which may be taken as the starting point of theology. Har-nack argues with Hatch, and makes this contention: "The claim of the Church that the dogmas are simply the exposition of the Christian revelation is not confirmed by historical investigation. On the contrary, it becomes clear that dogmatic Christianity, in its conception and in its construction, was the work of the Hellenic spirit upon the Gospel soil. The intellectual medium by which in early times men sought to make the Gospel comprehensible and to establish it securely became inseparably blended with the content of the same."<sup>3</sup> This statement remains to be demonstrated. On the contrary, that which has proved most stable in the formation of dogma, theology proper, the doctrine of God, was the work of the Greek mind. It has passed through the medium of the Teutonic mind, and has been to it most acceptable. Dividing all developed doctrine into (1) The doctrine of God, (2) The doctrine of man, (3) The doctrine of the Church, we find only in regard to the last two as formulated that the ancient definitions have been disturbed. The doctrine of the Church, as a mediator between God and man, has been overthrown by the Reformation. This departure from the teaching of the New Testament was owing more to Jewish influences than to Greek. Augustine's dogmas of sin and grace and the predestination of the elect have been in this century, more than in all others, undermined. The work of the Greeks in defining the nature and tri-personality of God still commands the assent of the universal Church.

The starting point in the formation of doctrine is the consciousness of redemption, derived from the acceptance of revealed truth. The Christian experience is the verifier of what is revealed, and this Christian experience cooperates with the reason in elucidating the meaning of the written record. As the consciousness of redemption draws the Church to Christ, so does the Church wish to know his attributes, his powers, and especially his ability to fulfill the word of his promise. As has been well said, this life "is a life in the truth. To go forward in it a man must realize the relations in which he stands, and the nature of that great world of revelation in which he claims a part."<sup>4</sup> A practical interest must, therefore, have coworked with the scientific interest; or, rather, the first promptings toward theology must have been from the desire more fully to comprehend the truth which had brought the Church life and fellowship with God.

Now this truth which had brought life needed to be guarded against perversion, and especially that perversion which tried to reduce all Christianity to philosophic speculation. The difference between Christianity and Greek philosophy was that Christianity possessed a body of revealed facts which of necessity set boundaries to speculation. I do not think that when Justin and Theophilus called Christianity the true philosophy they meant that it was a speculative system. What they meant was that Christianity possessed what philosophy had sought, the true doctrine about God; but they held, too, that the true doctrine was known by means of revelation. When, therefore, the Gnostics pushed the historical facts of Christianity aside, by denying them, or perverting them to suit their own purposes, the Church held fast to the history, and contended that doctrine should be subordi-

<sup>1</sup> John v. 20.<sup>2</sup> Matt. xvi. 16.<sup>3</sup> *Outlines of the History of Dogma*, p. 5.<sup>4</sup> *Bainy, Delivery and Development of Christian Doctrine*, p. 131.

nated to its revelations. Thus the Church in forming doctrine proceeded positively by analyzing the contents of the truths which brought redemption, and negatively by resisting the attempt to take Christianity from its historical foundation. And though I cannot say with Fairbairn<sup>1</sup> that Christian theology began with Gnosticism, that is, with the effort to repel Gnostic error, yet there is no doubt that the struggle to repel Gnostic error greatly stimulated doctrinal development.

The development of doctrine is not from revelation but to revelation. To develop from revelation would lead us to mere speculative thought, and would make doctrine independent of the written word. Doctrinal development starts from the apprehension which the Church had of the truth when the inspired guidance of the apostles was withdrawn. There was a great treasure of truth left behind by these divinely guided leaders, which the Church was to appropriate. This appropriation was to be a process of growth in the knowledge of the truth. The great facts of the life, teaching, dying, resurrection, and ascension of Christ ministered joy, consolation, and hope. How much was contained in these facts? They were not apprehended in all the fullness of their meaning; that was impossible. We have seen that this apprehension was gradual; so much so that some truths received in the Reformation a clear statement which they had never had before.

The difficulties of full apprehension by the immediately post-apostolic Church were those of education and habits of thought; or, to use a term now much in vogue, difficulties of environment. (1) The Greek was by education a searcher after wisdom; a philosopher, or a lover of philosophy. He might see Christianity too much through the medium of the philosophic system which he preferred. And as a revived Stoicism was a fact of Christian times, he might mingle together Stoic and Christian ideals of goodness. He might make the goal of life something unlike the Christian goal. He might substitute an abstract ideal for the only true ideal, the person and character of Christ. (2) He was enveloped in a system of sacrifices and priests, with a cult of the gods, which was wholly external. He might then externalize the Church, and conceive it as a cult with priests and sacrifices, and frame his doctrine of the nature of the Church accordingly.

## II. GNOSTICISM.

*(Condensed from Mansel.)*

1. Gnosticism united the idea of one religion designed for the wise and initiated, and of another religion for the ignorant and profane vulgar.

2. Gnosticism regarded Christianity as a veil for metaphysical ideas. "Men are saved, not by the historical, but by the metaphysical."

3. The two questions with which Gnosticism was concerned were, (1) The problem of absolute existence. (2) The origin of evil. It established a metaphysical relation between God and man and made a metaphysical solution of the origin of evil.

4. In Gnosticism evil is not moral but natural. It is a fault in the original constitution of the universe. Gnosticism denied the existence of sin and

<sup>1</sup> Fairbairn, *The Place of Christ in Modern Theology*.



redemption from evil. It could, therefore, have no God to whom sin in man is displeasing as a departure from original rectitude.

5. The problem of the Absolute was derived by the Gnostics from Plato. Philo out of Plato elaborated a theory according to which the God of the Old Testament is distinguished from the Absolute first principle.

6. "Philo's language is such as to suggest to subsequent speculators . . . the theory of a series of intermediate spiritual beings interposed between the supreme God and the visible world."

7. But Philo had to deal with the Old Testament only ; the Gnostics with the revelation of Christ in the New Testament.

8. According to Gnosticism Christ does not redeem man from the sin which is brought in by man's voluntary act, for man has no free will : Christ redeems from something inherent in the constitution of the world itself.

9. The evil from which Christ redeems the world is some evil brought in by its Creator.

10. The Redeemer of the world stands higher than its Creator. Gnosticism regarded the Creator, (1) As an imperfect being, or (2) As a malignant being.

11. Two views were taken of the Jewish religion by Gnostics. Either (1) It was incomplete and to find its completion in a Christian philosophy, or (2) It was hostile to Christianity, and to be overthrown by Christianity. This difference led to two views of the office of Christ, (1) He might be regarded as sent to complete an imperfect revelation, or (2) He might be regarded as coming to deliver the world from an evil Creator and Ruler.

12. The Gnostic doctrine of the Absolute, derived largely from Philo, may be thus stated: The Absolute "is beyond personality" and indefinable, and is "incapable of relation to finite things." It is self-subsistent being, and no more. This being enters into relations with the finite through intermediate spiritual beings, of no definite number, who come between the Absolute and the visible world. In Philo, the highest of these intermediate beings is the Logos ; they are all, however, emanations from the Absolute principle.

13. The dualism of Gnosticism may be referred to, (1) An original conflict in the universe, prior to all time, between the spirit of light and the spirit of darkness. Each of these spirits create a series of spiritual existences to aid him in the strife for victory. This theory gave rise to Persian or Syrian Gnosticism. (2) The idea of evil as inherent in matter, and the consequent conflict between spirit and matter. The deliverance from union with matter and absorption in the Absolute One is, therefore, the goal of all finite being.

14. By virtue of its theory of two eternal substances, spirit and matter, of which the second is evil and the cause of evil, Gnosticism had to affirm that the Redeeming *Æon* had no real connection with flesh. His apparent body belonged to some one else, and was taken possession of at the baptism, and abandoned at the crucifixion. On this ground also Gnosticism had to deny the reality of the resurrection of the celestial Christ, for he was never buried.

15. Neander divides the Gnostic sects into two classes, (1) Those wholly hostile to Judaism, and (2) Those comparatively favorable to it. Both alike

regarded the Demiurge, the Creator or Jehovah of the Old Testament, as an inferior God; both alike regarded the Redeemer as a higher being than the God of the Jews. But the Gnostics of the first class considered Judaism and Christianity as wholly antagonistic; those of the second class regarded Judaism as an inferior religion which Christianity was to perfect. The Gnostics of the first class carried their opposition to Judaism to the point of denying the obligation of the moral law because it had proceeded from the Demiurge. They, therefore, held that vicious action is indifferent to the man possessed of Gnosis.

16. Gnosticism may be distinguished from neo-Platonism. Both had the same view of the Absolute God; but (1) Gnosticism admitted the idea of redemption, of which neo-Platonism knew nothing. (2) Gnosticism took the Old Testament revelation into account as something to be perfected or opposed; neo-Platonism was opposed to both Testaments. (3) Many Gnostics were not averse to membership in the Christian Church. They preferred to found schools of the Gnostikoi within the Church. Neo-Platonism was opposed to the Church *in toto*.

### III. SEVERITY OF THE STRUGGLE WITH GNOSTICISM.

To understand the severity of the struggle of the Church with Gnosticism, we must bear in mind that our religion had not the position in the esteem of the world which it has acquired by conferring its precious benefits on the human race for nearly two thousand years. It was new, obscure; the believers in its truths lived under the stress of persecution. The events in the life of Christ for which it vouched occurred in an obscure corner of the Roman empire and among a people especially despised. As original as this faith was, it was not as old as philosophy, it was but of yesterday; and should philosophy bow down and humbly accept its lessons? Such a thought was deemed preposterous. It might and did furnish new material for philosophy, but philosophy must prescribe how this material should be used. Tertullian, in reply to this claim of philosophy, asks, "What has Athens to do with Jerusalem? What agreement can there be between the Academy and the Church? Our instruction comes from Solomon's porch, and Solomon has taught us that the Lord is to be sought in simplicity of heart."<sup>1</sup>

The conflict with Gnosticism decided, once for all, that Christianity was not to be taken from its foundation of fact and another foundation supplied for it by philosophy. The Gnostic attack tested the stability of Christianity as a fact, and the test was successfully met. As the Gnostics had charged upon the authors of the original Christian documents a perversion of the teachings of Christ, appeal was made to the uninterrupted tradition of churches formed by apostles or their associates. One only faith had been handed down from the beginning. Irenæus handles this topic with much fullness, and Tertullian furnishes a summary of the traditional belief of Christians which contains the substance of the Apostles' Creed. "Away then," says Tertullian, "with all attempts to produce a mottled Christianity of Stoic, Platonic, and dialectic composition."<sup>2</sup> Not only will he have no mottled Christianity, but he shows, in his argument against Marcion, that the good God of this Gnostic is worthless for the government of the world.

<sup>1</sup> *The Prescription against Heretics*, chap. vii.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, chap. vii.



Goodness without justice, pleads Tertullian, can work only evil. "Since, therefore, there is this union and agreement between goodness and justice, you cannot prescribe their separation. With what face will you determine the separation of your two Gods, regarding in their separate condition one as distinctively the good God, and the other as distinctively the just God? Where the just is, there also exists the good. In short, from the very first, the Creator was both good and also just."<sup>1</sup> He shows also that what Marcion thinks unworthy of God, in the union of the Word with our flesh, is the highest evidence of the divine paternity.<sup>2</sup> Tertullian's treatise against Marcion is in five books. Book I denies that the Creator is a different being from the supreme God. Book II is on the same topic and controverts the argument of Marcion. Book III shows that Jesus is the Son of God, who created the world. Book IV refutes the authorities of Marcion. Book V shows that the Pauline epistles and the gospel of Luke are not contrary to the Old Testament, but in harmony with it.

Two other fathers were, with Tertullian, especially noteworthy in the refutation of Gnosticism: Irenæus, already spoken of, and Hippolytus. The work of Irenæus, entitled *Against Heresies*, is also in five books. In the first two Irenæus combats the system of Valentine and other Gnostics. He especially controverts the Valentinian opinion that the Creator of the universe is inferior to the supreme God. Also, there is an argument against the classification of souls as pneumatic and psychic. The third, fourth, and fifth books contain a refutation of Gnosticism from Scripture. Here Irenæus exhibits the sources of Christian truth as against the secret tradition of the Gnostics.

#### IV. MARCION.

Marcion was above all else a critic. His method was a combination of higher criticism and rationalism. Being originally a Christian, his criticism occupied itself with the documents of divine revelation. He rejected all the Old Testament and those parts of the New Testament which he judged to be Judaic in their tone and leaning. The method of the Gnostics, says Mansel, "was mystical and ontological. Marcion was rationalistic. They professed to teach a special wisdom, accessible only to a chosen few; he professed to teach a plain Christianity, within the reach of all Christian men."<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Against Marcion*, book II, chap. XII.

<sup>2</sup> Mansel, *The Gnostic Heresies*, p. 204.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, book II, chap. XXVII.



## Second Period.

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FROM THE UNION OF THE CHURCH WITH THE  
ROMAN EMPIRE TO THE RISE OF  
PROTESTANTISM.

323 A. D. TO 1517 A. D.



## CHAPTER XXI.

## THE COUNCIL OF NICE.

IN tracing the history of this period we must bear in mind that Christianity had now become the religion of the state. From this union with the empire the Church received infinite harm. First of all, the number of nominal believers who had little or nothing of the Christian spirit was enormously increased. In the next place the state attempted to fix the standard of orthodoxy and to punish with exile, imprisonment, and death those who would not accept the creed of the reigning emperor. As a natural consequence, when the spirit of controversy was high, and episcopal elections impended, these were conducted with all the heat of political partisanship. As there are men in all ages of the world who study how "thrift may follow fawning," so in this age bishops became courtiers, and by flattery and playing upon the weaknesses of the possessors of power made themselves great. This mingling of intrigue with theology, of political ambition with the service of the Church, so weakened Eastern Christianity that it became an easy prey to Mohammedanism. Beyond the settlement of the important doctrines of theology there is nothing glorious in the long history of the Eastern Church from the reign of Constantine to the capture of Byzantium by the Turks.

We must go farther back than Arius for the rise of Arianism. The error which bears his name can be traced to the apostolic period. The Church had from the beginning tended toward the establishment of two ideas, both to be found in Scripture: (1) The real divinity of the Son, and his equality with the Father. (2) His personal distinction from the Father. The apologists, while claiming divinity for the Son, were not so clear as to his equality with the Father; in some of their

expressions they are subordinationists. Until fixed by the Council of Nice the language of the theologians of the Church was, to a certain extent, vacillating. It could hardly be otherwise, for the subject is one of the profoundest that can occupy our thoughts. Certain leaders in Antioch were the immediate forerunners of Arius. Paul of Samosata (became bishop 260) held that the Logos was impersonal and not distinguishable from the Father; Lucian, a priest of Antioch, adopted the same opinions and was excommunicated for holding them. He gave up this heresy and was restored to the Church, but even after his restoration denied the coeternity of the Father and the Son. Whether Arius was personally a disciple of Lucian is not known, but his opinions were certainly formed on those of Lucian, for he calls himself a Lucianist.

Arius was by birth a Libyan, as was also Sabellius. He came to Alexandria, and was placed in charge of the church called Baukalis. His views were first publicly made known by his objections to a discourse delivered by Bishop Alexander of Alexandria, on the Trinity. The bishop called a synod at that city in 320 or 321 A. D., which excommunicated Arius. A second synod was called in which a statement was set forth of the Arian errors. These errors are: "God was not always Father; the Logos of God has not always been. He was created from nothing; consequently there was a time when he was not. The Son is a creature. He is not of the same substance as the Father. He does not know God perfectly; he does not know even his own nature perfectly. He was created for us, so that God might create us by him as his instrument."<sup>1</sup> Arius, although declaring the Son to be a creature, also declared him to have been before all time. For, according to Arius, time began with the creation of the visible world; therefore the Son, who created all things, must have been before time.

Excommunicated, Arius was compelled to leave Alexandria.

<sup>1</sup> Hefele, *History of the Church Councils to A. D. 325*, p. 249.



He went to Palestine, and from thence to Nicomedia, the capital of Bithynia, where Eusebius, the friend of the emperor, was bishop. While here he wrote his principal treatise, which he called the *Θάλεια*, or *Banquet*. It was partly in prose and partly in verse, and was carefully adapted to popular use. Some fragments of it only are preserved in the orations of Athanasius. From these it is made manifest that Arius was not misrepresented before the synod which deposed him. He says in them: "God has not always been Father; the Son is not from eternity; he came from nothing. The Logos did not perfectly know the Father; he could not even entirely understand his own nature; the substances of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost are entirely different the one from the other." In a letter to Bishop Alexander, Arius says: "The Son is a perfect creature of God, but yet distinct from all other creatures; he is begotten, yet again he differs from all that is begotten."<sup>1</sup>

During the renewal of war between Licinius and Constantine, Arius returned to Alexandria. Constantine, having defeated Licinius and pacified the empire, turned his attention next to the pacification of the Church. He first sent a letter to the contending parties at Alexandria by his friend, the venerable Bishop Hosius of Cordova, in Spain. The letter failing of result, he summoned a general council to meet in the city of Nice. The number of bishops present at the council was three hundred and eighteen, chiefly Greeks. The most eminent representative of the West was Hosius of Cordova. Among the other men of fame were Eusebius of Nicomedia, and Eusebius of Cæsarea, Palestine, the historian; Alexander of Alexandria, who brought with him his deacon, Athanasius; Eustathius of Antioch, and Paphnutius, a monk of Upper Egypt, held in great reverence, who defeated the proposal to make the celibacy of priests compulsory. The confessors and hermits were represented also by Paul of Neo-Cæsarea, who

<sup>1</sup> Hefele, *History of the Church Councils to A. D. 325*, pp. 255, 257.

had suffered under Licinius, the brother-in-law of Constantine, having been tortured with red-hot iron; Jacob of Nisibis, who lived in a cave and fed on roots; and Spyridion of Cyprus, who after his ordination had continued to be a shepherd.

The council was opened with much ceremony. After the bishops were seated the emperor entered, and Eusebius says that "he appeared as a messenger from God, covered with gold and precious stones, a magnificent figure, tall and slender, and full of grace and majesty. To this majesty he united great modesty and devout humility, so that he kept his eyes reverently bent upon the ground, and only sat down upon the golden seat which had been prepared for him when the bishops gave him the signal to do so." Whatever may be thought of the extravagance of this description, the address of Constantine to the council was full of gentleness and sweetness of spirit. He said: "When I was told of the division that had arisen amongst you, I was convinced that I ought not to attend to any business before this; and it is from the desire of being useful to you that I have convened you without delay; but I shall not believe my end to be attained until I have united the minds of all, until I see that peace and that union reign amongst you which you are commissioned as the anointed of the Lord to preach to others."<sup>1</sup> He also took part in the deliberations, and praised the speakers who pleased him.

The parties in the council were three: (1) The orthodox party, which was, at the beginning, in the minority. Its chief members were Alexander of Alexandria, Hosius of Cordova, Macarius of Jerusalem, Marcellus of Ancyra, and Athanasius of Alexandria, who rapidly rose to the position of a leading spirit of the assembly. (2) The Arians, or Eusebians, who numbered twenty bishops. Their chief was Eusebius of Nicomedia, who was closely associated with the imperial family; of this party were also Theognis of Nicæa, Maris of Chalcedon, and Menophantus of Ephesus. We add to these Arius,

<sup>1</sup> Hefele, *History of the Church Councils to A. D. 325*, p. 281.

who had full liberty to express his opinions. (3) The middle party, which was the majority, but with a strong inclination to the orthodox side. Their leader was Eusebius of Cæsarea. They were orthodox in feeling, but needed help to clear their thoughts.

It is now time to turn to the doctrinal aspects of the council. God is revealed to us in the New Testament as God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Spirit. To inquire how these three were related to one another in the divine unity was both natural and reasonable. Sabellius had conceived the idea of a modal Trinity. In his mind the creation was figured as a stage, and God appeared in three successive characters or representations. His own language is: "The Father remains the same, but evolves himself as Father, Son, and Spirit." He compared the revelations of the one God to the sun; thus, the Father is the disk, the Son the enlightening power, the Spirit the warming energy. This theory has the merit of simplicity, but fails to meet the conditions of the New Testament, which represents the distinction between the Father, the Son, and the Spirit as personal. Thus Jesus says: "I will pray the Father, and he shall give you another Comforter, that he may abide with you forever; even the Spirit of truth."<sup>1</sup> Arius grasped the idea that the Son is "begotten" as a complete refutation of Sabellianism, and he was right. The word "begotten" makes the distinction between the Father and the Son personal. But when he conceived the Son to be personally distinct from the Father he held also that the Son is subordinate, and in that he erred. "Arius," says Hefele, "admitted, with the orthodox fathers, that the term 'begotten' was the palladium which could alone save the doctrine of the personal existence of the Son against Sabellianism. He therefore took the idea of 'begotten' as the groundwork of his argument; but he transferred the idea of time, which rules every human generation, to the divine generation, and drew from that, as he

<sup>1</sup> John xiv, 16, 17.

thought, with logical necessity the proposition that the Son could not be coeternal with the Father."<sup>1</sup> Arius said consistently that the Son is made from things that are not (ἐξ οὐκ ὄντων), and is a creature. It was suggested in the council that instead of this phrase a biblical form should be used, namely, "The Logos is from God (ἐκ τοῦ Θεοῦ)." The Arians agreed to this, saying, "All is from God, we and all creatures, as says the apostle."<sup>2</sup> Here was an ambiguity, and to escape it the formula was changed to, "The Son is of the substance of the Father (ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας τοῦ Θεοῦ)." All attempts of the Arians, therefore, to come into harmony with the council failed. They offered a creed expressing their views, which was promptly rejected.

The next creed was offered by Eusebius of Cæsarea, the leader of the middle party. It was an ancient Palestinian confession, biblical in its phraseology, but it avoided the words "of the same substance." This creed, as to the points in issue, was in these terms: "We believe in one only God, Father Almighty, Creator of things visible and invisible, and in the Lord Jesus Christ, for he is the Logos of God, God of God, Light of Light, Life of Life, his only Son, the first-born of all creatures, begotten of the Father before all time, by whom also everything was created. . . . We believe also in the Holy Ghost. We believe that each of these three is and subsists; the Father truly as Father, the Son truly as Son, the Holy Ghost truly as Holy Ghost." It will be observed that this creed avoids stating that the Son is of the substance of the Father; indeed, it practically denies the identity of substance by calling him "the first-born of all creatures." The emperor was pleased, but advised the adding of the word *ὁμοούσιος*, "of the same substance." The council would not accept it because it was indefinite as to the Arian error. The orthodox feeling would not be satisfied with anything less than a formula which the Arians could not accept.

<sup>1</sup> Hefele, *History of the Church Councils to A. D. 325*, p. 243.

<sup>2</sup> See 1 Cor. viii, 6.

Hosius of Cordova now offered a confession which was read by the secretary of the council, Hermogenes of Cæsarea, and which was accepted and signed by all the bishops except five. The five bishops who refused to sign were: Eusebius of Nicomedia, Theognis of Nicæa, Maris of Chalcedon, Theonas of Marmarica, and Secundus of Ptolemais. Eusebius of Cæsarea signed it after a day's deliberation, and all the five dissenters but two finally yielded. The two were Theonas and Secundus; they, with Arius, were excommunicated and banished. Then began the terrible history of civil punishment for heresy, and the path of the Church was from this time forth often tracked with blood. Then began the fatal error of intrusting the infliction of ecclesiastical penalties to the civil magistrates, an error which has brutalized the Church, made men infidels, and from which we are only now in these later ages escaping. One cannot read the history of a thousand years without repeating the words of the psalmist, "How long, O Lord, how long?"

The words of the Nicene Creed are these: "We believe in one God, the Father Almighty, Creator of all things visible and invisible, and in one Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God, only-begotten of the Father, that is, of the substance of the Father (*τουτέστιν ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας τοῦ πατρὸς*), God of God, Light of Light, very God of very God (*θεὸν ἀληθινὸν ἐκ θεοῦ ἀληθινοῦ*), begotten, not made, being of the same substance with the Father (*ὁμοούσιον τῷ πατρὶ*), by whom all things were made in heaven and in earth, who for us men and for our salvation came down from heaven, was incarnate, was made man, suffered, rose again the third day, ascended into the heavens, and he will come to judge the living and the dead. And in the Holy Ghost." The damnatory clause of the creed which follows is valuable as showing against what errors its important passages are directed. It is in these words: "Those who say there was a time when he was not, and he was not before he was begotten, and he was made of nothing (*ἐξ οὐκ ὄντων*), or who say that he is of another hypostasis, or of another substance [than the Father],



or that the Son of God is created, that he is mutable or subject to change, the Catholic Church anathematizes."<sup>1</sup>

## NOTES TO CHAPTER XXI.

### I. GENERAL OR ECUMENICAL COUNCILS IN THE ANCIENT CHURCH.

The general or ecumenical councils in the ancient Church took their rise from the example of the council held at Jerusalem, which is recorded in Acts xv. Following the language of this council in its decree, to wit, "It seemed good to the Holy Ghost and to us," all general councils claimed a like divine authority for their decisions.

In the early Christian ages the general councils were called by the emperors, who were either present in person or were represented by commissioners. After the fifth century the Bishop of Rome was also represented by legates, and in the later ages his representative presided. The voting members of the council were exclusively bishops, who signed the records of the proceedings. Learned theologians attended as consulting members, but had no votes. Each bishop attending was accompanied by his secretary or secretaries, who were also admitted to seats. Laymen were usually present, but in some official capacity as representatives of the state.

The expenses of the general councils were paid out of the imperial treasury, for councils were secular as well as ecclesiastical assemblies. The decrees adopted were enforced by imperial edicts, and their violation was punished by fine, imprisonment, confiscation of goods, and banishment. The decisions of the councils created that body of tradition which is held by the Greek Church and also by the Latin Church to be in authority co-ordinate with the Scriptures. This coordinate authority follows from the fact that conciliar decisions are held to be inspired by the Holy Ghost.

### II. THE SEVEN ECUMENICAL COUNCILS.

1. The Council of Nice, 325 A. D. ; convened by Constantine the Great ; condemned Arianism.

2. The First Council of Constantinople, 381 A. D. ; convened by Theodosius the Great ; condemned Apollinarianism, and confirmed the acts of the Council of Nice.

3. The Council of Ephesus, 431 A. D. ; convened by Theodosius II and Valentinian III ; condemned Nestorianism.

4. The Council of Chalcedon, 451 A. D. ; convened by Marcian ; condemned Eutychianism.

5. The Second Council of Constantinople, 553 A. D. ; convened by Justinian ; condemned the Three Chapters, or the Christological views of three bishops already dead, namely, Theodore of Mopsuestia, Theodoret of Cyrhus, and Ibas of Edessa.

6. The Third Council of Constantinople, 680 A. D. ; convened by Constantine Progonatus ; condemned Monothelitism.

7. The Second Council of Nice, 787 A. D. ; convened by the empress Irene and her son Constantine ; sanctioned image worship.

<sup>1</sup> Hefele, *History of the Church Councils to A. D. 325*, pp. 294, 295.



## CHAPTER XXII.

## THE ARIAN REACTION.

THE decision of the Council of Nice was by no means the end of controversy. Apparently there was a great victory won, but immediately after the dispersion of the bishops the war of conflicting opinions became more violent than ever. Some of the bishops had signed the creed without sincerely accepting its statements. Arius found powerful political support, and Athanasius was condemned to exile more than once. Many councils were held whose decisions contradicted one another. The bitterness of the contest was carried into the election of bishops, which were sometimes tumultuous and accompanied with bloodshed.

The Arians and Semi-Arians had such support from Eusebius of Nicomedia and Eusebius of Cæsarea that they are frequently called Eusebians. Through the persuasions of his sister Constantia and of Eusebius of Cæsarea, Constantine was induced to recall Arius from exile. Athanasius, who had become Bishop of Alexandria, A. D. 328, or according to other authorities A. D. 326, refused to reinstate Arius in the Church, and was condemned by two Arian synods, that of Tyre, A. D. 335, and that of Constantinople, held the same year, and was banished to Treves, in Gaul. Constantine next ordered Alexander, Bishop of Constantinople, to receive Arius into the Church. "The Eusebians," says Hefele, "threatened the bishop with deposition and exile if he made opposition, and declared that they would on the next day (Sunday), whether he willed it or not, celebrate divine service with Arius. A few hours later, on the evening of the same Saturday, Arius went with a great escort through the city. When he was come near to Constantine's forum he had to retire to relieve nature, and died from

the gushing out of his bowels, A. D. 336.”<sup>1</sup> Of course, hundreds and thousands considered his death to be a divine judgment.

In the year A. D. 337 Constantine died, and the empire was divided between his sons, Constantine II (died 340), Constans (died 350), and Constantius (died 361). The return of Athanasius was agreed upon; he was received with the greatest honor by the people of Alexandria A. D. 338. Court influence had now much to do with the ascendancy of doctrine. Constantius, who ruled the East, was a fanatical Arian, and made Eusebius of Nicomedia Bishop of Constantinople. Athanasius was deposed a second time (A. D. 340), and went to Rome, where he was kindly received by Bishop Julius. Here he remained for three years. A synod held at Rome sustained him; a synod held at Antioch (A. D. 341) confirmed his deposition and set forth four creeds which, while not Arian, avoided the word *ὁμοούσιος*.

It was quite time now for another general council to settle this bitter dispute, and one was called by the two emperors, Constantius of the East and Constans of the West, to meet at Sardica in Illyria, A. D. 343. In this the West was strongly represented. The Eusebians refused, therefore, to take part, and assembled in the neighboring city of Philippopolis. The Synod of Sardica reaffirmed the Nicene Creed, but the Church remained as hopelessly divided as ever. The Eusebians did their utmost to prevent the recognition of Athanasius by the Council of Sardica from being carried out by his restoration to his episcopate. They even procured an order that if he or any of his priests should attempt to enter the gates of Alexandria they should be put to death. They were, however, overruled by Constans, the Emperor of the West, and Athanasius once more returned home. The particulars of the return of Athanasius may be thus stated. Even during the session of the Sardican Council the emperor Constantius had sentenced to banishment

<sup>1</sup> *History of the Church Councils A. D. 326 to A. D. 429*, pp. 33, 34.

two Eusebian bishops, who had gone over to the orthodox side. About the same time he had caused ten laymen of Adrianople to be executed because the church of that city had refused to commune with the Eusebians. Athanasius could not, therefore, return home. He went first, after the close of the Council of Sardica, to Dacia, and thence to Aquileia, where the emperor Constans then was. Constans sent letters to his imperial brother, requesting the restoration of Athanasius, and threatening war in case of refusal. Upon this Constantius wrote three letters to Athanasius, inviting the bishop to come to his court, and promising to reinstate him in the see of Alexandria. Athanasius hesitated a long time, and before returning to the East visited Constans in Gaul, and afterward Pope Julius in Rome. At Antioch he visited Constantius, who caused all the written charges against him to be destroyed. Letters were also written by the emperor to the bishops and imperial officers in relation to the reception of the restored bishop. "At last," says Hefele, "towards the end of 346, after more than six years' absence, Athanasius once more reached his own diocese and was received with very great rejoicings."<sup>1</sup>

After the death of Constans (A. D. 350) Constantius held synods which made anti-Nicene decisions. These he forced on the churches of the West, deposed Hosius and other orthodox bishops, and drove Athanasius from the church in Alexandria during service with a force of five thousand soldiers. This deed of violence was done on the night of the 8th of February, A. D. 356. "The doors were broken open, and the troops poured in to arrest Athanasius, whereby not a few lives were lost and many persons were wounded. Athanasius, during this scene, seated upon his episcopal throne, exhorted the people to pray, and would not move from his place. Some of his friends, however, forced him from his seat and dragged him, half stifled, out of the throng, while his enemies still

<sup>1</sup> *History of the Church Councils A. D. 326 to A. D. 429*, p. 184.

sought for him and perpetrated various cruelties.”<sup>1</sup> Athanasius hid himself from his enemies, and in order to find him “all houses, gardens, and tombs were searched, and in doing so all kinds of extortions, plunders, and the like were practiced upon the proprietors as adherents of the persecuted. Whoever of the ecclesiastics did not fly was grossly ill-used and exiled; some, indeed, even killed.” All through Egypt the orthodox were not only deprived of their churches, but were not even allowed to hold service in the cemeteries. An Arian, George of Cappadocia, obtained the see of Athanasius, and made his entry into the cathedral of Alexandria with an armed force. The orthodox bishops were everywhere driven from their seats, and Arians were put in their places. The see of Rome became Arian, Liberius being deposed and Felix II made pope.

Supported thus by the secular power, Arianism triumphed throughout the empire. The orthodox leaders, therefore, spoke very bitterly of Constantius, calling him Ahab, Pharaoh, Herod, and Antichrist. The victory, however, was not so much of Arianism as of Semi-Arianism, for the Arians had the shrewdness to merge themselves in the Semi-Arians, and thus to increase their own power. The test idea of the Semi-Arians was “homo-ousianism,” or the similarity of the essence of the Father and the Son; that of the Arians was “hetero-ousianism,” or the difference of essence; while that of the Niceans remained “homo-ousianism,” or sameness of essence. But the triumph of Arianism very soon disclosed the internal dissensions in its ranks. The party divided into two factions: (1) The Arians proper, who were also called Eunomians, from Eunomius of Cappadocia, Bishop of Cyzicus in Mysia (died A. D. 393); Anomœans, because they held that the Son is unlike God (*ἀνόμοιος*); Heterousiasts, because they held that the Son is of a different essence from the Father (*ἐτέρας οὐσίας*); Ex-oukontians, because they held that the Son was created out of

<sup>1</sup> Hefele, *History of the Church Councils A. D. 326 to A. D. 429*, pp. 213, 214.

nothing (ἐξ ὅκων ὄντων). (2) The Eusebians, or Semi-Arians, who held that the Son is of like but not of the same essence as the Father; among these were many who sincerely held the Nicene faith, yet stumbled at the word *ὁμοούσιος*, because they thought it destroyed the distinction of persons. In fact, the distinction between *ὁμοούσιος* and *ὁμοίουςις* was not as yet fixed; both words were used in the same sense. To heal the division in the Church several councils were called: at Sirmium, A. D. 357, and again in A. D. 358; at Antioch, A. D. 358; at Ancyra, A. D. 358; at Constantinople, A. D. 360. Agreement was found to be impossible; the death of Constantius, A. D. 361, broke the coherence of the Arian party and opened the way for the triumph of orthodoxy. He was succeeded by his cousin, Julian the Apostate, one of the remarkable characters of this age of the world.

Julian was born in the year A. D. 331. His kindred were slain when he was a child, from fear of their aspiring to the imperial power. His cousin endeavored to make him a Christian by a mechanical process of education. He was kept in retirement, almost in confinement; his teacher was Eusebius, the Bishop of Nicomedia. Says Schaff: "He prayed, fasted, celebrated the memory of the martyrs, paid the usual reverence to the bishops, besought the blessing of hermits, and read the Scriptures in the church of Nicomedia; but this despotic and mechanical force-work, of a repulsively austere and fiercely polemic type of Christianity, roused the intelligent, wakeful, and vigorous spirit of Julian to rebellion, and drove him over towards the heathen side. The Arian pseudo-Christianity of Constantius produced the heathen anti-Christianity of Julian, and the latter was a well-deserved punishment of the former."<sup>1</sup>

Before he became emperor Julian distinguished himself as a general; and upon his succession to Constantius he proceeded to reform the household of the palace and to institute economy in the public administration; but most of all he considered it

<sup>1</sup> *Church History*, vol. iii, p. 42.

to be his mission to bring back the heathen religion. He restored the worship of the old gods, made countless sacrifices of blood, and worshipped at all altars. Toward Christianity he practiced tolerance in the expectation that the parties in the Church would destroy one another. The orthodox bishops were recalled from exile; Athanasius was restored to the see of Alexandria, but soon banished a fourth time. Julian's reign, however, lasted but eighteen months, A. D. 361-363. With toleration the orthodox doctrine soon recovered ascendancy, first in the West, then in the East, where Athanasius, restored to his see, contributed greatly to the result. Among the champions of orthodoxy were Basil, Gregory of Nazianzum, and Gregory of Nyssa. Gregory of Nazianzum labored with success in Constantinople, and did much there for the restoration of right opinions.

Theodosius I (379-395) during his long reign firmly supported the orthodox bishops. He issued an edict in A. D. 380 requiring all persons to accept and confess the Nicene faith. Gregory of Nazianzum was made Bishop of Constantinople, and all the Arian priests were expelled from the city. In order to secure the peace of the Church Theodosius called the second great council in Constantinople, A. D. 381. This council was composed wholly of Greeks, and only one hundred and fifty bishops were present. It re-adopted the Nicene Creed and made an important addition in relation to the Holy Spirit. The essential parts of this creed are as follows: "And [we believe] in one Lord Jesus Christ, the only begotten Son of God, begotten of the Father before all times, Light from Light, very God from very God, begotten, not created, of the same substance with the Father, by whom all things were made. And we believe in the Holy Ghost, the Lord and Life-giver, who proceedeth from the Father; who with the Father and the Son together is worshipped and glorified; who spake by the prophets. And in one holy Catholic and apostolic Church. We acknowledge one baptism for the remission of sins. We look



for a resurrection of the dead and the life of the world to come." The decisions of the council were ratified by the emperor in July A. D. 381. He directed that only bishops who believed in the equal divinity of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost should exercise the functions of the episcopate. This was the end of Arianism in the empire. Some, however, of the barbarous nations that received Christianity during the Arian ascendancy remained Arians for two centuries longer. The first translator of the Bible into the language of the Goths, Ulfilas, was an Arian.

## NOTE TO CHAPTER XXII.

## BANISHMENTS OF ATHANASIUS.

1. Became Bishop of Alexandria upon the death of Bishop Alexander, 326 A. D.
2. Banished by Constantine the Great to Treves in Gaul, 336 A. D. Recalled by Constantine II, 338 A. D.
3. Banished the second time by Constantius, and goes to Rome 339 or 340 A. D. Restored by Constantius under compulsion from Constans, 346 A. D.
4. Banished a third time by order of Constantius and goes to Upper Egypt, 356 A. D. Recalled by Julian the Apostate, who restored all the orthodox bishops, 362 A. D.
5. Banished the fourth time by Julian the Apostate, as an enemy of the gods, 362 A. D. Recalled by Jovian, the successor of Julian the Apostate, 363.
6. Athanasius died in the reign of Valens, 373 A. D.

## CHAPTER XXIII.

## THE THIRD OR ATHANASIAN CREED.

IN tracing the history of the doctrine of the Trinity we have seen the Church progressing to clearness and formulating its first statement in the Council of Nice, A. D. 325, and its second in the Council of Constantinople, A. D. 381. Of these creeds the second repeats the first upon the divinity of the Son, but expands the statement of the divinity of the Holy Ghost. It must be borne in mind that the interest felt by the ancient Church in this subject was not purely speculative. There is a Trinity of revelation prior to the Trinity of dogma ; the economy of redemption is administered by the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, and it is indispensable that we ascertain the relations of the three to one another and to the divine unity. The economic Trinity of the New Testament is first, and out of this grows the Trinity of the creeds. The questions determined with so much acuteness by the Greek Church were fundamental, and without their determination the fabric of theology could not have been built up.

The Nicene Creed made no doctrinal affirmation relative to the person of the Holy Spirit. Its words are simply, "And in the Holy Ghost." Yet the orthodox doctrine of the Spirit is contained in that of the eternity and equality of the Son with the Father. If such an affirmation is made of the Son it must also be made of the Holy Spirit. The Arians reduced the Spirit to a third grade of divinity, asserting that the Spirit is a creature of the Son ; the Semi-Arians affirmed that the Spirit is like in essence to the Father, but not consubstantial. Even the orthodox fathers spoke with vagueness on this subject for some time after the Nicene Council. Some of them regarded the Spirit as only a divine power bestowed on men. But with his

clear, logical mind Athanasius deduced from his principles the divinity of the Holy Ghost. He declared that Arianism is avoided only when we perceive in the Trinity nothing that is foreign to the nature of God. "How," he asks, "could that which is not sanctified by anything else, which is itself the source of sanctification to all creatures, possess the same nature as those beings which are sanctified by it? We have fellowship with God and participate in the divine life by means of the Holy Spirit, but this could not be if the Holy Spirit were created by God. It is not more certain that he communicates to us the principle of divine life than that he himself is one with the divine Being."<sup>1</sup> Even Gregory of Nazianzum, who believed in the consubstantiality of the Spirit with the Father and the Son, says of his times: "Some consider the Holy Ghost an influence, others a creature, others God himself, and again others know not which way to decide, from reverence, as they say, for the Holy Scripture, which declares nothing exact in the case. For this reason they waver between worshipping and not worshipping the Holy Ghost, and strike a middle course, which is in fact, however, a bad one."<sup>2</sup> The opponents of the doctrine of the divinity of the Holy Spirit were called Pneumatomachi (πνευματόμαχοι); also Macedonians, from Macedonius, Bishop of Constantinople, A. D. 341-360; also Tropici (τροπικοί). This latter name probably came from their regarding the passages of Scripture which speak of the Holy Spirit as figurative.

The Athanasian view of the person of the Holy Spirit was confirmed by a council held at Alexandria, A. D. 362; also by one held at Rome, A. D. 372, and finally at the ecumenical Council of Constantinople, A. D. 381. The statement of the creed of this council in reference to the Holy Ghost has been given in the chapter preceding this. The formula, however, left the point in doubt whether the Spirit proceeds from the Father only or from the Father and the Son.

<sup>1</sup> First Epistle to Serapion of Thmuis, sec. 24.

<sup>2</sup> Schaff, *Church History*, vol. iii, p. 664.

The third and final statement of the doctrine of the Trinity has never received the sanction of any general council. It has never been adopted by the Eastern Church, but in the West its acceptance has been universal. Although it bears the name of Athanasius it was not written by him. Its first language is Latin; in its Greek form it is a translation. It originated in Gaul, probably during the fifth century. By some its authorship has been ascribed to Hilary of Arles (430 A. D.); by others to Vincent of Lerins (434 A. D.); by others, to Vigilius of Africa (484 A. D.). "About 570 A. D.," says Waterland, "it became famous enough to be commented upon like the Lord's Prayer and the Apostles' Creed, and together with them. It was first styled 'The Catholic Faith,' but before 670 A. D. the name of Athanasius came in to recommend and adorn it. The name of 'The Faith of Athanasius' in time occasioned the mistake of ascribing it to him as his composition. This gave it authority enough to be cited and appealed to as a standard in the dispute of the Middle Ages between Greeks and Latins about the procession of the Holy Spirit. And the same admired name, together with the intrinsic worth and value of the form itself, gave it credit enough to be received into the public service of the Western Churches, first in France, next in Spain, soon after in Germany, England, and Italy, and at length in Rome itself."<sup>1</sup>

In its language this creed is sententious; in the sharpness of its antithesis it suggests Augustine. Several of its passages are taken from Augustine's treatise on the Trinity, and others from the *Commonitorium* of Vincent of Lerins. A few passages, beginning with the third sentence of the creed, will show its forms of expression:

"3. But this is the Catholic faith: that we worship one God in Trinity, and Trinity in unity;

"4. Neither confounding the persons: nor dividing the substance.

<sup>1</sup> Waterland, *Author of the Athanasian Creed*, Works, vol. iii, p. 220.

" 5. For there is one person of the Father ; another of the Son ; another of the Holy Ghost.

" 6. But the Godhead of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost is all one : the glory equal, the majesty co-eternal.

" 7. Such as the Father is, such is the Son, and such is the Holy Ghost.

" 8. The Father is uncreated : the Son is uncreated : the Holy Ghost is uncreated.

" 9. The Father is immeasurable : the Son is immeasurable : the Holy Ghost is immeasurable.

" 10. The Father is eternal : the Son eternal : the Holy Ghost eternal.

" 11. And yet there are not three eternals : but one eternal.

" 12. As also there are not three uncreated : nor three immeasurable : but one uncreated, and one immeasurable.

" 13. So likewise the Father is almighty : the Son almighty : and the Holy Ghost almighty.

" 14. And yet there are not three Almightyies : but one Almighty."<sup>1</sup>

At sentence 29 the creed enters upon a statement of the doctrine of the divine-human nature of Christ, and expresses therein the faith of the Creed of Chalcedon (451 A. D.). This part suggests a year of origin of the Athanasian symbol posterior to 451 A. D. ; yet it is conceivable that such a statement could have been framed before the meeting of the Chalcedonian Council, for its elements already existed in the writings of the fathers.

To illustrate the origin of the verbal forms of this creed the following example may suffice. We may compare sentences 9-12 inclusive with Augustine, *De Trinitate*, book v, chap. viii, " So the Father is great, the Son great, and the Holy Spirit great ; yet not three greats, but one great. And the Father is

<sup>1</sup> Schaff, *Creeds of Christendom*, vol. ii, pp. 66-71 ; also his *Church History*, vol. iii, pp. 690-695.

good, the Son good, and the Holy Spirit good; yet not three goods, but one good, of whom it is said, 'None is good, save one, that is, God.'"<sup>1</sup>

We may also compare sentences 9-14 inclusive with Augustine, *De Trinitate*, book viii, Preface: "But whenever each is singly spoken of in respect to themselves, then they are not spoken of as three in the plural number, but one, the Trinity itself, as the Father God, the Son God, and the Holy Spirit God; the Father good, the Son good, and the Holy Spirit good; and the Father omnipotent, the Son omnipotent, the Holy Spirit omnipotent; yet neither three Gods, nor three goods, nor three omnipotents, but one God, good, omnipotent, the Trinity itself."<sup>2</sup>

On the procession of the Holy Ghost the statement is: "The Holy Ghost is of the Father and the Son (*filioque*): not made; neither created; nor begotten; but proceeding." This mode of the procession of the Spirit was taught by Augustine, and not denied by all the Greek fathers. Epiphanius, Marcellus of Ancyra, and Cyril of Alexandria, derived the Spirit from the Father and the Son; Theodore of Mopsuestia and Theodoret affirmed a procession from the Father only. Augustine's view was adopted by the Council of Toledo, Spain, 589 A. D., and inserted in the Nicene Creed by the addition of *filioque*. On this point the Latin and Greek Churches have separated from each other.

The Homo-ousian position of the Nicene Creed leads almost of necessity to the idea of a double procession of the Holy Spirit, that is to say, the Athanasian Creed asserts more positively than the Creed of Nice the equality of the divine persons with one another. In a conference held at Bonn, in 1875, between representatives of the Old Catholics, the Church of England, and the Greeks, the last named adhered firmly to their ancient faith. The most they would concede was that the Spirit proceeded out of the Father by or through the Son.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *The Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, First Series, vol. iii, p. 91.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 115.

<sup>3</sup> *Conference at Bonn*, pp. 199, 200.



Thus the Church labored to find the middle path between Sabellianism and Arianism, and did not labor in vain. The three creeds whose history has been given still represent the faith of universal Christendom. In some Protestant Churches the Athanasian Creed is unacceptable on account of its dam-natory clauses at the beginning and end. Strictly construed, these passages mean that one must have the precise faith described in the Godhead in order to salvation. For this reason the creed is not recited in the Protestant Episcopal Church, nor in our own, though both hold the Athanasian faith.

With the Athanasian Creed the settlement of the doctrine of the Trinity closes. The fathers of the Nicene and the post-Nicene period not only opened the subject, but exhausted it. After their thorough discussions little remains to be said. "This process," says Shedd, "went on slowly but continuously for a period of five centuries, as long a time as was required for the thorough mixing and fusion of British, Saxon, and Norman elements into that modern national character which in the Englishman and Anglo-American is, perhaps, destined to mold and rule the future more than even Rome has the past. The theological controversies that resulted in fixing the theoretic belief of Christendom appear unprofitable and valueless to the merely secular mind. But he who feels a proper practical and philosophic interest in the paramount questions and problems of Christianity, and in their bearing on the destiny of man as mortal and everlasting, will always look upon these centuries of intense metaphysical abstraction and profound moral earnestness with more veneration than upon any section of merely pagan and secular history, however striking or imposing. These bloodless metaphysical victories secured to the Church universal a correct faith and obtained for her all these benefits which flow perennially from the possession of the real and exact truth—from the revealed idea and definition of the triune God."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Shedd, *History of Christian Doctrine*, vol. i, pp. 373-375.

## NOTE TO CHAPTER XXIII.

## MODERN HISTORY AND LITERATURE OF THE DOCTRINE OF THE TRINITY.

The development of the doctrine of the Trinity closes with the Athanasian Creed. The foundation laid by the Eastern Church has never been seriously shaken. When old heretical errors have been revived they have been refuted by a recourse to the old arguments. What remains, therefore, is, not to describe the progress of doctrine, but the fluctuations of controversy. Passing by the Middle Ages, in which the Church usurped the place of Christology, we come first to Servetus, Calvin's antagonist, who revived neo-Platonism, held that God is an indivisible unity, and finally slid into pantheism. After Servetus appeared Socinus (Lælius Socinus, died 1562; Faustus Socinus died 1604). The Socinians held that Christ is after a unique manner the first of all creatures: (1) Through his conception by Mary in the power of the Holy Ghost. (2) By the anointing of the Holy Ghost at his baptism. (3) By a unique endowment of knowledge, he became the Son of God in an eminent sense by his exaltation to heaven after death. Dr. George Bull, Bishop of St. Davids, issued in 1685 his *Defensio Fidei Nicænæ*. This work was directed against Sandius, a German, and Petavius, a French Jesuit, one of the most accomplished theologians of the age. Sandius and Petavius both endeavored to show that the ante-Nicene fathers were Arians. We have already seen that they were subordinationists, and that their views were deficient in clearness. Bull undertook to prove that the Nicene doctrine was but the more exact formulation of the opinions held in the ante-Nicene period. His work is in Latin, is of great learning, and is very little read. Dean Sherlock published, in 1690, *A Vindication of the Doctrine of the Holy and Ever Blessed Trinity*, in which he maintained that "with the exception of a mutual consciousness to each other, which no created spirits can have, there was nearly as great a difference between the three divine as between three human persons."<sup>1</sup> This was an approach to Tritheism, and Sherlock's opinion was met by a vindication of the orthodox view from Dr. South (1693) and Dr. Wallis, an Oxford professor.

It was now the rationalistic period in English thought. The reaction against the Puritans had set in. Religious contention had made many weary of the questions around which the contention revolved. Those evangelical opinions which depend for their life on the Trinity of revelation, the Trinity which is prior to theological formulas, were discarded. Reason came forward as the antithesis of faith, and a cold rationalizing method of treating all religious questions prevailed until the time of the Wesleyan revival. In such a temper of English scholars and theologians an assault upon the doctrine of the Trinity was to have been expected; such an assault was the natural outcome of that temper. Ralph Cudworth (1617-88) tried to establish a correspondence between the Platonic and the Christian Trinity, but did not make the subject at all clear. In 1711 Whiston, a professor of mathematics in Cambridge, published his *Primitive Christianity Revived*, and in 1713 *The Council of Nice Vindicated from the Athanasian Heresy*. In these works he adopts the Semi-Arian view that Christ is not of the essence of God, nor, on the other hand, a mere creature. He, however, had

<sup>1</sup> See Patrick Fairbairn's Appendix to *Dorner's Doctrine of the Person of Christ*, Division II, vol. iii, p. 354.

no following. Whitty, in 1718, published *Disquisitiones Modestæ in Clarissimi Bulli Defensionem Fidei Nicænæ*. His object was to show that Bishop Bull had not made out his case and that many of the ante-Nicene fathers had admitted a degree of subordination of the Son to the Father quite inconsistent with the idea of his divinity. In 1712 Dr. Samuel Clarke published *The Scripture Doctrine of the Trinity*, in which he denied the consubstantiality of the Son with the Father, though he refused to be called an Arian. This book elicited the most complete defense of the Trinity in the English language: Waterland's *Vindication of Christ's Divinity* (1719); *A Second Vindication of Christ's Divinity*; *A Further Defense of Christ's Divinity*; *A Critical History of the Athanasian Creed*, and the *Importance of the Doctrine of the Trinity*; in all six octavo volumes. Waterland, says Fairbairn, had "a singularly clear, dry intellect, admirably fitted for detecting sophistries, a thoroughly honest, sincere, straightforward disposition, and an unsophisticated desire to know the simple truth."<sup>1</sup>

This period is the period of the great apologists, Butler, Warburton, and Lardner. The truth is that, the substance of Christianity being abandoned or unperceived, the foundations were assailed and defense had to be directed to the evidences of the truth of Christianity itself. Among the Dissenters the principles of Dr. Samuel Clarke spread rapidly. Dr. Lardner, the celebrated apologist, born 1684, published in 1759 his *Letter on the Logos*, in which he avowed Arianism. He was followed by Dr. Joseph Priestley, who published, in 1782, *A History of the Corruptions of Christianity*, which created a sensation out of all proportion to its merits. Its defects, especially its lack of learning, were exposed by Bishop Horsley.

Anti-Trinitarianism was introduced into our country by the importation of the writings of Dr. Samuel Clarke and Thomas Emlyn. President Edwards wrote in opposition to Clarke's views. As early as 1750, says President John Adams, there were Congregational ministers in Massachusetts who were Unitarians. But the movement here, as in Europe, was rationalistic. Ellis, in his *Half Century of the Unitarian Controversy*, says distinctly: "Unitarianism stands in direct and positive opposition to orthodoxy on three great doctrines, namely, that the nature of human beings has been vitiated, corrupted, and disabled, in consequence of the sin of Adam; that Jesus Christ is God, and therefore an object of religious homage and prayer; and that the death of Christ is made effectual to human salvation by reconciling God to man, and satisfying the claims of an insulted and outraged law."<sup>2</sup>

With the spread of the evangelical revival the contest in relation to the doctrine of the Trinity has passed away. It may be said that the Christian doctrine in relation to the divinity of Christ is more acquiesced in in this century than in the last. There is certainly "a growing desire and disposition in the Church to hold fast by the doctrine of an immanent Trinity in the Godhead, and to reproduce this in a manner adapted to the conscience of evangelical Christians, especially in its bearing on the constitution of Christ's person and the efficacy of his work as the Redeemer and High Priest of his people."<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Appendix to Dorner's *Doctrine of the Person of Christ*, Division II, vol. iii, p. 374.

<sup>2</sup> *A Half Century of the Unitarian Controversy*, p. 46.

<sup>3</sup> Fairbairn's Appendix to Dorner's *Doctrine of the Person of Christ*, Division II, vol. iii, p. 442.

## CHAPTER XXIV.

**THE EFFECT OF THE UNION OF CHURCH AND STATE.**

THE victory of Christianity over heathenism was fairly won. By its own irresistible moral force it had conquered all opposition and become the religion of the empire. From that day to this throughout Christendom the Church has subsisted in union with the state, except in the United States of America and the few countries that have followed our example. In the earlier ages the mode of the union varied; in the East the temporal power absorbed the spiritual, and the emperor was bishop of bishops. In the West the Church struggled for, and at length attained, a supremacy over the state.

As the power of the old Rome crumbled to pieces the new and spiritual Rome asserted an empire over the world. Rome thus remained the eternal city, the mistress of the nations, for her dominion has been broken for only little more than three centuries. But this union entailed endless evils on the Church: the pagan spirit and pagan usages found a place in it. The Church lost while the empire gained.

1. One effect of the conversion of the empire was the enormous increase of the wealth of the Church. The emperor Constantine set the example by bestowing large gifts, and his wealthy subjects followed his precedent. Legacies to the Church became as frequent as they are now, and the clergy, even at that early time, learned the art of influencing the testamentary dispositions of dying persons. The emperor Valentinian I repressed the legacy hunting of the clergy by a vigorous law. The landed estates of the Church increased enormously. Schaff gives the following facts: "The various churches of Rome in the sixth century, besides enormous treasures in money and gold and silver vases, owned many houses and lands, not only

in Italy and Sicily, but even in Syria, Asia Minor, and Egypt; and when John, who bears the honorable distinction of the Almsgiver for his unlimited liberality to the poor, became Patriarch of Alexandria [606] he found in the Church treasury eight thousand pounds of gold, and himself received ten thousand, though he retained hardly an ordinary blanket for himself, and is said on one occasion to have fed seven thousand five hundred poor at once."<sup>1</sup> With these magnificent resources at command the Church entered upon an equally magnificent career of benevolence. It is true that some bishops used their wealth for the maintenance of state and splendor, but they were not the majority. There grew up, as adjuncts to the churches, homes for strangers, almshouses, institutions for the helpless aged, orphanages, and hospitals. Basil, of Cæsarea in Cappadocia, erected a combined hospital and strangers' home, which was so large that it was described as a city in miniature.

2. Another advantage derived from the union of the Church and state was the exemption of the clergy from state burdens, such as military services, offices which entailed only expense, and taxation of the real estate of the churches. But this exemption was abused by many who pressed into the ministry in order to escape the duties owed to the state. Constantine, therefore, issued an edict, ordering that only the poor, and those who could not bear the burdens of the state, should enter the ministry. The reason given was this: "The rich must bear the burdens of the world; the poor must be maintained by the wealth of the Church." Finally, a law was enacted that those who were under obligation to perform civil service should upon entering the ministry give up their property.

3. The bishops obtained two very great advantages of position: (1) They became virtually state judges in matters brought before them; and (2) they became intercessors in behalf of all who were liable to legal penalties. It was the practice

<sup>1</sup> *Church History*, vol. iii, p. 98.



from apostolic times for Christians to bring their differences to the Church for settlement. When episcopacy was established the bishop became the judge in all such cases. By an edict of Constantine the decision of a bishop was legally binding, whenever the two parties agreed to bring their cause to his tribunal. The effect of this was to burden spiritually minded bishops, and to make more secular those who had a strong inclination for secular affairs. It was for a long time doubted whether a Christian could accept a judicial or administrative office from the state, and when such offices were taken their incumbents frequently advised with the bishops, if their consciences were in doubt. "In this way," says Neander, "it came about that the bishops gradually obtained the right of exercising a sort of moral superintendence over the discharge of their official duties by the governors and judges who belonged to their communities; that they were empowered, in the name of religion, to intercede with governors, with the nobles of the empire, and even with the emperors in behalf of the unfortunate, the persecuted, the oppressed; in behalf of individuals, entire cities and provinces, who sighed under grievous burdens, or who trembled in fear of heavy punishments amidst civil disturbances."<sup>1</sup>

4. Another effect of the union of the Church with the state was the concession of the right of sanctuary to all Christian sacred edifices. This right originally belonged to the heathen temples; its transfer, therefore, came naturally from the conversion of the empire. The advantage of an asylum was that those who were likely to suffer from the hasty passion of their superiors could gain time for the use of the friendly intercession of the bishops. The first law on the subject forbade the privilege of asylum, but this was followed in A. D. 431 by another, according the privilege in the strongest terms. Not only the altar, but every part of the church building, formed a place of refuge. The removal, by force, of those who fled to asylum was forbidden unless the refugees were armed.

<sup>1</sup> *Church History*, vol. ii, p. 142.



5. Another advantage gained was the legal recognition of the Lord's Day, or Sunday. Constantine, in A. D. 321, forbade the sitting of the courts and also military exercises on Sunday. He, however, allowed the manumission of slaves on that day as an act of piety, and also the culture of farms and vineyards. Other emperors prohibited the collection of taxes and private debts on Sunday, and also theatrical and other amusements. This latter prohibition, however, was never rigidly enforced.

But these gains were accompanied with fearful losses. The Church was in a great degree paganized by the incoming of a heathen element. "By taking in the whole population of the Roman empire the Church became, indeed, a Church of the masses, a Church of the people, but at the same time more or less a Church of the world. Christianity became a matter of fashion. The number of hypocrites and formal professors rapidly increased; strict discipline, zeal, self-sacrifice, and brotherly love proportionately ebbed away; and many heathen customs and usages under altered names crept into the worship of God and the life of the Christian people."<sup>1</sup> Force was used for the purpose of establishing doctrinal uniformity. As the favor of the emperor was of supreme importance for the ascendancy of a dogma, his adhesion was sought by the practice of all the arts common in courts. Theology was regulated by court parties. Servants of the imperial household affected to settle doctrinal disputes. Even the chief cook was sent from the emperor's palace to negotiate with Basil, of Cæsarea. By the operation of natural causes the emperor became the chief of bishops and the head of Christ's body. Under the heathen system he was Pontifex Maximus; in the transition to Christianity this relation was retained. How much the emperor became thereby an object of adulation can easily be imagined. In the administration of ecclesiastical affairs a distinction was, however, made. The emperor was the bishop in externals, that is, in government, and the bishops were the heads of the Church as to

<sup>1</sup> Schaff, *Church History*, vol. iii, p. 125.

doctrine and worship. Still, deference was paid to the bishops by the rulers of the state, and, no doubt, these officers had great influence in restraining excesses. But as Schaff says: "The emperors summoned the general councils, bore the necessary expenses, presided in the councils through commissions, gave to the decisions in doctrine and discipline the force of law for the whole Roman empire, and maintained them by their authority. The emperors nominated or confirmed the most influential metropolitans and patriarchs. They took part in all theological disputes, and thereby inflamed the passion of parties. Even empresses meddled in the internal and external concerns of the Church."<sup>1</sup> In the East, as already noted, the Church became entirely subservient to the state; in the West it gained an independence which prepared the way for the supremacy of the papacy over the civil power.

The first law for the persecution of heretics was the work of Theodosius I (379-395). As long as the Church was not recognized by the state the principle of the freedom of conscience was asserted by the fathers, especially by Justin Martyr and Tertullian. But when the Church and the state were united, the state assumed the enforcement of penalties against all who did not hold the Church's creed or who separated from its visible communion. In the year A. D. 380, Theodosius, with Gratian and Valentinian II, who were coemperors, issued a decree in these words: "We, the three emperors, will, that all our subjects steadfastly adhere to the religion which was taught by St. Peter to the Romans, which has been faithfully preserved by tradition, and which is now professed by the pontiff Damasus, of Rome, and Peter, Bishop of Alexandria, a man of apostolic holiness. According to the institution of the apostles and the doctrine of the Gospel, let us believe in the one Godhead of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, of equal majesty in the Holy Trinity. We order that the adherents of this faith be called Catholic Christians. We brand all the senseless followers

<sup>1</sup> *Church History*, vol. iii, p. 135.

of other religions with the infamous name of heretics, and for bid their conventicles assuming the name of churches. Besides the condemnation of divine justice, they must expect the heavy penalties which our authority, guided by heavenly wisdom, shall think proper to inflict.”<sup>1</sup> Soon after the Spanish bishop Priscillian, with two presbyters, two deacons, a matron, and one other adherent were tortured and beheaded at Treves, in Gaul, for heresy. This was the first deliberate shedding of blood by Christians for the holding of heretical opinions; the date, therefore, is memorable, A. D. 385. A voice of protest was raised by Ambrose of Milan and Martin of Tours against this horrible work, but the majority of the fathers approved of such use of power. Even the gentle Chrysostom sanctioned the suppression of heretical worship. Augustine, the author of the noble sentiment, “Nothing conquers but truth; the victory of truth is love,” defended, in the latter part of his life, the persecution of heretics with all the force of his great genius. He says that “Many must be brought back to their Lord, like wicked servants, by the rod of temporal suffering, before they attain their highest grade of religious development.” In the application of his principle he advocated gentleness on the part of the magistrate; but his mighty name was used, for ages after, to sanction the cruelties of the Latin Church. Neander, therefore, says with truth: “It was by Augustine, then, that a theory was proposed and founded which, tempered though it was, in its practical application, by his own pious, philanthropic spirit, nevertheless contained the germ of that whole system of spiritual despotism, of intolerance and persecution, which ended in the tribunals of the Inquisition.”<sup>2</sup> The Church lived under this terrible delusion of the lawfulness of persecuting heresy until the rise of Protestantism established religious toleration. The new doctrine is not much over two hundred and fifty years old.

<sup>1</sup> Schaff, *Church History*, vol. iii, p. 142.

<sup>2</sup> Neander, *Church History*, vol. ii, p. 217.

## CHAPTER XXV.

## THE CHRISTIAN EMPERORS.

THE acceptance of Christianity by the Roman emperors prolonged the existence of the empire, though it could not prevent its dissolution. God was preparing fresh races in the north of Europe as his agents in the establishment of a new civilization. The planting of a new capital by Constantine gave fresh vigor to the empire in the East; new laws, new institutions were incorporated into the old Roman life. What of good or evil these Christian emperors did is an important part of the history of the Christian Church. Each century from the fourth to the sixth has a distinct character. The fourth is the age of Constantine, and is marked by the Nicene Creed, the Arian reaction, and the union of Church and state. The fifth is the age of the Christological controversies, settled by the Council of Chalcedon in A. D. 451; it is the age of the Pelagian controversy on sin and grace, and the fall of the Western empire under the attacks of barbarians in A. D. 476. The sixth is the Justinian age, marked by the codification of the whole body of Roman law under the influence of the Christian spirit. We trace the history of the empire during these centuries in consecutive order.

Constantine, whose reign extends from A. D. 306 to A. D. 337, was born either in Britain or Illyricum. His mother, Helena, was of humble origin, but rose to be one of the saints of the ancient Church. His father was Constantius Chlorus, who ruled over Gaul, Spain, and Britain till his death in A. D. 306. The father was favorably inclined to the Christians, and this disposition was inherited by the son. Constantine's adoption of the Christian religion was promoted by the desire to secure military and political success. He himself says: "My father revered the Christian God, and uniformly prospered, while the emper-

ors who worshipped the heathen gods died a miserable death. Therefore, that I may enjoy a happy life and reign, I will imitate the example of my father, and join myself to the cause of the Christians, who are growing daily, while the heathen are diminishing." This feeling explains the vision of the cross; it would be very natural for Constantine, cherishing the conviction of the power of the cross, to see it in a dream, with the legend, "In this sign, conquer." The idea of the miraculous appearance is preposterous; Christ does not spread his kingdom by the use of the sword. At this period in his life Constantine was marching against Maxentius, a Roman general, who had seized the government of Italy and Africa and was oppressing the people. Constantine defeated Maxentius in three battles, the third fought at the Milvian Bridge, near Rome, A. D. 312. This battle left Constantine and Licinius, his brother-in-law, joint emperors. They issued an edict of toleration which greatly favored the Christians. In the year A. D. 323 Constantine defeated Licinius, and became sole emperor. He now assumed to be the patron of the Church; exhorted his subjects to become Christians; built churches with the cooperation of his mother, Helena, on the sacred spots of Jerusalem; and as old Rome was heathen, founded a Christian capital which still bears his name. No heathen sacrifices were ever offered in Byzantium, except during the eighteen months of the reign of Julian the Apostate; no gladiatorial shows, in which men fought one another, were ever exhibited there. Church history cannot be understood without a realization of the change wrought in both the external and the internal condition of the Church by the accession of Constantine. They who had been trodden under foot were now in the places of power; the persecuted were now favored and honored. Church and state now strengthened each other; the unity of the Christian body, as represented by bishops and general councils, supported the unity of the empire, as represented by the emperor and his prefects.



In person Constantine was tall, with broad shoulders and of imposing presence. In his tastes he was excessively fond of personal adornment; as a political ruler he was shrewd, cautious, and fortunate. As to morals he was chaste, an unusual virtue in an emperor of Rome, liberal in his gifts, but capable of being cruel. The execution of his rival, Licinius, and of his nephew, Licinius the younger, a boy of eleven years, and of his own son, Crispus, shows that Roman suspicion and cruelty were not subdued by his profession of Christianity. He was not baptized till his sixty-fifth year, when he felt his end to be approaching. May 22, 337 A. D., he died, after a long and wonderfully prosperous reign. The empire was left to his three sons, Constans, Constantius, and Constantine II. They marked their accession to power by killing all the male relatives who might be dangerous rivals. Soon they began a war with one another for the supremacy. Constantine II was defeated and slain by Constans in A. D. 340. Constans was murdered by Magnentius A. D. 350. With the exception of the usurpation of Magnentius in the West, which he suppressed, Constantius was sole emperor from A. D. 350 to A. D. 361. He was by temperament a fanatic; entered into a violent persecution both of heathenism and of orthodox Christianity; tried to regulate the Church and to settle its theology, and succeeded only in creating distraction and uproar. The suppression of heathenism was a leading object of the policy of the sons of Constantine. Constans and Constantius in A. D. 341 promulgated a law which declared: "The heathen superstition must cease, the madness of offering sacrifices must be extirpated; whoever, contrary to this law, dares to offer sacrifices, shall suffer punishment without mercy." And Constantius, when sole emperor, enacted: "The temples everywhere are to be closed, in order to deprive the heathen of the opportunity of sinning. He who offers sacrifices shall be struck down by the avenging sword; his property shall fall to the state treasury."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See Uhlhorn, *Conflict of Christianity with Heathenism*, p. 452.



The forcible suppression of heathenism produced a reaction, and the reaction found its leader in Julian the Apostate, who was emperor from A. D. 361 to A. D. 363. His kindred had nearly all been slain by the Constantine family, and this fact would easily create in his mind an aversion for the court religion. "He would naturally hate," says Uhlhorn, "a religion whose representatives had murdered his family, and whose priests were his jailers."<sup>1</sup> He was carefully kept aloof from heathen influences, but while a youth studied neo-Platonic writers. His heathenism was of the most eclectic kind, for he added to the worship of the gods of the Roman and Greek mythology the worship of the sun. Yet while he privately practiced heathen rites he outwardly followed Christian observances. In A. D. 355 he conducted a most successful campaign against the barbarians in Gaul. In A. D. 361 he proclaimed his adhesion to heathenism, and rebelled against Constantius; but the sudden death of the emperor prevented the outbreak of a civil war. As soon as he became emperor he banished the hangers-on of the court, and gathered about him instead soothsayers, sophists, and the scum of paganism. He affected also an extreme asceticism; wore common clothing; usually slept on the floor; let his beard and nails grow, and neglected the laws of decency and cleanliness. This devotion to heathen rites was carried to an absurd length. He would offer a sacrifice of blood at the rising of the sun and again at sunset. His palace was made a temple, and altars were erected in his garden. As if he would measure his devotion by the quantity of his offerings, he would sacrifice a hundred bulls in a single day. Experience found that Julian was more earnest for the restoration of heathenism than his subjects, especially his courtiers, were. Uhlhorn says that he "was far from satisfied with his adherents. He often gave them severe lectures, accused them of being cold and indifferent, and blamed their license. They were no better satisfied with him. They preferred the theatre to the temple, and

<sup>1</sup> *Conflict of Christianity with Heathenism*, p. 456.

found the daily attendance at worship and the monotonous ceremonies and sacrifices very dull." <sup>1</sup> In the hope that toleration would divide the Christians into hostile parties Julian granted them full liberty of worship. His tone toward Christians was, however, contemptuous; his usual name for them, Galileans. Christians were turned out of office and compelled to surrender the temples which they had taken for worship. They were not allowed to teach the sciences nor the Greek and Roman classics. Matthew and Luke were enough for them, the emperor said. He even wrote a work against Christianity, which exists only in fragments preserved by Cyril of Alexandria, who refuted it. One of his designs was the rebuilding of Jerusalem and the restoration of the Jews to their home, as a refutation of prophecy; but the attempt to rebuild the temple failed in consequence, it is said, of the breaking out of subterranean fires. As he had conquered the barbarians of the West, so he would conquer the far East. With this purpose in view he invaded Persia, crossed the Tigris, and in a skirmish was mortally wounded, January 26, 363 A. D. His sudden death averted the persecutions which the Christians feared would follow his successes in the East. Thus the last effort to check the progress of Christ's religion failed.

On his death the army proclaimed Jovian emperor (363-364). His reign lasted only eight months. He was a Christian, but tolerated heathenism. Valentinian I (364-375) held to the Nicene faith, but refrained from persecuting either the Arians or the heathen. His coemperor Valens (364-378) was an Arian and persecuted the Athanasians. At this time the word *paganism* originated as a designation of the old religion. It is from *pagus*, ■ village; a pagan is a villager or peasant who adheres to heathenism because he lives away from the knowledge and culture of the cities. The rise of this term shows how Christianity dominated throughout all the empire. Under Gratian (375-383), the son and successor of Valentinian I, im-

<sup>1</sup> *Conflict of Christianity with Heathenism*, p. 467.

portant changes occurred. In the first place he refused the office of Pontifex Maximus. In the next place he deprived the heathen religion of the support that it had for ages received from the public treasury, confiscated the estates belonging to the old temples, and took away from the body of priests the right to receive legacies. The old Roman families, still heathen, made an effort to secure the abrogation of these laws, but failed. This revolution occurred in the year A. D. 382. One of the last relics of the old religion was the altar and statue of Victory which stood in the senate building of Rome. Here the senators took their oaths of office and burnt incense to the gods. Statue and altar were removed by Gratian. When his brother Valentinian II, who had been coemperor with Gratian from the time of their father's death, became sole emperor of the West (383-392) the heathen senators begged for their restoration; but Ambrose of Milan advised the emperor against the act and prevailed with him. Thus one of the last symbols of the heathen religion disappeared from the city of Rome.

The next emperor, Theodosius I (379-395), is surnamed the Great; in his reign occurred the suppression by law of heathen worship throughout the empire. Theodosius was born in Spain; was joint ruler with Gratian and his younger brother, having control of the East, and succeeded Valentinian II peacefully, thus reuniting the whole empire. His adherence to Nicene orthodoxy was very decided, and just as decided was his severity toward heretics. In the year A. D. 386 he directed the prefect Cynegius to shut up the temples and to abolish temple worship in the East and Egypt. A fanaticism for the destruction of temples and a like fanaticism for their preservation broke out on either side. The Alexandrian pagans retreated to the temple of Serapis, one of the finest specimens of art in the empire, and made about it a fortified camp from which they attacked the Christians. The end was a bloody conflict in which the temple and the famous statue were destroyed. The monks of the East were especially zealous in

temple-razing, and under their hands many noble monuments of ancient art perished. In the West some of the temples were preserved and remain to this day. After Theodosius the separation of the empire into East and West became permanent. There was never after one sole ruler of the Roman world. Theodosius was followed by his two sons, Arcadius and Honorius. Arcadius (395–408) succeeded him in the East, and Honorius (395–423) in the West. In A. D. 399 Honorius issued an edict directing that all temples in the country should be destroyed without tumult. In A. D. 416 a law was promulgated excluding pagans from civil and military offices. In A. D. 435 Theodosius II, the Eastern emperor, commanded the temples to be destroyed or to be converted into churches. Justinian I (527–565) prohibited heathen worship on pain of death. In A. D. 529 he abolished the celebrated school of philosophy in Athens which had been in existence nine hundred years; at the time of its suppression this school had seven teachers corresponding in number precisely with the seven sages of early Greece. In the West the finishing strokes were given to the Græco-Roman religion by the Gothic barbarians. The Goths were Arian Christians, not very perfect specimens of Christianity, but very zealous for the destruction of the monuments of heathenism.

## NOTE TO CHAPTER XXV.

THE ROMAN EMPERORS FROM JOVIAN TO JUSTINIAN.<sup>1</sup>

Jovian.....363–364.	
<i>Western.</i>	<i>Eastern.</i>
Valentinian I.....364–375	Valens.....364–378
Gratian.....375–383	
Valentinian II.....375–392	Theodosius.....379–395
Theodosius, sole emperor.....392–395.	
<i>Western.</i>	<i>Eastern.</i>
Honorius.....395–423	Arcadius.....395–408
Valentinian III.....425–455	Theodosius II.....408–450
Maximus.....455	Marcian.....450–457
Avitus.....455–456	Leo I.....457–474
Marjorian.....457–461	Leo II.....474
Severus.....461–465	Zeno.....474–491
Anthemius.....467–472	Anastasius.....491–518
Romulus Augustulus.....475–476	Justin I.....518–527
[End of the Western line.]	Justinian I.....527–565

<sup>1</sup> Brief reigns omitted.

## CHAPTER XXVI.

## THE CHRISTOLOGICAL CONTROVERSIES.

THE confutation of Arius and the settlement of the doctrine of the Trinity was not the end of controversy in the ancient Church. Other profound questions remained, which elicited honest differences of opinion. The relation of the divine to the human nature of Christ occupied the minds of the Greek theologians for more than two hundred years, and was only settled by the intervention of two general councils. Unfortunately, this discussion was accompanied with a heat of passion which seems, as we look at it, a mockery of the gentle spirit of Jesus. In trying to determine metaphysically what is Christ's nature, these acute thinkers wholly lost sight of the moral qualities in which it behooves us to be like the incarnate Son of God. It must be premised that abundant material for these controversies was left for their successors by the earlier Church fathers. They affirmed without hesitation the two natures in Christ, but upon the mode of the union of the two natures their language is vague. "Thus," as Hefele points out, "Ignatius calls our Lord a 'flesh-bearer.' Tertullian recommends us to say that the Logos 'put on humanity' as being better than 'was made flesh.' Origen defines the union of the two natures as an 'interweaving,' and still more frequently he, as well as Irenæus, Methodius, and later writers used the expression 'mixture' or 'mingling.' Thus Tertullian says, 'Christ is man mixed with God;' Cyprian says, 'God is mixed with man.' They also speak of 'running together' of the two natures, and the like."<sup>1</sup> The Church labored to establish and did establish the formula that the two natures without transformation or mixture are united in one personality, and that the personality is the personality of the Logos.

<sup>1</sup> *History of the Church Councils A. D. 431 to A. D. 451*, pp. 1, 2.



In these conflicts we will find the schools of Antioch and Alexandria especially prominent. The former was distinguished by sobriety of judgment, but also by a lack of philosophic power; the latter, by a tendency to speculation. Antioch is represented by Chrysostom, Theodore of Mopsuestia, and Nestorius; Alexandria, by Cyril, who had, however, very little of the equipoise of Athanasius. The school of Alexandria connected the divine and human so closely in its statements that the distinction of the two natures in Christ was almost put out of sight. The school of Antioch separated the two natures so far as to make logically a separation of Christ into two persons. Bearing these tendencies of the schools in mind, we may describe the heresies on which the Church was called to pronounce judgment as (1) The Apollinarian, which affirms that Christ is not a complete man. (2) The Nestorian, which affirms that Christ consists of two natures and, virtually, of two persons. (3) The Eutychian, which affirms the absorption of the human in the divine nature of Christ.

1. Apollinaris was Bishop of Laodicea, in Syria (A. D. 373), and was the first to formulate the idea that Christ does not possess a complete humanity. His assertions were mainly these: (1) Two wholes cannot be so united as to make one whole. (2) Sin has its seat in the changeable will, the organ of the spirit, and to hold to the sinlessness of Christ we must believe that he did not possess a human will or human spirit. He adopted the threefold division of human nature common to his age, namely, body (*σῶμα*), animal soul (*ψυχὴ*), and spirit (*νοῦς, πνεῦμα*). In this manner he thought that the organic unity of the two natures could be secured. Necessarily the attributes of the two natures were by this theory merged in each other; so that "he made Christ a middle being between God and man, in whom, as it were, one part divine and two parts human were fused in the unity of a new nature."<sup>1</sup> Some of the statements of Apollinaris will put his view in clear light. Thus he said that the incarnation

<sup>1</sup> Schaff, *Church History*, vol. iii, p. 710.



did not consist in the Logos becoming *νοῦς*, but in becoming *σάρξ* (flesh). And again, that the "higher life of reason which elevates man above the rest of the creation could be of no use to him in whom the fullness of the Godhead dwells bodily, or rather that its place was wholly supplied by the Logos."<sup>1</sup> The objections to the theory of Apollinaris were urged with great acuteness by Athanasius, whose remarkable balance of mind appears in all he wrote. (1) "Christ," he said, "could not exhort us to imitate him if his human nature had not been like ours. (2) Christ appeared in order to show that it is possible to live a perfect human life. (3) If he had not perfectly assumed our nature he could not have redeemed it. (4) The affections and acts of Christ could not be conceived to exist apart from a human soul, such as his feelings of sorrow and agony and his praying."<sup>2</sup> Gregory Nazianzen also urged the point that a true redemption could only have been wrought by a perfect humanity. "The Logos," he said, "connected himself with human nature in order, not merely to reveal himself to man in a visible manner, but to redeem and to save it in its totality, and therefore none of its essential parts could be wanting to him."<sup>3</sup> Apollinaris was condemned by two councils held in Rome under Pope Damasus, and also by the Council of Constantinople (A. D. 381).

2. Nestorius went to the other extreme and claimed that the divine and human natures in Christ ought to be conceived as separated. He admitted only a junction of the two and an indwelling of the Deity (*συννοίκησις*). He was not, however, the author of this opinion. It had been promulgated before his time by Theodore of Mopsuestia in Cilicia (392-428). This father thought that Apollinaris had not been sufficiently answered, and therefore he emphasized the perfect humanity of Christ. "In order to show mankind its future perfected condition God

<sup>1</sup> Hagenbach, *History of Doctrines*, vol. i, p. 293. Edinburgh edition, 1850.

<sup>2</sup> See Neander, *History of Christian Dogmas*, vol. i, p. 323.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. i, pp. 323, 324.

formed a man in a miraculous manner by the Holy Ghost, and in the moment in which this man was formed the Logos united himself with him. The Logos led the man to baptism, then to death, then raised him again, took him up into heaven, placed him, by reason of his union with himself, at the right hand of the Father, and from that time he (the man) is worshipped by all, and will judge all." This theory draws after itself the consequence that a man is worshipped as God, which alone is fatal to its claims. But its obvious defect, that it makes Christ consist of two persons, was quickly pointed out in the ancient Church. Theodore met the latter objection by saying that the two natures made one person as man and wife make one flesh; but this illustration confessed a double personality.

Nestorius followed Theodore of Mopsuestia. Nestorius was originally a monk, then a presbyter in Antioch, and from A. D. 428 Patriarch of Constantinople. By historians he is described as eloquent, especially in extemporaneous discourse, but violent in temper and rash in conduct. When he was made patriarch the people of Constantinople believed that they were receiving a second Chrysostom. In his first sermon as bishop he said to Theodosius II, "Give me, O emperor, the earth cleansed from heretics, and I will for that give thee heaven. Help me to make war against heretics, and I will help thee in the war against the Persians." Distinguishing firmly the two natures, Nestorius naturally objected to the use of the word *θεοτόκος* (mother of God), as applied to the mother of Christ. This word had been enthusiastically adopted by the monks of Constantinople and Alexandria, and had entered into the language of devotion; it was intended to express the living union of the Logos with our nature. "To say that God had been born would lead back, Nestorius thought, to the mythologies of heathenism, and would constitute Mary a goddess and a mother of gods." <sup>1</sup> He proposed, therefore, the term *χριστοτόκος* (mother of Christ). What is intended to be conveyed by the

<sup>1</sup> Dorner, *Doctrine of the Person of Christ*, Division II, vol. i, p. 54.

term "theotokos" is that the son of Mary was born with a divine-human personality; and, although it is retained in the Creed of Chalcedon, it is liable to perversion. Much as we may sympathize with the objections of Nestorius to a term so easily misapplied, we can perceive that he considered the man Jesus to be merely the bearer of the Logos. He went so far as to deny a real union of the divine and the human in the incarnation. The divine and the human in Christ are placed by him rather in juxtaposition; they were mechanically bound together. Thus, says Schaff, "instead of a God-man we have the idea of a mere God-bearing man; and the person of Jesus of Nazareth is only the instrument or the temple in which the divine Logos dwells. The two natures form, not a personal unity, but only a moral unity, an intimate friendship or conjunction."<sup>1</sup> Thus each nature is independent of the other, and Christ is not one person, but two. As to the excessive devotion to Mary, of which the use of "theotokos" was a symptom, the opposition of Nestorius was right and in the interest of sound theology. Proclus, one of his antagonists, spoke of the Virgin Mother in a style of extravagance, calling her "the spotless treasure-house of virginity, the spiritual paradise of the second Adam, the workshop in which the two natures were annealed together, the bridal chamber in which the Word wedded the flesh," and much more equally nauseating.<sup>2</sup>

Nestorius was opposed by Cyril, Patriarch of Alexandria, a man of great vigor of intellect, but worldly and ambitious. His opposition was personal as well as doctrinal. Summoning a local council, he condemned Nestorius in twelve anathemas; Nestorius replied in twelve counter-anathemas, and so the war of words became general. The emperors Theodosius II, of the East, and Valentinian III, of the West, united in calling a general council, which assembled at Ephesus A. D. 431. Nestorius came to the council with sixteen bishops and a guard of soldiers furnished by the emperor; Cyril was accompanied

<sup>1</sup> *Church History*, vol. iii, p. 719.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. iii, p. 721.

by fifty bishops and a following of monks, sailors, and slaves. The Archbishop of Ephesus also attended the council with forty bishops. The Patriarch of Antioch was not present at the time fixed for the opening of the council, having been detained on the way. The emperor, who was on the side of Nestorius, was represented by a commissioner, the Pope of Rome by two bishops. The pope sided with Cyril, but kept aloof from the debate. The people of Ephesus and the people of Constantinople were zealous for the "theotokos," for Mariolatry had already begun. Although the Patriarch of Antioch was expected soon Cyril refused to wait, and opened the council in spite of the protests of the Nestorians. In fact, John of Antioch seems to have prolonged his delay purposely, in order to escape the necessity of sanctioning by his presence the condemnation of Nestorius, who was his friend. Nestorius was cited to appear, but would not obey the citation. At the end of the first session he was condemned and deposed in these words: "The Lord Jesus Christ, who is blasphemed by him, determines, through this holy council, that Nestorius be excluded from the episcopal office and from all sacerdotal fellowship." The city was thereupon illuminated, and there was an outburst of joy throughout Ephesus.

It was now the turn of Nestorius. The imperial commissioner, who was steadfast in his friendship, declared the decree of the council to be null. A few days after John, the Patriarch of Antioch, arrived with forty-two bishops and held a council which excommunicated Cyril of Alexandria, Memnon of Ephesus, and all their adherents. The imperial commissioner carried out this decision and cast Cyril and Memnon into prison. Both parties now appealed to the emperor; but Cyril, who was an artful diplomatist, managed by letters to arouse the fanaticism of the monks of Constantinople. Forming a great procession, and led by Dalmatius, who had spent forty-eight years of seclusion in his cell, they appeared before Theodosius II, chanting psalms and bearing burning torches. While the crowd waited without,

the abbots addressed the emperor within the palace and induced him to change sides; he forsook Nestorius and went over to the party of Cyril. After a series of intrigues as unscrupulous as the intrigues of a modern political convention, Theodosius II confirmed the deposition of Nestorius, released Cyril and Memnon, permitted them to return to their dioceses, and dissolved the council in October, A. D. 431. John of Antioch now deserted to the party of Cyril, and through his influence a compromise was effected; but as the compromise was a piece of patchwork the division broke out again. The emperor, however, was fixed in his hostility to Nestorius, who was driven from place to place until in A. D. 439 he disappears from history. Of the circumstances of his death nothing is known. But, if Nestorius died, Nestorianism lived and still lives. Beyond the Roman empire in the kingdom of Persia the Nestorians have maintained for centuries an independent existence. From Persia they spread into India, Arabia, and Tartary. Mohammed is said to have learned something of Christianity from a Nestorian monk. They have suffered fearful persecutions from time to time at the hands of Mohammedan rulers, but are still to be found in Armenia and Persia, where Protestant missions have been established to teach them a purer Gospel. A number of Nestorians on the coast of Malabar call themselves after the apostle Thomas, who is reputed to have visited Malabar and to have preached the Gospel there.

Looking at the history as it has been exhibited thus far, we can see a sincere interest in the truth working along with human weakness. The contention for sound doctrine became a war of the patriarchates with one another; but none the less was there an earnest truth-seeking. Cyril and his followers laid stress on the unity of Christ's person; Nestorius and the Antiochians, on the duality of his nature. Cyril was in constant danger of "making the humanity a mere attribute or predicate of God;" Nestorius of losing the personal unity altogether. "Whilst," says Dorner, "the Alexandrians attached the human-



ity of Christ, including the soul and its powers, to the divine hypostasis as little more than a receptive passive material, the Antiochians strove to prove that the human factor also had a relative independence, but showed themselves not infrequently inclined to the use of expressions which attributed to the human aspect an independent personality."<sup>1</sup>

According to Cyril "the unity of the natures is not a confusion of them, but at all events it excludes all separation, and demands an absolute coexistence and interpenetration of the Word and the flesh. The consequence of this incarnation is the existence of a new entity, a divine-human subject which is in nothing only God or only man, but in everything is both in one, and whose attributes are not some divine and others human, but all divine-human."<sup>2</sup> So also says Schaff: "As the Antiochian theology begot Nestorianism, which stretched the distinction of the human and divine natures in Christ to double personality, so the Alexandrian theology begot the opposite error of Eutychianism or Monophysitism, which urged the personal unity of Christ at the expense of the distinction of natures and made the divine Logos absorb the human nature."<sup>3</sup>

3. The Eutychian heresy derives its name from Eutyches, a presbyter and abbot of a cloister of monks in Constantinople. He was remarkable neither for learning nor for talent, but, as often happens, he gave his name to a tendency which many others shared with him. According to his view "the impersonal human nature is assimilated and, as it were, deified by the personal Logos, so that his body is by no means of the same substance with ours, but a divine body. Hence it may be said that God is born, God suffered, God was crucified and died."<sup>4</sup> Eutyches "could not be induced to confess his belief in the existence of two natures, a divine and a human. He maintained that there had been two natures only before the

<sup>1</sup> *Doctrine of the Person of Christ*, Division II, vol. i, p. 56.

<sup>2</sup> See Schaff, *Church History*, vol. iii, p. 735, note.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. iii, pp. 734, 735.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. iii, p. 737.



union, but after that he would acknowledge only one.”<sup>1</sup> The doctrine of Eutyches was controverted in A. D. 447 by Theodoret, who maintained the idea of two natures in one person. At a synod held in Constantinople A. D. 448, under the presidency of Flavian, the patriarch of that city, Eutyches was condemned and deposed. This council asserted that Christ “after the incarnation consisted of two natures in one person, one Christ, one Son, one Lord.” Appeal was made to the Bishop of Rome and other bishops by both sides. Leo of Rome replied A. D. 449 in a letter to the patriarch Flavian, which was so well conceived and expressed that it was adopted afterward by the Council of Chalcedon as the basis of its creed. Some passages from this letter of Leo the Great, known in history as the *epistola dogmatica*, are here given. Leo first affirms the wholeness of the two natures. “In order to pay our debt, the inviolable nature was united to the passible, so that, as our salvation required, the one Mediator between God and man on the one side could die, on the other could not die. He took upon him the form of a servant without the stain of sin, and he raised the human without impairing the divine. The emptying of himself (Phil. ii, 7), by which the Invisible showed himself visible, and the Lord and Creator of the world willed to become one of the mortals—this emptying of himself was no loss of power, but a working of compassion. He who in the form of God had made man, became man in the form of a servant. Each nature preserves its property inviolate, and as the ‘form of God’ did not annihilate the ‘form of a servant,’ so the form of a servant in nothing impairs the form of God.”<sup>2</sup> And again: “Each of the two forms [natures] does in communion with the other that which is proper to it, since the Word [of God] performs that which is of the Word, and the flesh performs that which is of the flesh. The one of them shines forth in miracles, the other submits to insults. For

<sup>1</sup> Hagenbach, *History of Doctrines*, vol. i, pp. 299, 300.

<sup>2</sup> Hefele, *History of the Church Councils A. D. 431 to A. D. 451*, pp. 228, 229.

he who is one and the same, as must be often repeated, is truly Son of God and truly Son of man. God in this, that 'in the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God;' man in this, that 'the Word was made flesh, and dwelt among us;' God in this, that all things were made by him, and without him nothing was made; man in this, that he was made of a woman, and under the law."<sup>1</sup>

Leo just as strongly affirms the unity of persons: "For although in Jesus Christ there is only one person of God and man, yet the common glory and the common lowliness of the two natures have a different source. From us he has the manhood which is inferior to the Father; from the Father he has the Godhead which is equal to the Father. For this reason, that the two natures constitute only one person, we read that the Son of man came down from heaven (John iii, 13), while the Son of God took flesh of the Virgin; and also, that the Son of God was crucified and buried, while he suffered not in the Godhead, according to which he is the only begotten, coeternal and consubstantial with the Father, but in the weakness of the human nature. For this reason we say in the creed that the only begotten Son of God was crucified and buried, in accordance with the words of the apostle: 'Had they known it, they would not have crucified the Lord of glory (1 Cor. ii, 8).'"<sup>2</sup> As, however, Eutyches had a court party in his favor, he was able to persuade the emperor Theodosius II to call a general council, which met at Ephesus, August, A. D. 449.

To understand the character and proceedings of this notorious council—usually called the Council of Robbers—we must go back and trace the history of the man who impressed upon it his own spirit. Cyril of Alexandria, after his death in A. D. 444, was succeeded by his archdeacon, Dioscurus. This bishop had one ambition, to put his patriarchate at the head of the Church in the East. In his judgment all means for securing his

<sup>1</sup> Hefele, *History of the Church Councils A. D. 431 to A. D. 451*, pp. 230, 231.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 232.

ends were lawful. A violent partisan of Eutychianism, he was resolved that Eutychianism should be supreme. He presided at the council with an array of monks and soldiers. The accuser of Eutyches at the Synod of Constantinople, Eusebius of Dorylæum, was refused a hearing. The council shouted, "Burn Eusebius; he has cut Christ in two, cut him in two." Eutyches was sustained, the doctrine of the two natures in Christ condemned as a heresy, and its advocates, Theodoret, Leo of Rome, and Flavian of Constantinople were excommunicated. The monks beat Flavian so brutally that he died shortly after of his wounds; Anatolius, a partisan of Dioscurus, was appointed Patriarch of Constantinople in his stead. Besides the soldiers and monks who were brought to this council, Dioscurus was attended by a bodyguard of hospital waiters, who formed in Alexandria a guild of six hundred persons. The soldiers were admitted into the council for the purpose of intimidating any of the members who differed from the presiding bishop. "Thus," says Neander, "the party of Dioscurus, by availing itself of the power of the court, had succeeded in crushing the Oriental Church. Some changed their faith with the change of circumstances, and bowed the knee to the dominant party. Others, although they remained faithful to the truth themselves, yet dared not lift up their voice in its defense. The men of free and fearless spirit were separated from their churches and banished."<sup>1</sup>

There sat at this time in the papal chair one of the great popes—one of the greatest of them all—Leo I. The West was with him, and the crushed Eastern Church appealed to him. He acted with energy, yet with a dignity which gave him weight with the disputants. The appeal made to him by the Eastern Church afforded him also an opportunity to advance the pretensions of his see. He protested against the decisions of the Robber Council and advised the calling of a new one in Italy. The weak Theodosius II died in 450 A. D., and his

<sup>1</sup> *Church History*, vol. ii, p. 514.

sister, Pulcheria, who favored Leo's doctrine, by marriage with the senator and general Marcian, procured for her husband the succession to the empire. The new emperor called a council to meet at Nice. The bishops had already assembled in that city September, A. D. 451, but the fanaticism and turbulence of the monks rendered a repetition of the disgraceful scenes of the Robber Synod probable; the place of meeting was therefore changed to Chalcedon, opposite Constantinople. This council was attended by more delegates than any one of its predecessors, the number being usually reckoned at six hundred and thirty, but the bishops present were nearly all orientals. Commissioners of the emperor attended; the delegates of the pope presided. The bishops, especially of the Egyptian party, were so disorderly that they were rebuked by the laymen in attendance. It needed but a short time to annul the proceedings of the Robber Council and to depose Dioscurus, the Patriarch of Alexandria, and other Eutychian bishops. Dioscurus was arraigned on charges of avarice, injustice, and adultery, and was removed from the ministry. The important letter of Leo to Flavian was read and approved, and on the 22d of October, A. D. 451, the council adopted the creed known by its name. The Creed of Chalcedon embraces the chief points of the creeds of Nice and Constantinople, and adds thereto its own statement of the person of Christ. The language in this part of the creed is largely drawn from Leo's letter to Flavian.

The creed is, as to its essential statements, as follows:<sup>1</sup> "Following the holy fathers, we unanimously teach one and the same Son, our Lord Jesus Christ, complete as to his Godhead, and complete as to his manhood [against Apollinaris]; truly God and truly man, of a reasonable soul [against Apollinaris] and human flesh subsisting; consubstantial with the Father as to his Godhead, and consubstantial also with us as to his manhood; like unto us in all things [against Apollinaris] yet without

<sup>1</sup> See, for Creed of Chalcedon, Schaff, *Church History*, vol. iii, pp. 744-746.

sin; as to his Godhead, begotten of the Father before all worlds; but as to his manhood, in these last days, born for us men and for our salvation, of the Virgin Mary, the mother of God [τῆς θεοτόκου], [qualified by the previous phrase, 'as to his manhood']; one and the same Christ, Son, Lord, Only begotten, known in two natures, without confusion [ἀσυγχύτως, ἀ, συν, χέω, to pour], without conversion [against Eutychianism, ἀτρέπτως, ἀ and τρέπω, to turn], without severance, and without division [against Nestorius, ἀδιαρέτως, ἀ and διαρέω, to part, ἀχωρίστως ἀ, and χωρίζω, to divide]; the distinction of the natures being in no wise abolished by their union, but the peculiarity of each nature being maintained [against Eutychianism], and both concurring in one person [against Nestorianism] and hypostasis. We confess not a Son divided and sundered into two persons, but one and the same Son and only begotten, and God the Word, our Lord Jesus Christ." The Chalcedonian Christology aims to hold a middle course between two extremes, which extremes are on the one side Nestorianism and on the other Eutychianism. Against Nestorianism it affirms that Christ is not a double being, making two persons; and against Eutychianism, that he is not a compound or mixed being, neither purely divine nor purely human. By this fact, that it thus occupies a middle ground, it must be judged. The extremes are both unsatisfactory and unscriptural. In declaring that Christ is one person, both divine and human, the Creed of Chalcedon meets the requirements of New Testament language.

This creed affirms what is called anhypostasia, or enhypostasia, of the human nature of Christ. By this is meant that "Christ's human nature had no independent personality of its own besides the divine, and that the divine nature is the root and basis of his personality."<sup>1</sup> Or as Shedd states it: "The incarnation is the humanizing of deity, and not the deification of humanity."<sup>2</sup> This no doubt does not agree with modern

<sup>1</sup> Schaff, *Creeds of Christendom*, vol. i, p. 32.

<sup>2</sup> *History of Christian Doctrine*, vol. i, p. 406.

psychology, but the opposite position makes Christ assume a human person, and not human nature, and that leads us to a serious doctrinal perplexity. We may say that "his human personality was completed and perfected by being so incorporated with the preexistent Logos personality as to find in it alone its full self-consciousness, and to be permeated and controlled by it in every stage of its development."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Schaff, *Creeds of Christendom*, vol. i, p. 33.



## CHAPTER XXVII.

## THE GERMANIC RACES.

It is impossible to understand the history of the world without recognizing the overmastering influence of a few races of men; they may be of mixed blood, but they acquire a distinct spirit and leave their impress upon the growth of mankind. Our growth has been effected through the transmission of the achievements of one or more races to their successors. From Greece we derive our philosophy and logic; from Rome, law; from the Jews, the covenant race, the right knowledge of God. While Rome was growing in power the Celts possessed Gaul, Great Britain, Spain, and Ireland. For the space of two hundred years, beginning with the fourth century before Christ, the Celts were the terror of Europe and Asia; "but," says Arnold, "they could communicate no essential points of human character in which the other races might be deficient. They could neither improve the intellectual state of mankind nor its social and political relations." They, therefore, disappeared, nor have they left ~~any~~ monuments of their existence which are valued by the world. In Britain, Spain, and Gaul they were conquered and absorbed by the Romans, and in the north and east of Europe they were either annihilated or absorbed by the Germans.

That which marks modern history and distinguishes it from the ancient is the advent of the Germanic races to power, their conversion to Christianity, and their inheritance of Roman civilization. "If we consider the Roman empire in the fourth century of the Christian era," says Dr. Arnold, "we shall find in it all the intellectual treasures of Greece, all the social and political wisdom of Rome. What was not there was simply the German race and the peculiar qualities which characterize

it. This one addition was of such power that it changed the character of the whole mass. The peculiar stamp of the Middle Ages is undoubtedly German. The change manifested in the last three centuries has been owing to the revival of the older elements with greater power, so that the German element has been less manifestly predominant. But that element still preserves its force, and is felt for good or for evil in almost every country of the civilized world. This influence of the German race affects more or less the whole west of Europe, from the head of the Gulf of Bothnia to the most southern promontory of Sicily, from the Oder and the Adriatic to the Hebrides and to Lisbon. It is true that the language spoken over a large portion of this space is not predominantly German; but even in France, and Italy, and Spain, the influence of the Franks, Burgundians, Visigoths, Ostrogoths, and Lombards, while it has colored even the language, has in blood and institutions left its mark legibly and indelibly.”<sup>1</sup>

What then are the characteristics of this race which has so largely participated in the spread of Christianity? We have from Tacitus a little tract on the manners of the Germans. He calls them an indigenous race, for “who,” he says, “would leave the softer climes of Asia, Africa, or Italy to fix his abode in Germany, where nature offers nothing but scenes of deformity; where the inclemency of the season never relents; where the land presents a dreary region, without form or creation?” (Par. ii.) He describes them as “having stern blue eyes, ruddy hair, bodies large and robust, but powerful only in sudden efforts, and as being proof against cold and hunger” (Par. iv). He speaks of them as having a high regard for women, and as paying great deference to their opinions. “There is,” says he, “something sacred in the female sex, and even the power of foreseeing future events. Their advice is, therefore, always heard; they are frequently consulted, and their responses are deemed oracular” (Par. viii). Here we have the germ of chiv-

<sup>1</sup> *Modern History*, p. 45.

alry. We need not be surprised, therefore, to find him adding, "In consequence of these manners, the married state is a life of affection and female constancy. Among the savages of Germany virtuous manners operate more than good laws in other countries" (Par. xix). He admits that the Germans were unconquered by Rome and unconquerable (Par. xxxvii).

We inquire next, What was the origin of these peoples, and what are their subdivisions? The Goths are believed by some to have had for their original home Scandinavia; by others, northeast Prussia. Taking the first supposition as correct, they crossed the Baltic Sea, penetrated what is now West Prussia, went southward to the region between the Danube and the Sea of Azof, and ended by attacking Thrace. Westward of them the Vandals were spread "along the banks of the Oder and the seacoast of Pomerania and Mecklenburg."<sup>1</sup> The Franks, or Freemen, were a confederation of the tribes dwelling on the lower Rhine and the Weser. South of these last two we place the Alemanni (All-Men), composed doubtless of numerous tribes. Thus, beginning on the east of Europe, we have these four masses of men of a common stock, kindred in race peculiarities, yet under different leaders, and sometimes hostile to one another. These all with various fortunes pressed upon the north of the Roman empire, till at length it was trampled under their feet. On the west borders of Asia were the Huns, who, pressing on the Gothic races, forced them to migrate further westward. At the end of the fifth century we find the Visigoths established in Spain and France; east of them are the Burgundians; north of both as far as the English Channel and the Baltic Sea are the Franks and Saxons; the Ostrogoths hold Italy and Switzerland; and the Lombards as much of the region north of the Danube as is included in Austria.

We first turn our attention to the Goths on the borders of the Danube. They had learned Christianity by their contact with

<sup>1</sup> Gibbon, vol. i, p. 285.

the Romans. A Gothic bishop is said to have been a member of the Council of Nice (A. D. 325). We find Ulfilas, whose ancestors had been carried away from Cappadocia by the barbarians, preaching to the Visigoths in A. D. 348. Persecuted by the heathen, he fled across the Danube with his converts. Here he labored among his people for more than thirty years, translating the Bible into the Gothic language, which he reduced to writing for that purpose. Ulfilas is justly called the apostle of the Goths. By the end of the fifth century more than half of the German peoples, the Ostrogoths and Visigoths, the Vandals and Lombards and Burgundians, had become nominally Christian. As their conversion was achieved at a time when Arianism was dominant at Rome they naturally became Arians.

The conversion of the Franks is ascribed to Clotilda, the wife of Clovis (481-511). Clotilda was a Burgundian princess and an orthodox, not an Arian, Christian. Clovis resisted all his wife's persuasions until, being in great danger at the battle of Zülrich (Tolbiacum), in the year A. D. 496, he vowed that if the Christian's God would help him he would become a Christian. His victory was followed by a profession of faith and the nominal conversion of his people. The adoption of the Roman form of Christianity by the Franks led to important results. It confirmed the power of Clovis by uniting to him the conquered Roman population of Gaul, which was largely orthodox. Through his energy, and the subjugation of his Arian neighbors, the Roman as distinguished from the Arian faith was propagated among the German tribes and became predominant.

The transition of the Goths to Christianity was made the more easy by their gradual introduction through several centuries into Roman life. "By degrees barbarian mercenaries came to form the largest, or at least the most effective, part of the Roman armies. The bodyguard of Augustus had been so composed; the prætorians were generally selected from the bravest frontier troops, most of them German. After Constantine the barbarians form the majority of the troops; after

Theodosius a Roman is the exception. The soldiers of the Eastern empire in the time of Arcadius are almost all Goths, vast bodies of whom are settled in the provinces." <sup>1</sup> Immediately on the border of the empire Christianity is felt as the leavening power among the barbarous tribes. The complete conversion of the peoples of the German stock to Christianity was, however, the work of centuries. Central Germany was brought to the faith by Boniface in the first part of the eighth century. Seventeen years after his death the war of Charlemagne with the Saxons began; it lasted for thirty years (772-803), and ended in their submission and acceptance of the Christian religion. Christianity was introduced into Scandinavia by Ansgar, the apostle of the North (801-865). Denmark, Jutland, Sweden, and Norway became wholly Christian in the early part of the eleventh century. The last stronghold of Teutonic heathenism was the island of Rügen; its inhabitants were converted in 1168.

Boniface is the great figure among the apostles to the Germans. He was a native of Devonshire, England, and was born about the year 680. His true name was Winfrid. After some years spent in a convent and an unsuccessful attempt to convert Frisia, in the Netherlands, he was commissioned by Pope Gregory II to preach to the heathen of Germany. He made, at first, only a brief stay in Germany, then went for several years to Frisia, where his labors were more successful than on his former visit. Returning to Germany, he entered Hesse. We find him teaching the people out of the gospels and overawing them by cutting down one of the oaks consecrated to idols. "In the space of fifteen years," says Neander, "he founded the Christian Church among a hundred thousand Germans, and erected church edifices and monasteries in the midst of what was before a wilderness." <sup>2</sup> The most celebrated of the monasteries founded by him was that of Fulda (744), over

<sup>1</sup> Bryce, *Holy Roman Empire*, p. 15, edition of 1880.

<sup>2</sup> *Church History*, vol. iii, p. 55.

which he placed his pupil and assistant, the Bavarian Sturm. He became archbishop, divided Germany into sees, and laid broad and solid foundations for the Church. Having taken an oath of fealty to the pope when made bishop in 723, Boniface steadily opposed the independent British and Irish missionaries, whom he found zealously laboring among the Germans. For the same reason he brought the Frankish missionaries and bishops into obedience to the papal see. This action checked the growth of an independent Church, but it gave the feeble Christian bodies of Germany a strong protector, and united a people emerging from barbarism with the civilization of Rome. In his old age Boniface resolved to return to his first field of labor, Frisia. Having provided a successor to his episcopal office, he set out with a company of friends in 755. So assured was he that his death was imminent that he ordered a shroud to be put in his book chest. As he traversed the country he was gladly received. He and his companions baptized many and founded new churches. He appointed the fifth of June, 755, as the day for the administration of the rite of confirmation to his converts. But early on the morning of that day a body of the heathen, hoping for plunder and desiring to destroy the foes of their gods, attacked Boniface and his companions. Boniface forbade any attempt at resistance, and exhorted his followers not to fear those who could only kill the body. He thus calmly met a martyr's death in his seventy-fifth year. Most of his little company perished with him.

## NOTE TO CHAPTER XXVII.

### SUMMARY OF THE MIGRATIONS.

I. In the second century the Goths left Prussia and migrated to the shores of the Black Sea. The Ostrogoths settled between the Don and the Dniester, or the region known as Southern Russia and Little Russia. The Visigoths settled between the Dniester and the Theiss, or what is now known as Bessarabia, Roumania, and the eastern part of Hungary. The Theiss is a branch of the Danube. Pressed upon and defeated by the Huns, in A. D. 378 they occupied Thrace, Moesia, Pannonia, and Achaia. Here both



the Ostrogoths and Visigoths were, at the death of Theodosius, A. D. 395. The empire falling into confusion after the death of Theodosius, it was ravaged by the Visigoths under Alaric. Alaric sacked Rome in A. D. 410. Issuing from Italy in A. D. 412, under Ataulf, the Visigoths founded a kingdom between the Loire and Garonne, and penetrated into Spain. A German of the imperial guard, named Odoacer, dethroned the last Roman emperor, Romulus Augustulus, in A. D. 476, and ruled in his stead. He was in turn defeated by Theodoric, the Ostrogoth, A. D. 493, who, crossing the Alps, and making himself King of Italy, reigned thirty-three years. The Ostrogothic kingdom of Italy lasted till A. D. 553, when it was subdued by Roman arms, during the reign of Justinian. The Gothic kingdom of Spain flourished in splendor till A. D. 711, when it was extinguished by the Moors from Africa.

II. The Vandals were spread from the banks of the Vistula, on the Baltic Sea, to the banks of the Oder. On the sea line this would be from the Gulf of Danzig on the east and the island of Rügen on the west. They emigrated south and settled first in the Riesengebirge, immediately to the north of Bohemia. About the year A. D. 406 they emigrated across the Rhine into Gaul. In A. D. 409 they entered Spain and founded a kingdom called after them Vandalusia. In A. D. 429 they crossed from Spain to Africa, which they ravished. During the siege of Hippo in Africa by the Vandals, A. D. 430, its bishop, St. Augustine, died within its walls. His great work, *The City of God*, written between the years A. D. 413 and A. D. 426, was intended to fortify the courage of his fellow-Christians against the calamities of the times, and to refute the accusation of the heathen that the barbarian invasions and the sack of Rome (410) were the result of the overthrow of the ancient gods. The Vandals held their power in Africa for a century, when they were conquered by Belisarius, Justinian's general, A. D. 534. In A. D. 455 the Vandals sacked Rome.

III. The Franks occupied the regions between the Rhine and Weser—in modern geography, East Netherlands and Westphalia. They were a combination of tribes, known anciently as Sicambri, Bructeri, Chatti, etc. Holding their own country, they invaded northeast Gaul in the third and fourth centuries. After being expelled from their own possessions they recovered them again, and from the time of Julian their control was not disputed. They divided into two bodies, the Salian Franks (Sal, the sea) and the Ripuarian (Ripa, river bank). The Salian Franks established an empire in Gaul under Clovis, which at the end of the fifth century extended as far south as the Loire and as far east as the Rhine. The Ripuarian Franks occupied the lower Rhine.

IV. The Burgundians are a Vandalic race, and therefore belong to the region between the Oder and the Vistula. Driven from this home by the Gepidæ, they settled between the Main and the Neckar. In combination with the Vandals, about 406, they crossed the Rhine and invaded Gaul. Settling between the Aar and the Rhone and in the valley of the Saone, they established the kingdom of Burgundia, which lasted until A. D. 534, when it became a Frankish province.

V. Authorities are divided upon the question whether the Huns are a Finnish or a Tartar race. When first clearly known to history they are found at the head of the Caspian Sea. In the third century they attacked

the Alani, who were subdued and incorporated with them. They next attacked the Goths, whom they forced over the Danube. They then settled on the borders of the rivers Don and Dnieper. In the fifth century, they invaded central Europe, but were checked by defeat at the battle of Châlons, A. D. 451, when the Germans and Romans combined against their common foe. The Huns then went into Italy, and under Attila sacked and destroyed in every direction. By the persuasions of Pope Leo the Great they were turned from Rome. Attila retired to the region of the Danube and died the following year, A. D. 453.

## CHAPTER XXVIII.

## THE RISE OF THE PAPACY.

WE now consider the growth of an institution which has for good or evil affected for centuries both the Church and the world. The papacy is a fact of such importance that Church history without it would be far other than it is. Upon the ruins of old Rome another and greater quickly rose; we say a greater, for the new Rome ruled the spirits of men as absolutely as the old had ruled their temporal fortunes. We may say that from the fifth century until now the history of the Church is the history of the consolidation of the power of the papacy, of the decline of its power, and of the rebellion against its supreme sway. The dominion of old Rome was bounded on the east by Parthia and on the west by the Rhine, the Danube, and the Atlantic Ocean; the emperors were content to rule within these bounds; but new Rome has aimed at universal dominion and has aspired to grasp both the eternal and the temporal destinies of men. And yet this power over the world is purely a human achievement, the product of tact, energy, genius for government, and the pressing beyond their limits of claims to which the see of Rome was justly entitled.

To explain the growth of this power we must presuppose in the Church: (1) A tendency to a monarchical organization; to the supremacy of the bishops over the rest of the clergy; a tendency to a concentration in the bishops as the successors of the apostles of those spiritual gifts which are implied in the bestowal of the Holy Spirit. (2) At the root of all this lay the false idea of a theocracy, after the Old Testament pattern, of a priesthood offering up sacrifices for the people, of a hierarchy having for its apex one supreme priest. Says Neander, "From confounding the ideas of the visible and the invisible Church,

from the notion of a necessary outward unity of the Church, the idea had sprung up of an uninterrupted outward representation of this unity, necessarily existing at all times; and this idea had been transferred to the chair of Peter."<sup>1</sup> But an oligarchy preceded the monarchy; that is to say, immediately upon the union of the Church and the state the supreme authority was vested in the bishops of the cities of Jerusalem, Antioch, Ephesus, Corinth, and Rome. Constantine divided the empire into four prefectures, the Oriental, the Illyrian, the Italian, and the Gallic. The prefectures were divided into vicariates or dioceses, of which there were fourteen; each diocese was again divided into several provinces. The territory of the Church was also divided by the same lines. Over one diocese or several dioceses was placed a patriarch or an exarch, the latter term being an ecclesiastical as well as a secular title, and over each province a metropolitan, although in the West a metropolitan was called an archbishop. The third ecumenical council (Ephesus, A. D. 431) fixed as patriarchal seats Rome, Alexandria, Antioch, and Constantinople, and added Jerusalem as a tribute of honor to the mother city of all Christendom. These patriarchs, says Schaff, "ordained the metropolitans; rendered the final decision in Church controversies; conducted the ecumenical councils; published the decrees of the councils and the Church laws of the emperors; and united in themselves the supreme legislative and executive power of the hierarchy. They did not, however, form a college; each acted for himself. Yet in important matters they consulted with one another, and had the right also to keep resident legates at the imperial court at Constantinople."<sup>2</sup> The orthodox Greek Church has retained the patriarchal system to this day; the Latin Church has gone beyond it, and has established an absolute monarchy.

We are now to trace the manner in which the Bishop of

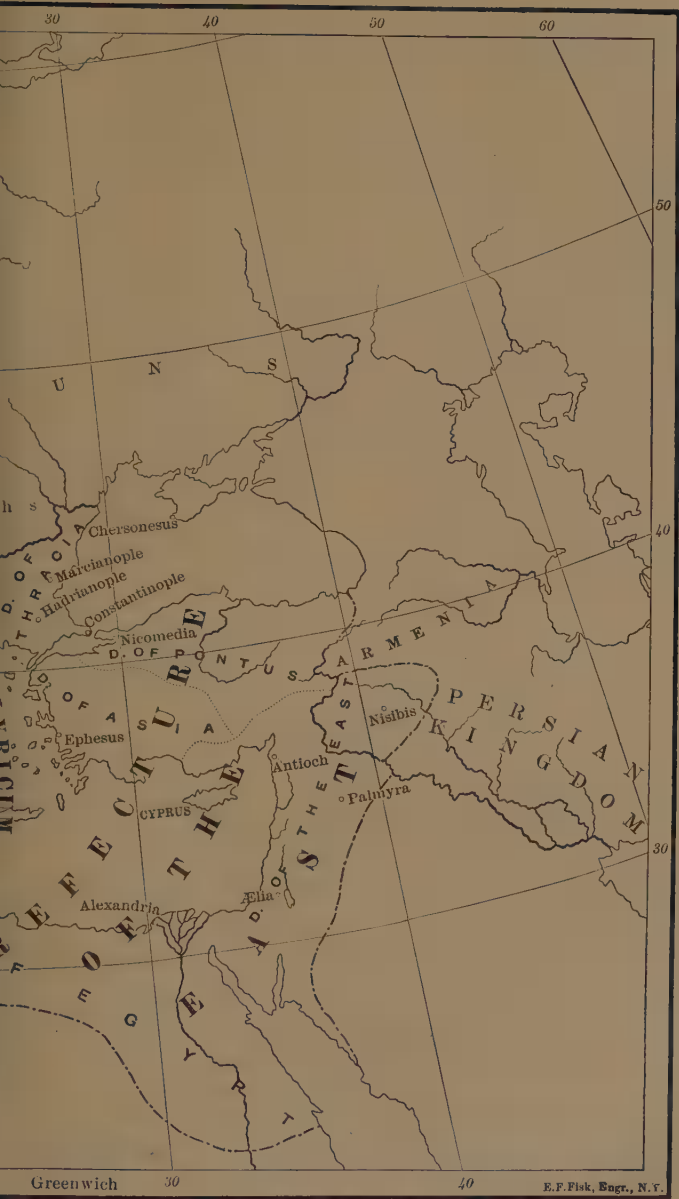
<sup>1</sup> Neander, *Church History*, vol. ii, p. 166.

<sup>2</sup> Schaff, *Church History*, vol. iii, pp. 272, 273.









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Rome, from being one of five patriarchs, became supreme. His advantages of position were of two classes: (1) Political, (2) Spiritual. As to his political advantage, he was the bishop of the city which had ruled the world for centuries and shared its prestige; he was remote from Constantinople, and therefore freer from state control than the bishop of that capital; the political government of all the West had centred in his diocesan city; the spiritual government of the West naturally centred there too. Indeed, it may be said that "the transfer of the imperial residence to the East broke the way for the temporal power and the political independence of the papacy."<sup>1</sup> His spiritual advantages were still greater. His church was reputed to be an apostolic seat; it was reputed to have enjoyed the labors of Peter and Paul, and professed to hold their remains. As a primacy of honor among the apostles was usually conceded to Peter, so the Bishop of Rome was the acknowledged heir of that primacy. As recognized by the other patriarchs, it was a primacy of honor only, and not of authority. Moreover, in the conflicts of the Nicene and post-Nicene periods the bishops of Rome had maintained a high repute for orthodoxy. The West was doctrinally more stable than the East, owing to the fact of its having less than the East of the speculative temper. Of this fact the bishops of Rome reaped full advantage. Finally, the Bishop of Rome was the only Latin patriarch; he had no rival in the West; the decrees of ecumenical councils passed to the Western bishops through his hands. His pastoral letters to bishops, from being first advisory, gradually became mandatory, and that with only occasional opposition.

Starting, then, with a conceded primacy of honor, as the successor of St. Peter, the problem before the Bishop of Rome was to change this into a primacy of authority over the other patriarchs. He had first to overcome opposition near home. The Archbishop of Milan for a time denied his jurisdiction; the

<sup>1</sup> Schaff, *Church History*, vol. iii, p. 287.

bishops of North Africa resisted, under the lead of Augustine, his claim of right to hear appeals from their decisions; but, weakened by the attacks of the Vandals, they came, in the age of Leo the Great (440–461), under papal sway. In Gaul, Hilary of Arelate (Arles) resisted him; but Leo obtained an edict from Valentinian III reducing Hilary to submission. Leo in A. D. 445 declared, “Whoso disputes the primacy of the apostle Peter can in no way lessen the apostle’s dignity, but, puffed up by the spirit of his own pride, he destroys himself in hell.” And Valentinian III declared in an edict to his lieutenant in Gaul, “The whole world acknowledges the Roman see as director and governor; all the decrees of the pope have the force of law.”<sup>1</sup> Thus the West was subjugated to the papacy by the time of Leo the Great.

The cathedral church of the Bishop of Rome is the St. John Lateran, over whose main door is the inscription, *Omnium urbis et orbis ecclesiarum mater et caput*. And yet the Council of Nice, when it declared faith in “the holy Catholic Church” as an article of the creed, did not mean the church of the Bishop of Rome. The popes built their claims to primacy and supreme authority on Christ’s words to Peter, “Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my Church” (Matt. xvi, 18). But in point of fact no primacy of Peter was recognized by the apostles. Paul, for instance, was wholly independent of him. Nor is it clear that Peter was ever in Rome; certainly there is no evidence of the fact in the New Testament; nor, if this were admitted, is there proof that Peter constituted the Bishop of Rome his successor to the primacy. Nor, if such a succession were admitted, is it certain that the primacy bestowed was more than a primacy of honor. An honorary primacy is wholly different from a primacy of authority. Cyprian was the first of the fathers to give Matt. xvi, 18, an interpretation in harmony with papal claims; Ambrose of Milan (died 397) concedes to Peter a primacy of honor only; Jerome (died

<sup>1</sup> Schaff, *Church History*, vol. iii, pp. 297, 298.

420) derives all episcopal power from custom, and holds that bishops have equal rights. Augustine (died 430) interpreted the words, "On this rock I will build my Church," of Peter, but afterward altered his opinion. In his *Retractations* he says: "I have somewhere said of St. Peter that the Church is built upon him as the rock; but I know that I have since frequently said that the word of the Lord, 'Thou art *Petrus*, and on this *petra* I will build my Church,' must be understood of him whom Peter confessed as Son of the living God. The rock was Christ, through confession of whom Simon received the name of Peter. Thus the Church which is built upon Christ has received from him, in the person of Peter, the keys of heaven; that is, the power of binding and loosing sins."<sup>1</sup> The Greek fathers ascribe a primacy of honor to Peter, but by no means acknowledge him to be universal bishop. So also the first four ecumenical councils concede to the Bishop of Rome a primacy of honor among the five patriarchs, but deny his primacy of jurisdiction.

The first pope who issued a decretal was Siricius; its date is A. D. 385. But the first great pope, and in some sense the founder of the papacy, was Leo I. His active life extended from A. D. 423 to A. D. 461. He thoroughly believed in his vocation as successor of St. Peter to be the head of the Church. He was, in the first place, a superior theologian, and took an important part in framing the decisions of the Council of Chalcedon. Twice he saved Rome from destruction—once when it was threatened by Attila, the Hun, A. D. 452, and again when it was pillaged by the Vandal, Genseric, A. D. 455. The ancient Roman instinct of government was revived in him, and with Roman tact he took advantage of circumstances. Circumstances, indeed, were favorable to the assertion of papal claims; the old order was passing away and a new order was coming in; the empire of the West was disappearing, and the pope was left the commanding personage of his time. Leo

<sup>1</sup> Schaff, *Church History*, vol. iii, pp. 306, 307.

held the office of pope for twenty-one years. The manner of his death is unknown; its date is A. D. 461.

The dissolution of the Western empire (476) was, on the whole, advantageous to the papacy. The Gothic kings of Italy, though Arian, interfered little, if at all, with the administration of Church affairs. But the popes from Leo the Great to Gregory the Great were none of them men of mark. But whether men of ordinary or extraordinary powers they never failed to push their claims to the obedience of the world. Gelasius I (492–496) asserted “that the priestly power is above the kingly, and that from the decisions of the chair of Peter there is no appeal.”<sup>1</sup>

By the year 552 the Ostrogothic kingdom of Italy was overthrown by Belisarius and Narses, and both Italy and North Africa, which had been previously subdued, were incorporated with the Eastern empire under Justinian. It was impossible during this time of the subjection of the West for the popes to press successfully their pretensions. When the Lombards conquered Italy (568) the papacy came into prominence again, and under Gregory I, surnamed the Great (590–604), it entered on an era of splendor and power. Gregory is so many-sided, and his character so beautiful withal, that in his virtues and saintliness he belongs to the Church universal. He founded the mission among the Anglo-Saxons of England, and sent Augustine, the prior of a monastery at Rome, to convert them to Christianity. He abjured pomp, refused costly presents, spoke of himself in the most modest terms, yet did not relinquish the claim of his see to supreme authority. He was governed, says Neander, “by the conviction that on him, as the successor of St. Peter, devolved the care of the whole Church and its sovereign guidance; which, therefore, he believed himself authorized to extend over the Greek Church. He held it to be his duty to preserve inviolate this authority of the Roman Church, which seemed to him to have been conferred on her for the welfare of the Church universal.”<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Schaff, *Church History*, vol. iii, p. 324.

<sup>2</sup> Neander, *Church History*, vol. iii, p. 113.



And now political events were preparing which greatly strengthened the papacy. The Lombards of northern Italy were Arians; they were uncomfortable neighbors and continually threatened Rome. In the stress of their dangers the popes turned to the Franks, now powerful, and always Catholic. Pippin, the overthrower of the Merovingian rule in the Frankish kingdom, wished papal sanction for the dynasty which he resolved to found; he is crowned king by Boniface, the apostle of Germany and representative of the pope, A. D. 752. His son, Charlemagne, destroyed the Lombard kingdom A. D. 774. From the time of Pippin the Franks were devoted to the interests of the papal see; and this, as has been truly said, "was one of the determining facts of mediæval history." Charlemagne gave to the Roman see a large part of the territory conquered by him from the Lombards. He was thus, with his father, who had before him made donations of lands to the papacy, "the founder of the temporal dominion of the bishops of Rome, the so-called patrimony of St. Peter, dating back to this time."<sup>1</sup> This was a great gain for the popes, but a greater was to follow. On Christmas Day of the year 800, when Charlemagne was worshipping in St. Peter's at Rome, Pope Leo III, amid shouts of approval from the people, placed on his head the imperial crown. "It is not too much to affirm," says Archbishop Trench, "that this incident is the hinge upon which the whole history of Western Christendom turned for long centuries to come; emperor and pope, they are the two centres round which the whole mediæval history revolves."<sup>2</sup> This act laid the foundation of the claim that the imperial crown was a papal gift; that to the pope, as theocratic head of the Church, allegiance was due from the emperor and all the emperor's subjects. The papacy was now fully equipped for the subjugation of the world.

<sup>1</sup> Trench, *Mediæval Church History*, p. 79.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 80, 81.

## NOTE TO CHAPTER XXVIII.

## CIVIL DIVISIONS OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE.

I. Prefecture of the East: 1. Diocese of the East. 2. Diocese of Egypt.  
3. Diocese of Asia. 4. Diocese of Pontus. 5. Diocese of Thrace.

II. Prefecture of Illyricum: 1. Diocese of Macedonia. 2. Diocese of Dacia.

III. Prefecture of Italy: 1. Diocese of Italy.<sup>1</sup> 2. Diocese of Illyricum.  
3. Diocese of Africa.

IV. Prefecture of Gaul: 1. Diocese of Gaul. 2. Diocese of Britain. 3. Diocese of Spain.

The ecclesiastical divisions of the empire closely conformed to the civil, and were changed from time to time to correspond to the alterations made by the imperial government in the divisions of the state. Thus the first Council of Constantinople decreed that the Bishop of Constantinople should have "the next place of honor after the Bishop of Rome, because Constantinople was New Rome;"<sup>2</sup> the Council of Chalcedon confirmed this decree and added to the jurisdiction of the Patriarch of Constantinople the dioceses of Pontus, Thrace, and Asia. The same council also declared "that if the imperial power made any innovation in the precincts or parishes belonging to any city, then the state of the Church precincts might be altered in conformity to the alterations that were made in the political and civil state."<sup>3</sup> The civil divisions of the Roman government can still be traced in the modern bishoprics of France.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> According to Schaff, Italy made two dioceses: (1) Roma, and (2) Italia. See his *Church History*, vol. iii, p. 268.

<sup>2</sup> Bingham, *Antiquities of the Christian Church*, vol. ii, pp. 263, 264.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 265.

<sup>4</sup> Besides Bingham, see in Smith and Cheetham's *Dictionary of Christian Antiquities* the article on Orders, sec. iii, External Organization of the Clergy.

## CHAPTER XXIX.

## THE INNER LIFE OF THE CHURCH.—A. D. 311 TO A. D. 600.

It is quite pertinent for us to inquire, What was the inner life of the Church during the time of the rise and consolidation of the papacy? The growth of a hierarchy, with a supreme priest at its head, must have been favored by the spirit which prevailed in both the East and the West. The change from the simple methods of worship of the apostolic period to a system of imposing ritual service must have been accompanied by a decline of true devotion and of moral purity. The more the Church is made a purely external institution the more the life that is hid with Christ in God disappears. The first step in the path of divergence from Gospel simplicity was the reckoning of heresy as a greater crime than immorality. Zeal for orthodoxy went along with the decline of Church discipline. In the Greek Church the emperor and his court were more likely to aim at unimpeachableness as to the creed than unimpeachableness of conduct. As an example of decay of discipline everyone was permitted to receive the communion according to his own conviction of fitness. In A. D. 390 the office of penitentiary priest was abolished at Constantinople. Chrysostom, however, insisted that unworthy persons should be excluded from the Lord's Supper; and Ambrose of Milan, in the year A. D. 390, refused the Lord's Supper to the emperor Theodosius I, because in a fit of anger he had allowed his soldiers to butcher seven thousand persons in Thessalonica.

Concurrent with the growth of monasticism was the growth of the worship of the Virgin Mary. The monks, being celibates, found an example of the virginity, which they considered the only holy state, in the mother of Christ, and gradually built up a body of doctrine which justified the rendering to her of divine

honors. To begin with, a parallel was drawn between Mary and Eve, just as in Scripture a parallel is run between Adam and Christ. As Eve is called "the mother of all the living" so was Mary called the mother of the faithful. Justin Martyr, Irenæus, and Tertullian fall into this error. Another step was taken when the virginity of Mary was extended to the whole of her life, so that she was revered as the perpetual virgin. This is contrary to the gospels, which speak of the brothers of our Lord. Augustine advanced still farther; he asserted that Mary was free from actual sin, and in that sense sinless. In saying this he laid the foundation of the dogma of the immaculate conception of Mary, which has been formulated by authority in our day (1854). This latter dogma clears her from all taint of original sin. The Nestorian controversy greatly promoted the worship of Mary. The opponents of Nestorius insisted on the application to her of the term Θεοτόκος, or "mother of God." "The Church," says Schaff, "did, of course, not intend by that to assert that she was the mother of the uncreated divine essence, for this would be palpably absurd and blasphemous, nor that she was herself divine, but only that she was the human point of entrance, or the mysterious channel for the eternal divine Logos."<sup>1</sup> The Council of Ephesus (431) and the Council of Chalcedon retained the Θεοτόκος in the creed; and, however much the framers of the creed designed to guard the application of the term, it strengthened the disposition to render divine honor to Mary. By the beginning of the fifth century her worship was fully established. But, in fact, the worship of saints in general was established at this time, and the virgin mother was assigned the chief rank among them. "She became," says Schaff, "almost coordinate with Christ, a joint Redeemer, invested with most of his own attributes, and acts of grace. She became the centre of devotion, cultus, and art, the popular symbol of power, of glory, and of the final victory of Catholicism over all heresies. The

<sup>1</sup> *Church History*, vol. iii, p. 420.

Greek and Roman Churches vied throughout the Middle Age in the apotheosis of the human mother with the divine-human child in her arms."<sup>1</sup>

If we bear in mind that with the conversion of Constantine Christianity became a state religion, and that in a short period a vast number of heathen became nominal Christians, and also that the worship of heroes and demigods was a part of heathen devotion, we can readily account for the worship of saints. Heathenism was baptized, and some of its practices were brought into the Church under new names. First, the apostles and martyrs were revered and venerated; then they were invoked as intercessors with God, and then they were adored as patrons and protectors of places, churches, cities, and classes of men. Thus the heathen idea of subordinate local and guardian deities was revived and found a home in the bosom of the Church. All this system was matured as early as the Nicene age. Augustine, though, is puzzled to determine how the saints can hear the prayers addressed to them without being omnipresent; he leaves the difficulty unsolved. However the fathers may have differed on some other points, they were agreed on this. Basil the Great, Gregory of Nyssa, Gregory Nazianzen, Chrysostom, Ambrose of Milan, Jerome, Augustine, all promoted saint worship. Ambrose says of the martyrs, "They who have washed away their sins by their own blood must pray for our sins." Augustine calls the saints our intercessors, but under Christ our great Intercessor; other fathers are not so cautious in their language. It only needed that the saints should have their festival days in the Christian year, and then the system of saint worship was complete.

During this period the number of the sacraments was increased, and the theory that they directly convey the grace signified by them was more firmly established. The meaning of the word *sacramentum* remained for a long time indefinite.

<sup>1</sup> *Church History*, vol. iii, pp. 423, 424.

Originally it signified a soldier's oath, then the baptismal vow, which resembles the soldier's oath, then baptism itself; and then any holy mystery, and finally those acts of worship by which divine blessings are conveyed to men. The disposition to enlarge the number of the sacraments appeared certainly as early as Augustine. This great father reckoned five, adding confirmation, marriage, and ordination to baptism and the Lord's Supper. Ambrose of Milan held the washing of the feet to be a distinct sacrament, and so did the North African and Gallic Churches. From the fifth century the inclination both of the East and the West was to make the number seven. Peter Lombard (died 1160) introduced this number into the Western Church; the Council of Florence (1439) ratified the enumeration, and the Council of Trent repeated the ratification. The sacraments according to the Canons of Trent are baptism, confirmation, the Lord's Supper, penance, extreme unction, marriage, orders. The Greek Church agrees in this with the Church of Rome. Baptism was held to convey the forgiveness of sins and regeneration to the believing subject; faith was, however, a requisite condition of the effect of the sacrament. Some of the fathers, especially Ambrose and Augustine, taught that baptism is necessary to salvation, and did not shrink from the logical consequence of the doctrine, namely, that unbaptized infants are lost. The dogma that baptism works regeneration of itself by its own inherent efficacy was not formulated till the time of the schoolmen. Confirmation was reckoned to be the complement of baptism, the act that seals baptism, and was raised, as already said, to the rank of a sacrament. In the Latin Church the administering of confirmation was the sole prerogative of bishops; in the Greek it can be administered by a priest.

As the views of the fathers on baptism and the Lord's Supper are of great importance they are here stated more in detail.

1. Baptism. (1) In general the Greek fathers did not hold to original sin in the sense of the Western Church. They, there-



fore, interpreted infant baptism as imparting holiness, righteousness, and sonship through Christ. Gregory of Nazianzum saw in baptism "all the blessings of Christianity, especially the forgiveness of sins and the new birth." (2) Augustine connected his account of the effect of baptism with his doctrine of original sin. According to him, baptism is the sacrament of regeneration. It implies the forgiveness of sin, both original and actual; and the impartation, through grace, of a new spiritual life. In the baptism of a child sponsors for its faith appear on its behalf. 2. The Lord's Supper. (1) In both the Greek and Latin Churches, the preponderance of opinion is in favor of the theory of the mystical union of the body and blood of Christ with the elements. In this sense the fathers hold a real presence. Of this opinion are Cyril of Jerusalem, Gregory of Nyssa, Chrysostom, Hilary, and Ambrose. They do not intend, however, to imply in their language a change of the substance of the elements into the very body and blood of Christ. (2) A symbolical view, which admits only a spiritual partaking of Christ, was held by Origen, Athanasius, Gregory of Nazianzum, Basil of Cæsarea, and Theodoret. Augustine held this view, but with it, as is shown farther on in the chapter, a real presence. He does not reconcile this contradiction. (3) The old liturgies all speak of the elements as becoming through the Holy Ghost the body and blood of Christ, but do not explain the mode of union. (4) The idea of the union of the elements with Christ prepared the way for the apprehension of the Lord's Supper as a sacrifice, in which the officiating priest offers up Christ for the sins of the living and the dead.

Unquestionably the beginnings of the change which converted the Lord's Supper from a sacrament, which is a channel of grace, into a sacrifice, in which Christ is again offered up for the sins of men, are to be found in the fathers of this period. The eucharist is a sacrifice in one sense only, in that the believers offer themselves to Christ as a thank offering in return for his great mercy. But the fathers of the time of the Council of Nice, and after,

speak with some wavering in their language, first of the Church, as Christ's body, offering itself up in the elements of the Lord's Supper, and then of its offering up Christ himself as an unbloody sacrifice, in the bread and the wine. Thus the liturgy of St. James says, "We offer to thee, O Lord, this awful and unbloody sacrifice."<sup>1</sup> Chrysostom says, "Christ lies slain upon the altar." Augustine combines the two ideas of the Church offering itself and Christ in the one act. He says, "The Church offers, with Christ, herself as the body of Christ to God;" and again he called the communion a *verissimum sacrificium* of the body of Christ. But the evidence of the view of the Lord's Supper here described is more perfectly furnished by the ancient liturgies of the Eastern Church. As Schaff truly says, "All these conceive the eucharist primarily as a sacrifice and on the basis of the sacrifice, as a communion."<sup>2</sup> We may take for proof the liturgies of Chrysostom, St. James, and St. Basil. In all of them the Holy Spirit is invoked to change the elements into the very body and blood of Christ. Thus in the liturgy of Chrysostom: "And make this bread the precious body of thy Christ; and that which is in this cup the precious blood of thy Christ changing them by thy Holy Ghost."<sup>3</sup> In this form the other liturgies concur with slight variations. With the idea of sacrifice was connected the application of the benefits of the eucharist to the souls of the dead saints. The Armenian liturgy says, "By this sacrifice give rest to all those bishops who have departed in Christ." The liturgy of Chrysostom also says, "And further, we offer to thee this reasonable service on behalf of those who have departed in the faith, our ancestors, fathers," etc.<sup>4</sup> Thus we have the groundwork laid for the doctrine of the mass and the offering up of Christ for the souls of the living and the dead. Augustine held, as an opinion only, that there is room in the intermediate state for

<sup>1</sup> Schaff, *Church History*, vol. iii, p. 507.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. iii, p. 512.

<sup>3</sup> Neale, *History of the Holy Eastern Church*, General Introduction, vol. ii, pp. 574, 578.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. ii, p. 590.

repentance and purification, and this was embodied as a doctrine in the Latin Church from the time of Gregory the Great. Thus the intermediate state becomes a purgatory for the cleansing of imperfect souls, and the Church on earth offers up the body of Christ in their behalf.

To understand the inner life of this period we must know something of its preaching and its preachers. The sermon had no such place in the ancient Church of the East or of the West as it holds in Protestantism. Many of the priests were incompetent to preach, and the monks as a class were notoriously ignorant. The few great preachers, therefore, rose above their fellows as mountain peaks above a plain. The famous names of the pulpit in this period are Ambrose of Milan, Augustine, Basil the Great, Gregory Nazianzen, and Chrysostom. Some of them were closely related to one another. Ambrose converted Augustine to the Christian faith, Basil and Gregory were fellow-students at Athens, where also Julian, afterward the emperor, was a student at the same time. Ambrose stands apart from the rest in one point, he was a layman in public office when he was elected bishop, and entered the ministry without special training for its duties. The others were accomplished rhetoricians. Augustine and Chrysostom, indeed, taught rhetoric for a time, and all of them had devoted years to the study of the art of speaking before they entered the pulpit. In style Ambrose is simple and manly, and unusually happy at times in expression. Augustine is as homely as the English bishop Latimer, or the Spurgeon of our day, rich in thinking and illustration, fanciful and often unsound in the exposition of Scripture; but he will rise from the level of homely discourse to the loftiest heights of impassioned eloquence. Basil is the embodiment of will; he fears neither emperor nor emperor's deputy, but braves them both in carrying out his convictions of duty. He was a brother of Gregory of Nyssa, was brought up in a Christian home, and was furnished with all the advantages which academic culture could give him. When a Roman officer

threatened to tear his flesh with nails he answered, "That will cure my liver complaint, which is very troublesome, by making an end of me." In his sermons he is direct and outspoken. "They are marked by a clearness, a silvery sweetness, and a chaste beauty of style, a solidity of thought, cogency of argument, and power of familiar yet ornate illustration which contrast favorably with the frothy and affected declamation which at that time passed for eloquence."<sup>1</sup>

Gregory Nazianzen was determined to be an orator, delighted to play the orator, was so oratorical that he forgot to be simple. He overloads his themes with illustrations, builds up his climaxes to a dizzy height, yet withal is a powerful pulpit controversialist. His sermons in Constantinople on the divinity of Christ were the turning point in the restoration of orthodox doctrine throughout the Eastern Church. John Chrysostom, or "Golden-mouth," was the prince of ancient preachers. He had the capital advantage of being a good expositor of the Bible, for he had been trained in the sober school of Antioch. Most of the fathers were infected with Origen's allegorical method of treating the sacred text. Chrysostom took ample time for preparation, for he was thirty-seven years old when he entered the priesthood. He did not grow to be a preacher at the expense of suffering audiences, but was an orator from the start. He was fearless, fiery, and vehement, yet in all his vehemence graceful and self-controlled. He never hesitated to preach the terrors of the Lord; the judgment was with him a frequent theme. The Church of St. Sophia in Constantinople, which preceded the St. Sophia of Justinian now a Mohammedan mosque, often resounded with the tones of his voice and the loud applause of his hearers. Three times a week the people were gathered before him, and every time St. Sophia was crowded to suffocation. The people were awed; at times they trembled; at other times they broke into exclamations of delight. With unbending

<sup>1</sup> Wilson, *Popular Preachers of the Ancient Church*, p. 174.

force of will the preacher held on his way, rebuking sin in Church and court till it was too much for the corrupt society of the capital. He attacked the empress, was banished twice, and died in exile A. D. 407.

The decrees of Constantine establishing the religious observance of the Lord's Day were followed by like decrees from his successors. The Church regarded Sunday as a day of joy, and therefore discouraged fasting on that day. In the Greek Church the prohibition of fasting on Sunday continues still in force. For the same reason kneeling in prayer was forbidden on that day. The Council of Nice (325) passed the following canon: "Whereas some bow the knee on Sunday and on the Day of Pentecost, the holy council, that everything may be everywhere uniform, decrees that prayers be offered to God in a standing position." The Trullan Council also declared, "From Saturday evening to Sunday evening let no one bow the knee." The thought appears to have been that kneeling was not appropriate to a day which commemorates the resurrection of Christ. The fathers of this period, however, do not connect the Lord's Day with the fourth commandment, and do not transfer to it the obligations of the ancient Sabbath.

## NOTE TO CHAPTER XXIX.

### THE RISE OF MONASTICISM.

Monasticism is an effort to solve the problem of Christian perfection, and although its solution of the problem has failed the system has had an important influence on the world. Monasticism as it appeared in the East and the West differed from the first. In the East it was mainly contemplative and inactive; in the West it was associated with works of piety and the useful arts. The original home of monasticism was Egypt, its first form that of hermit life, its founders two Egyptian saints, St. Paul (born about 228) and St. Antony (born about 250). The second form of monasticism was the association of the monks or hermits into communities. These communities also first appeared in Egypt, their founder being the hermit Pachomius (born about 292). Athanasius introduced monasticism into the West by his visit to Rome during his second exile. His praise of St. Antony, of Pachomius and his associates, and the sight of two Egyptian monks who had accompanied him aroused an enthusiasm among the Romans for a life apart from the world. The third stage of monasticism was the union of

monastic houses under one government, thus constituting the monastic orders. The founder of the religious orders in the West was Benedict, who about 530 established in the mountains of Italy the cloister of Monte Cassino. The cultivation of learning was not an original part of Benedict's scheme. For this the credit is due to Cassiodorus. Cassiodorus, the Roman prime minister of the Ostrogothic Kings of Italy, retired in 540 to a monastery, endowed it with a library, and led the monks to study the Bible, the fathers, and the classics. His example was followed by the Benedictines, and in time the order became famous for its learning.

From the beginning monasticism spread rapidly. Many of the early fathers were monks, as Basil the Great, Gregory Nazianzen, and, notably, Jerome.



## CHAPTER XXX.

## THE DOCTRINAL CONTROVERSIES OF THE WEST.—A. D. 311 TO A. D. 600.

It is characteristic of the temper of the Western Church that its doctrinal controversies relate to government. In the first, or Donatist controversy, the question at issue was the administration of Church discipline; in the second, or Pelagian, the administration of the economy of redemption. In both Augustine figures as the chief champion of Catholic doctrine; the chiefs on the other side are Donatus, Pelagius, Cœlestius, and Julian of Eclanum. All of these, without exception, were good men; each of them contended for the truth as it was given to him to perceive its meaning. Donatism led to the formation of a sect, and a consequent schism of the Church of North Africa; Pelagianism remained in the ancient Church as an opinion without a distinct following of separatists.

The questions involved in the Donatist controversy were two: (1) The propriety of receiving back into the communion of the Church the lapsed, who had fled in time of persecution or had delivered up their copies of the Scriptures (*traditores*). (2) The propriety of remaining in the communion of the Church which retained the lapsed and ungodly as members. On these questions the Donatists took the strict or Puritan side. The struggle began with the election of Bishop Cæcilian of Carthage, who was consecrated by Felix, a traitor. The strict party would not acknowledge Cæcilian, and elected Majorinus in his place; but Majorinus soon died (315), and Donatus, surnamed the Great, was elected in his place by the Puritans, as we may call them. Donatus and his adherents appealed to the emperor Constantine, and in three separate investigations the case was three times decided against

them. As they refused to submit they were threatened by the emperor with confiscation of their churches and banishment of their bishops. But this imperial order was revoked and they were tolerated; under Constans penal measures were used against them again; Donatus was exiled and died in exile; under Julian the Apostate they enjoyed toleration; under succeeding emperors they were persecuted once more, until the invasion of North Africa by the Vandals nearly blotted out the Catholic Church and the Donatists together. The quarrel was unspeakably bitter as long as it lasted; the Circumcellions, who were fanatical Donatist monks, roamed through the country and robbed and plundered at their will, and one bishop of Nippo advised the Donatist bakers not to make bread for the Catholics of the city.

Donatism was a reaction against the state Church system, and its consequence the retention in membership of merely nominal Christians. The fundamental question at issue between them and Augustine was, What constitutes a true Church? and, especially, In what consists the holiness of the Church? Donatism said, The holiness of the Church consists in the holiness or personal worthiness of its members; on this, too, depends its catholicity and the validity of its sacraments. When, therefore, it tolerates the openly sinful the Church loses her holiness and is no longer a Church. Consistently with this position the Donatists would not recognize Catholic baptism. Their position was the same as that of those Protestants of our day who deny that the Church of Rome is a true Church. Augustine derived the holiness of the Church from its historic origin in Christ and his apostles, and thence from the succession of bishops. The sacraments of a Church thus derived are valid, and communicate grace, notwithstanding the presence of sinful members. "My origin," he said, "is Christ; my root is Christ; my head is Christ. The seed of which I was born is the word of God, which I must obey, even though the preacher himself practise

not what he preaches; I believe not in the minister by whom I am baptized, but in Christ, who alone justifies the sinner and can forgive guilt.”<sup>1</sup> The Donatists were right in insisting on the necessity of discipline; for the Church should not tolerate the openly sinful in her communion; they were in error in holding that the Catholic Church, when it tolerated sinful members, ceased to be a Church. Augustine erred when he insisted that the Donatists, by separating from the Catholic Church, separated themselves from Christ; or what is the same thing, when he claimed that communion with the Catholic Church is identical with communion with Christ. In his mind the unity of the Church depends on oneness of external organization, and not on participation in the one life derived from the Redeemer independently of one external organism. He justified the retention of the ungodly in the Church by the parable of the wheat and the tares. He struck out of his suggestive mind the distinction between the Church visible and the Church invisible, that is, the Church apparent and the real Church. Notwithstanding the retention of wicked men in the Church visible the real Church never loses the predicate of holiness. This distinction of the Church visible and the Church invisible has been of great service to Protestantism, and has enabled the Protestants to grasp the thought of the unity of the body of Christ, subsisting in and through all varieties of organization.

In treating the rise of Pelagianism it will be useful to separate the personal from the doctrinal history. It is usual to describe Augustine as the opponent of Pelagius; it would be more correct to speak of Pelagius as the opponent of Augustine, for Augustine's system was formed first. Pelagius was a British monk, of superior learning and pure character, who had found in the quiet of the monastery the peaceful life which suited his temperament. “He was not,” says Neander, “possessed of the profound, speculative spirit which we find in

<sup>1</sup> Schaff, *Church History*, vol. iii, p. 367.

Augustine; his predominant faculty was a sober, discreet understanding. An earnest striving after moral excellence had inspired him from the first, and his improvement had been quietly progressive. It was not from some great crisis of the inner life, not through a violent conflict, that he had attained to the faith, or to the determination of consecrating his whole life to God."<sup>1</sup> Many of the nominal Christians of that generation excused their lapses from moral purity by pleading the corruption of our common nature. Pelagius met them by saying that this apology disparaged our nature, and that the human will has all the powers necessary for fulfilling the commandments of God. From this point he easily advanced a step farther and "denied that there was any such thing as a corruption of human nature which had grown out of the fall. Such a doctrine appeared to him but a means of encouraging moral indolence."<sup>2</sup> To a merely formal faith Pelagius offered earnest moral endeavor, proceeding from free will; to a merely nominal faith Augustine offered a true faith and moral endeavor proceeding from the renewed spiritual life. Pelagius was an aged man when he propounded his views, and age indisposed him to controversy. His disciple, Coelestius, a Roman lawyer, was younger and of fervid temperament. About A. D. 411 they went to Carthage together; Coelestius remained a year, tried to enter the ministry, but was accused of heresy, and excommunicated by a synod held at Carthage A. D. 412. Pelagius, in the meantime, went to Palestine, where Jerome was then living; Jerome attacked him as a heretic. He was tried by two synods in Palestine, both of which decided in his favor, or, at least, refused to condemn him. The errors of Pelagius were next referred to Pope Innocent, who condemned him, and again to Zosimus, the successor of Innocent, who sided with him. The North Africans protested against the decision of Zosimus, and at last succeeded in obtaining his concurrence with them. In A. D. 418 he issued an encyclical, in

<sup>1</sup> *Church History*, vol. ii, p. 573.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. ii, p. 578.

which he condemned Pelagius and Coelestius, and directed that every bishop who refused to subscribe to the encyclical should be deposed and banished. One bishop, however, Julian of Eclanum in Apulia, though banished, maintained the Pelagian doctrine against Augustine with great vigor. He "was the most learned, the most acute, and the most systematic of the Pelagians, and the most formidable opponent of Augustine."<sup>1</sup> The banished Pelagians went to Constantinople, but were ordered by Theodosius II to quit the city. Nothing is known of the time or the place of the death of Pelagius or of the death of Coelestius; Julian died about A. D. 454 in Sicily. The Greek Church, though in form it has condemned Pelagianism, has never accepted the dogmas of Augustine. Indeed, it may be said that this whole subject has in that Church excited very little interest.

Pelagius held (1) That the sin of Adam affected him alone, and that it transmitted no taint of evil to his posterity. There is, therefore, no such thing as original sin; the universal prevalence of sin is due to "the power of evil example and evil custom."<sup>2</sup> (2) That every human being "is born with the same powers and capabilities with which the first man was created by God. The sin of the father, inasmuch as it consists in isolated acts of the will, and does not inhere in the nature, has no influence upon the child."<sup>3</sup> (3) That supernatural grace is a help to the development of the powers of nature, but by no means indispensable. Man has sufficient moral strength in himself to attain to virtue, if he will only use that strength. It will be seen at once that the denial of human corruption leads to the denial of a Redeemer and of redemption; the denial of the absolute need of grace leads to the denial of the regeneration of man in any proper sense. Pelagius professed to hold to all these doctrines of the Church, but he held to them inconsistently.

<sup>1</sup> Schaff, *Church History*, vol. iii, p. 800.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. iii, p. 806.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. iii, p. 809.

Augustine, in controverting Pelagius, goes to the opposite extreme ; if, according to Pelagius, man does all, according to Augustine God does all in human salvation. In the one grace is the humble ally to be called in if wanted ; in the other grace is the controlling power which man cannot resist. Augustine held (1) That all mankind fell in Adam and became corrupt ; and more, that all mankind actually sinned in the person of Adam and so became guilty. (2) That in consequence of the sin of Adam all men have inherited both sin and guilt. Sin is not an isolated act, but a condition which is propagated by procreation from one generation to another. The whole human race, having sinned in Adam, is guilty and has become a "mass of perdition." (3) That grace is indispensable to salvation, that it is unmerited, and that it is irresistible. It exerts over man an irresistible moral power, but is not a constraint imposed on the will. Grace, therefore, in Augustine's view, is not inconsistent with freedom. Of course this position is self-contradictory. To make or compel man to be willing, no matter what the means, is to coerce his will. (4) That all men, being a mass of perdition, deserve temporal and eternal death. God is but just if he leaves them in a state of perdition. "But he has resolved from eternity to reveal in some his grace, by rescuing them from the mass of perdition, and without their merit saving them. This is the election of grace, or predestination." <sup>1</sup> Irresistible grace is confined to the elect. A degree of reprobation was not a part of Augustine's system. Extreme as it is, the doctrinal system of Augustine was received by the Western Church, and held, but in time, with a large admixture of Pelagian views. Another school appeared, the semi-Pelagian, which aimed to mediate between Pelagius and Augustine. This school of thought arose in southern Gaul ; at its head stands John Cassian. John Cassian was abbot of the monastery at Massilia, a man of learning and of undoubted orthodoxy. By training he was a Greek, and therefore had a predilection

<sup>1</sup> Schaff, *Church History*, vol. iii, p. 854.



for the milder Greek views of grace. He taught (1) That all men have become sinful through the fall of Adam. (2) That the freedom of the will is weakened but not annihilated by the fall. (3) That man can desire the grace of God and accept or refuse it, and that he must cooperate with grace in order to salvation. (4) That in this cooperation the human will precedes grace. Cassian rejected Augustine's predestination and irresistible grace. Strange to say, he was not called to account for heresy, but died at a great age, between A. D. 440-450, in the odor of sanctity. Prosper Aquitanus, an Augustinian, replied to Cassian, but semi-Pelagianism spread rapidly through France. Pure Augustinianism was disliked because of its predestinarian theory. A synod held at Orange (Arausio) in A. D. 529 condemned semi-Pelagianism and approved Augustine's doctrine, without his theory of predestination.

The Arminian doctrine avoids the errors of both Augustine and the semi-Pelagians. It affirms : (1) That in Adam all have fallen and have become corrupt, but that God has provided a remedy for all the evil which we have derived from Adam by the free gift of his Son. (2) That the posterity of Adam are not chargeable with his sin and crime, and, therefore, are not a mass of perdition. (3) That grace is the primary cause of salvation ; for unless the good will had been excited by prevenient grace man would not be able to cooperate with grace. The cooperation follows grace. That is, Arminianism holds to both the *gratia operans* and the *gratia cooperans*.<sup>1</sup> At the close of the period of the Pelagian controversy a moderated Augustinianism is represented by Gregory the Great, whose views greatly influenced the theology of the succeeding centuries. Strict Augustinianism, however, always had its adherents, and finally, during the Reformation of the sixteenth century, received an independent development in Calvinism.

<sup>1</sup> See Articles of Religion of the Methodist Episcopal Church, Article viii.

## NOTE TO CHAPTER XXX.

## THE DOCTRINES OF SIN AND GRACE.

1. The doctrines of sin and grace, as we now hold them, were developed by the Latin Church without the cooperation of the Greek Church. In the settlement of previous doctrinal questions both the East and the West had united.

2. Gnosticism and Manichæism had affirmed a dualism in the original constitution of the world. Matter was made by the Gnostics and Manichæans the sole source of evil, and therefore evil is, in their view, a necessity. In opposition to them the Greek Church affirmed that moral evil originated in the free action of the human will, and that by the joint operation of free will and grace moral evil in man can be removed; but this Church did not look closely into the question of the natural state of man as a subject of grace.

3. Pelagianism rests upon the idea of the development of human nature; Augustinianism, on the idea of a recreation. One is rationalistic, the other supernaturalistic.

4. Pelagianism continually reappeared in the history of the Church.

## CHAPTER XXXI.

## CHRISTIAN MISSIONS OF THE MIDDLE AGES.

CHRISTIAN missions in their modern form are not more than a century old, but they are only a revival of a spirit which animated the Church in former ages. When the barbarians of the North swept down upon southern Europe the Church, which withstood successfully the shock of their incursions, reacted upon them and made them Christians. It was not all done in one century; several centuries were required. As we review the history of these ages great men appear as the leaders of the advance of the Christian faith and Church to the extreme northern and western borders of Europe. St. Patrick, Columban, Gallus, Boniface, Alcuin, Ansgar, Adalbert, and Otho are names of precious memory in the work of converting our forefathers. To them we owe it that from the men of the forest and the sea who delighted in the shedding of blood, whose ravages were believed to portend the speedy ending of the world, have descended the Luthers, the Calvins, the Zwinglis, the Wesleys, and Whitefields of later generations. Two traits marked the missionary of the Middle Ages. He was a teacher of the useful arts and a founder of schools. Wherever he established himself he builded solidly with stone, plowed, sowed, and gathered harvests. He literally made the wilderness blossom, for the monasteries were often planted in the midst of savage forests. In the convent schools he taught the rudiments of knowledge, copied the Bible and the ancient classics, and saved learning from utter extinction. And thus it happened that in the wildest spots of Ireland, on the rocks by the sea, such learning and such piety as the age was able to attain were preserved for the reviving of the continent of Europe.

The transition of the Goths, who first came into contact with

the empire, from heathenism to Christianity was a gradual process. Settled on the Danube they were neighbors of Christians; in the army they were the soldiers of a nominally Christian emperor. Jerome expresses his wonder that they are curious about Christianity. "Who could believe," he says, "that the barbarous tongues of Goths should inquire after the Hebrew original, and that while the Greeks sleep, or rather quarrel with one another, Germany should investigate the word of God. The fingers which were most apt to handle arrows are now softened enough to guide a pen, and warlike hearts are changed to Christian meekness."<sup>1</sup> "The experience of all ages," says Neander, "teaches us that Christianity has only made a firm and living progress where from the first it has brought with it the seeds of all human culture, although this can only be developed by degrees."<sup>2</sup> This fact was ever present to the minds of the Middle Age missionaries. A constant communication went on between the East and the West. Theodore of Cilicia was made Archbishop of Canterbury in A. D. 668, and traveled through England looking for scholars and uniting them in a common work. In the schools established by Theodore was trained the Venerable Bede, who translated the Scriptures into Anglo-Saxon, and who died just as the last sentence of his translation of John's gospel was finished. Egbert, the pupil of Bede, presided over the school of York; from this school proceeded Alcuin, the educator of the Franks, the counsellor of Charlemagne, the great scholar of his age. Luther was so impressed by the fact of the connection of learning with the spread of Christianity that he wrote to a friend in 1523, "I see that there was never any remarkable revelation made of the word of God, unless he prepared the way by the revival and flourishing of languages and literature, as so many precursors like the Baptist."<sup>3</sup> To reach the first of the missions to the heathen tribes of western Europe we must go back to the fourth century, and begin with Ireland.

<sup>1</sup> Neander, *Memorials of Christian Life*, p. 413.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 416.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 417.

Patrick, the apostle of the Irish, whose native name was Succat, was born in Scotland, A.D. 372. His birthplace was a village between Dumbarton and Glasgow, now known by the name of Kilpatrick. He was the son of a poor deacon, and grew up without much if any instruction, religious or other. At the age of sixteen years he was carried off by pirates to Ireland and sold to a chief. His misfortunes drew his thoughts to God. He says of himself: "When I came to Ireland and had daily charge of the cattle I prayed many times a day; the fear of God and love to him was increasingly kindled in me; faith grew in me so that in one day I offered a hundred prayers, and at night almost as many; and when I passed the night in the woods or on the mountains I rose up to pray in the snow, ice, and rain before daybreak."<sup>1</sup> After six years of captivity he found his way back to Scotland; several years after he was captured again by pirates, but was detained only sixty days. He felt himself called to return to the people of Ireland and preach to them the truth. About the year A. D. 431 he set out on his mission. He gathered the people together in the open air by the sound of a drum and preached Christ to them. Patrick had to bear much persecution, for the native priests strove to arouse the people against him, but in the end his faith and love conquered all opposition. Nor was he satisfied with a nominal conversion to the Christian faith. Patrick had a deep experience of heart religion, and sought to bring his disciples into a living relation to Christ. The people believed that he had and he thought himself to have miracle-working power, yet he said, "Let no one on account of these or similar things believe that I place myself on a level with the apostles or any of the perfected saints; for I am a poor, sinful, despicable man." He carried self-abnegation to its extremest point, refused presents for himself from rich and poor, and gave all he had to help the needy, and especially to redeem slaves. Whatever money he received he employed in founding churches and religious houses.

<sup>1</sup> Neander, *Memorials of Christian Life*, p. 426.

The Church founded by him was independent of Rome, just as the original British Church was independent of Rome. The tradition that Patrick was ordained in Rome by Pope Sixtus III (432) has no solid foundation. Our chief authority for the facts of his life is his *Confession*, which has the marks of great simplicity and sincerity.

Through the labors of Patrick and his successors Ireland was dotted with monasteries. The wildest spots were retreats where piety, as then understood, and learning hid themselves from the world. "The Irish monasteries," says Neander, "were distinguished for strict Christian discipline, for industry, zeal for the knowledge of the Scriptures, and general knowledge, as much as they could collect of it. The Irish monks fetched knowledge from Britain and France; they preserved this knowledge, and digested it in their monastic retirement, and were destined to bring back the seeds of science, along with more living Christianity, to the districts from which they had formerly received these seeds, but where they had been choked by the spreading barbarism."<sup>1</sup> The most famous of the monasteries, and the one which sent forth the most useful missionaries, was Bangor, where Columban was trained for service. As in Patrick, love was the master passion of Columban's soul; through the veils of outward form he had penetrated to the inner life of Christianity. He lived the life of faith, which depends implicitly for supplies on God's providence, of which George Müller of our time is a conspicuous example. About the year 585 with twelve youths he went to France. He selected for his field of work the wilderness of the Vosges; here he began to plow and plant and to build. At times he and his monks had nothing to eat but the bark of trees and wild herbs. Nothing, however, could daunt Columban's simple faith, for his faith magnified the blessings and diminished the ills of life. In these solitudes he nourished his soul with sweet thoughts. Some of his sentences are:

<sup>1</sup> Neander, *Memorials of Christian Life*, p. 434.



"Whoever overcomes himself treads the world under foot. We must willingly surrender for Christ's sake what we love out of Christ. No one can die to himself if Christ does not live in him; but if Christ be in him he cannot live to himself." Yet the system under which Columban lived and worked was radically false. Instead of leading its subjects out to the freedom of God's children it subdued each one to the will of a man, who stood to all the members of a religious order in the place of Christ. But as far as a living spirit could redeem the frightful slavery of monasticism Columban redeemed it. In time his strictness of discipline and his reproof of the lax morality of the court of Burgundy made him enemies. His adherence to the Irish in preference to the Roman ritual was a good pretext for them, and in 610 he was banished from France. After spending several years in Switzerland, laboring for the conversion of the Suevi and the Alemanni he proceeded to Italy, where he established the famous monastery of Bobbio. In one of his last letters, which was written to Pope Boniface IV, he says, "I know not how a Christian can quarrel respecting the faith with other Christians."<sup>1</sup> He died in 615, in the seventy-second year of his age. He may without exaggeration be styled the father of monasticism in the seventh century.

Gallus, one of Columban's scholars, was the apostle of Switzerland. Driven from Burgundy with his teacher, he accompanied him into Switzerland. When Columban was forced to leave this country also, Gallus remained behind. Finding far out in the forest a rocky spot near a stream which abounded in fish, he exclaimed, "This is my resting place for life; here will I dwell." On this spot he reared the monastery of St. Gall (St. Gallen). Boniface, the apostle of Germany, and his martyrdom, have already been described. In his case, as in others, the blood of the martyrs proved to be the seed of the Church. He left behind him Gregory, Abbot of Utrecht, and

<sup>1</sup> Neander, *Memorials of Christian Life*, p. 449.

Sturm, Abbot of Fulda, who carried on his work among the pagans. Gregory was the grandson of an abbess, and attached himself to Boniface when quite a youth. So resolved was he to live with Boniface that he said to his grandmother, "If you will not give me a horse to ride with him, I will follow him on foot." From this time he was the inseparable companion of Boniface, "accompanied him on his last journey to Friesland, and after his teacher's martyrdom labored there for the spread of Christianity and of Christian education. He took great pains especially in preparing missionaries and teachers. Young men from France, England, Friesland, Saxony, Swabia, and Bavaria were here united by the bond of holy love, and from this spot preachers went forth in various directions among the tribes that were still pagan, and such as were newly converted to Christianity."<sup>1</sup> He too, like Boniface and Columban, was a lover of the Scriptures and had the life hid with Christ. Struck with palsy three years before his death, his time was spent in hearing the Scriptures read or the Psalms sung to him. On the last day of his life he was carried by his scholars into the church, placed before the altar, and there died, in the year 781. Sturm was a Bavarian, and was intrusted when a boy to Boniface for education. Filled with missionary zeal, he counseled with his master, and was encouraged to seek a spot for a monastery in the German forests. The first place chosen was, in the opinion of Boniface, too near the wild Saxons, and was given up. Setting out again, he selected Fulda, in a region roamed over by naked Slavonians and abounding in wild beasts. Here, in 744, Sturm laid the foundation of the monastery of Fulda, "from which the cultivation of this wilderness commenced, and in which the most distinguished teachers of the German Church in following ages were trained."<sup>2</sup> Fulda still gives its name to the chief Roman Catholic diocese of Prussia. Sturm was employed by Charlemagne among the Saxons, who, although made nominally Christian by the force of the

<sup>1</sup> Neander, *Memorials of Christian Life*, p. 472.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 474.

emperor's arms, were still pagan in heart. The Saxons had been prejudiced against Christianity, even after their supposed conversion, by the imposition of tithes. Hence, Alcuin, Charlemagne's adviser, was anxious that the missionaries sent to them should be of gentle spirit. He wrote to an archbishop, "Be a preacher of godliness, not a tithe collector. Tithes have ruined the faith of the Saxons."

"If," says Neander, in speaking of Ansgar, the apostle of the North, "we compare together Boniface and Ansgar, we shall again see an example of two very different mental constitutions, which the Spirit of God that actuated them employed as his instruments. In Boniface there was a resemblance to the apostle Peter, in Ansgar to the apostle John. In Boniface there was more of ardent, impetuous power; in Ansgar, more of quiet but active love. Boniface was more fitted to produce great outward effects; it was Ansgar's gift not to grow weary of small beginnings, but quietly to cherish the inconsiderable germs which are important as the commencing point of a growth that will advance to greatness."<sup>1</sup> Ansgar was religiously educated by a good mother and embraced the monastic life. His first missionary field was the region of the river Weser, where he obtained a thorough practical training. In the year 826 he accompanied Harold, King of Jutland, home; it was the king's wish that Ansgar should teach his people the rudiments of Christianity. The missionary met with fearful discouragements; Harold was dethroned; access to the Danes was barred. All he could do was to purchase children from slavery and educate them in a school which he founded in Hadeby in Schleswig, "the first Christian institution in those regions." While here he was invited to Sweden. The vessel in which he sailed was wrecked, and all of his goods were lost. Again, after his return home, he was attacked at Hamburg by pagan Normans, who robbed him of all his possessions. Ansgar fled to Holstein for safety. Horick, the King of Denmark, was hostile to Christian-

<sup>1</sup> Neander, *Memorials of Christian Life*, p. 482.

ity, and had taken part in the attack on Hamburg from which Ansgar had suffered loss. By the force of gentleness and love he at last won the heart of the king; he obtained permission to erect a Christian church in the town of Schleswig, and also secured a letter of introduction from the king to the Swedish king Olaf. Horich wrote Olaf that "he had never in his life seen so good a man; that he had never found a man so trustworthy; and since he had found so much goodness in him he had permitted him to undertake what he intended in reference to Christianity in his own land, and hoped that King Olaf would also permit him to publish the Gospel in his kingdom."<sup>1</sup> Here, too, Ansgar was in great peril, but succeeded in winning the heart of the king and laid the foundation of Swedish Christianity. In the year 865 he died saying, "Into Thy hands I commend my spirit."

Adalbert, the apostle of Eastern Prussia, was a native of Prague, where he was born about the year 955, and there, too, he was made bishop in 983. After years of contention with his half-heathen countrymen he resolved to go where no missionary had ever been, and sailed for Dantzig. Arrived at Dantzig, his labors met with some success, but on a missionary journey to the opposite shore of the gulf he was attacked by the pagans and with his companions put in chains. Adalbert exhorted his followers not to be troubled, as they were yielding up their lives for Christ. A heathen priest then stuck him with a lance, and he died, praying for his persecutors, in the year 997. He had been able to do little more than lead the way for his successors. Pomerania was converted to Christianity in the twelfth century, by Otho, Bishop of Bamberg. Like Ansgar, Otho was a man of patient and all-subduing love. He opened his mission in 1124 in Stettin; here he baptized, redeemed slaves, and planted schools. About the year 1128 a diet was held composed largely of pagans, which decreed permission for the free publication of Christianity. But Pomerania

<sup>1</sup> Neander, *Memorials of Christian Life*, p. 487.

had to encounter reactions which overthrew Otho's work; his patience and perseverance, however, conquered all. It was his wish to carry the Gospel to the island of Rugen, the last refuge of heathenism, but he failed to reach it. When we consider that only seven hundred years have elapsed since the completion of the conversion of the Prussians we can appreciate our nearness to our heathen kindred and be inspired with hope for the future of the races yet to be converted to Christ.

Of Raymond Lull we must speak separately. He belongs to the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, and the object of his labors was the conversion of the Mohammedans, especially the Saracens of North Africa. The means which he tried to employ for this purpose were primarily scientific; he believed he had constructed a universal science, by the use of which the opponents of Christianity could be convinced. With great zeal he devoted his life to the elaboration of his theories, especially to the mechanical representation of his science, and to the endeavor to found colleges where missionaries could learn the oriental languages. In the prosecution of his scheme for the conversion of the Saracens by argument instead of by the swords of the crusaders, he made three trips to Tunis between 1292 and 1314. In the first two he was roughly treated and driven from the country; on his third journey he was stoned and died of his injuries while on his way home in 1315. At the time of his death he was in his eightieth year. Notwithstanding the visionary and fantastic nature of many of his speculations, Raymond Lull was in true missionary spirit far in advance of his age.

## CHAPTER XXXII.

## MOHAMMEDANISM AND THE CHURCH.

WHEN we look at the map of the world of to-day we see that the whole of the north coast of Africa, Egypt, as far down as Abyssinia, the greater part of the east coast of Africa, Arabia, Persia, and the regions east to the river Indus and north to the Aral Sea, Hindustan in part, Asia Minor, and Turkey in Europe are under the dominion of another than the Christian faith. All of this territory lying immediately around the Mediterranean Sea once belonged to the Christian Church. Here the first triumphs of our religion were won; here, too, the apostles by signs and wonders proved their divine mission and displayed the highest motives of Christian character. Here for many centuries the followers of Mahomet have held possession, and Christianity has been at no time since their advent more than tolerated, and at all times oppressed; not only so, but this fanatic faith made fearful incursions into Europe, planted itself in lower Italy, in Hungary and Spain, and threatened to sweep over France. Our concern will be with Mohammedanism as it affected the Church.

Mahomet was born at Mecca, in 570, five years after the death of the emperor Justinian. He was of a leading Arabian tribe—the Koraish. His father died before he was born, his mother while he was a young child; after the death of his mother an uncle took care of him. When he reached twenty-five years he became an agent, a trader for Khadija, a widow, whom he afterward married. He was beautiful in person and persuasive in speech, but in early manhood could not read. In trade he was successful, in war courageous, and in administration skillful. By nature he was an enthusiast, and, moreover, was subject to epileptic fits, which predisposed him to be the victim of



his imagination. His countrymen were idolaters; the Koran shows that Mahomet understood Judaism quite well and knew something of Christianity. The popular tradition is that a Nestorian monk taught him what he knew of Christ. Whether he ever saw the New Testament is doubtful, but he uses freely the apocryphal gospels. It is needless to assume that the corruptions of Christianity predisposed Mahomet to establish a new system of religion. His system contradicts Christianity in its essence. The corruptions of the Eastern Church did, however, leave it too weak to make successful resistance to Mahomet. The fundamental doctrines of Mahomet are the exaltation of God above all created things, the infinite distance between the Creator and his works, the utter dependence of man on the almighty and incomprehensible One. Thus what he most sees in God is infinite power manifested as an arbitrary will; God as love is wholly unknown to him. God being supreme and arbitrary will, man is without moral freedom. The whole Mohammedan scheme of life is fatalistic. "The God who was worshipped as an almighty and arbitrary will could be honored by entire submission, servile obedience, the performance of various outward ceremonies, and by works of charity; but also by the extermination of his enemies, the idolaters, by the subjugation of infidels, by the repetition of prayers, by festivals and pilgrimages."<sup>1</sup> Christianity bridges the gulf between God and man by the incarnation; Mahomet will not tolerate the thought of bridging this gulf; knows nothing of a Redeemer and redemption, nothing of a revelation of God to man's heart as holy love.

It was not Mahomet's original purpose to establish a world religion; his first ambition was to found his new faith upon the ruins of idolatry in Arabia. His success was slow. His immediate relatives were his first converts; but the hostility of the Meccans forced him to escape from that city by night and to go to Medina. His flight to Medina, known as the Hegira,

<sup>1</sup> See Neander, *Church History*, vol. iii, p. 85.

fixes the point at which the Mohammedan calendar begins, 622. Medina received the prophet, and from this time Mahomet assumed the position of king and priest. From this time also he prosecuted the work of conversion by the use of the sword. His battles with the Meccans were repeatedly of doubtful issue; but before his death, in 632, he had brought Arabia into subjection. "The sword," said Mahomet, "is the key of heaven and of hell; a drop of blood shed in the cause of God is of more avail than two months of fasting or prayer. Whosoever falls in battle, his sins are forgiven."<sup>1</sup> Fighting and plundering were the chief occupations of the Arabs of the desert; a religion whose symbols were the Koran and the sword, and whose rewards were booty on earth and a paradise of sensual enjoyment beyond the grave, had an irresistible charm for their imaginations. In its very nature Mohammedanism is a proclamation of war against mankind. It was nourished by war, and by war became strong. It converted the natives by defeating their armies and capturing their cities.

After Mahomet's death his successors entered upon a career of conquest; the condition of the Eastern empire was favorable to the success of their ambition. Heraclius, the emperor, a man of some heroic qualities, had carried on a tedious war with Chosroes-Parviz, the King of Persia. "Exhausted," says Trench, "by war, defended by ill-paid mercenaries, swarming with persecuted sectaries, with subjects disaffected from one cause or another, the empire was wholly unequal to resist the shock. Ten years had not elapsed since the death of the prophet, and already Palestine and Syria and Egypt had accepted the yoke; already three out of the four patriarchates of Eastern Christendom, Jerusalem (636), and Antioch (636), and Alexandria (641), if not actually blotted out, retained little more than a titular existence, and it wanted but a little that the fourth and last had shared their doom; for Constantinople itself, twice besieged by the Saracens (668 and

<sup>1</sup> Gibbon, *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, vol. v, p. 130.

again in 717), with difficulty weathered the first violence of the storm, and except for the opportune discovery of the Greek fire might have succumbed to Mohammedan arms, not in the fifteenth century, but the seventh."<sup>1</sup> In every direction the Mohammedans seemed conquerors. Persia, North Africa, and the Visigothic kingdom of Spain (711) were subdued. Emboldened by constant success, they ventured across the Pyrenees, to meet defeat at the battle of Tours or Poitiers (732). At this, one of the great battles of the world, Charles Martel so completely overthrew the Mohammedan host that the advance of the religion of the prophet in Western Europe was forever stayed.

As a specimen of the propagation of the Mohammedan religion we may take the conquest of Syria. An army was sent under the command of Abu Obeida, with Khalid, called the Sword of God, as second in command. The first large city attacked was Damascus (634); before giving battle the leader of the imperial army made an offer of peace with a large bribe of money. To this Khalid answered, "Ye Christian dogs, you know your option: the Koran, tribute, or the sword. We are a people whose delight is in war rather than in peace, and we despise your pitiful alms, since we shall be speedily masters of your wealth, your families, and your persons." After a siege of several months Damascus was taken. The Christians obtained toleration and accepted the obligation to pay tribute; but four thousand exiles who had left the city were followed and cut to pieces. On the river Yermuk, about thirty miles before its junction with the Jordan, the Roman army sent out by Heraclius was defeated, and never after made serious opposition to the Saracens. Jerusalem was captured after a siege of four months. The ground where the temple of Solomon had stood was prepared for a mosque. As the Saracens approached Antioch Heraclius secretly embarked in a ship and left the city and Syria to their fate. The city was saved from plunder by the

<sup>1</sup> Trench, *Mediæval Church History*, pp. 52, 53.

payment of three hundred thousand pieces of gold. When the Mohammedans came near to Cæsarea, Constantine, the eldest son of Heraclius and the successor of the emperor, fled by sea, and with the taking of the city, says Gibbon, "Syria bowed under the sceptre of the caliphs seven hundred years after Pompey had despoiled the last of the Macedonian kings" (63 B. C.).<sup>1</sup> In North Africa the Christian religion was utterly blotted out. "The people," says Gibbon, "without discipline, or knowledge, or hope, submissively sunk under the yoke of the Arabian prophet. Within fifty years after the expulsion of the Greeks a lieutenant informed the caliph that the tribute of the infidels was abolished by their conversion."<sup>2</sup>

The year 710 is described by Freeman as the *Annus Mirabilis* of Mohammedanism. In this year the Saracens passed from Africa to Europe; in this year also they crossed the Oxus, and subdued the whole region from that river to the Jaxartes, the home of the Turks, who became the most formidable defenders of Islamism; in this year an advance was made into India. "These three conquests of Spain, Transoxiana, and Sind extended the caliphate to its utmost limits. The will of the High Pontiff of Islam was supreme from the Jaxartes to the Atlantic."<sup>3</sup> In the eighth century (750) the caliphate was divided: the Ommiad caliphs of Damascus were overthrown, and a new house, that of Abbas, became supreme. The caliphs of this line chose Bagdad, a new city on the Tigris, for their capital; their rivals of Damascus established themselves in Cordova, Spain. The Turks now appear in history first as the officers of the caliphs, then as their virtual masters, and finally as their conquerors. They are a Tartar race widely spread over northern and eastern Asia. Those who came into contact with Mohammedanism and were converted to the faith are, as already stated, from the region between the Oxus and the

<sup>1</sup> *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, vol. v, p. 216.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. v, p. 267.

<sup>3</sup> Freeman, *History and Conquests of the Saracens*, p. 89.

Jaxartes. We cannot here trace the growth of their power; but in the middle of the eleventh century the Turkish sultan, Alp-Arslan, invaded Asia Minor, "a land which the Saracens had often ravaged, but which they had never conquered. He overthrew the emperor Romanus in battle; this was in 1071, and from this time dates the establishment of the Turks, as distinguished from the Saracens, in the lands which had been a part of the Roman empire."<sup>1</sup>

And thus we reach the beginning of the Crusades. The Turks were a different race from the Saracens. The Saracens had been content with restricting the public exercise of the rites of the Christian religion in Jerusalem; but the Turks, who obtained possession of the city in 1076, insulted and put to death the Christian believers. "The sanctuaries of the Christians were profaned, their worship interrupted, and their patriarchs thrown into dungeons." The fleets from Italy which had been in the habit of supplying the wants of the pilgrims were driven away. Peter the Hermit, a returned pilgrim, whose anger had been aroused by the indignities heaped on Christians in Palestine, went through Europe preaching a crusade against the infidel, and Europe was quickly kindled into a flame. Pope Urban II, in the year 1095, at a great meeting held in Clermont gave his sanction and blessing. "You are," he said, "the soldiers of the cross; bear then on your hearts and on your shoulders the blood-red sign of Him who died for the salvation of your souls." The leaders of the first expedition were the flower of the chivalry of the West. They were Godfrey of Bouillon; Robert, Duke of Normandy; Raymond, Count of Toulouse; Bohemond, and Tancred. Before they set out Peter the Hermit gathered two hundred thousand men, women, and children, and started for Jerusalem; only seven thousand of them reached Constantinople, and this fragment was cut to pieces soon after crossing the Bosphorus. The army under Godfrey reached Constantinople, Christmas, 1096, and crossed over to Asia, May, 1097.

<sup>1</sup> Freeman, *Ottoman Power in Europe*, p. 94.



They marched through Asia Minor, defeated the Turks in the decisive battle of Dorylæum, captured Antioch in 1098, and after a long delay marched down the coast to Joppa, and then turned towards Jerusalem. When they came in sight of the city they fell down on their knees and kissed the earth; they made the rest of the journey to the city walls in bare feet and pilgrim dress. After a siege of thirty days Jerusalem was taken by an assault in which the crusaders displayed a reckless bravery. The Mohammedan inhabitants were slaughtered without mercy; the streets of the city literally ran with blood; worship at the Church of the Holy Sepulchre alternated with the massacre of men, women, and children. The leaders of the Crusade remained in the East; Godfrey was made king of the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem, which lasted eighty-eight years (1099–1187).

The second Crusade was preached by Bernard of Clairvaux, in the twelfth century; its immediate occasion was the fall of the Latin principality of Edessa, in Asia Minor. Its leaders were Louis VII, the King of France, and Conrad, the German emperor. It was unfortunate from its beginning to its end. Shipwreck on the sea and defeat on land diminished the numbers of the armies, and an unsuccessful siege of Damascus (1148) completed its failure. Other disasters followed. For years the warfare languished. It was revived by Saladin. Saladin, the nephew of the Caliph of Aleppo, defeated the Christian army in the battle of Tiberias (1187) and immediately turned his armies against Jerusalem. After a futile resistance the city surrendered, the cross was hauled from the dome of the Mosque of Omar, and the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem was at an end. It never had any promise of stability; for of statesmanship the crusaders had not the slightest tincture. They could fight, they could plunder, and they could be devout after their fashion; and these were about all. The third Crusade was more successful, though it did not recover Jerusalem. It was led by Richard of England, the Lion-hearted, Philip Augustus



of France, and Frederick Barbarossa. It was organized in 1188. The German emperor was drowned in a Cilician river, and nine tenths of his army perished. The remnant encountered Saladin in the neighborhood of Acre and defeated him (1191). Saladin was compelled to surrender what was called the true cross, and to give hostages for the payment of a large tribute. The tribute was not paid, and the hostages, to the number of three thousand, were slaughtered. But for dissensions among the crusaders Jerusalem might have been taken; the Crusade ended in a truce of three years and eight months between Richard and Saladin; its terms opened the way for all pilgrims to Jerusalem without molestation or tax. The total result was the acquisition of a strip of land on the seacoast which included Joppa and Acre.

✓ The fourth Crusade was marshalled by the Knights of St. John (1193). The crusaders captured Joppa, which had been lost after Richard returned home, and also Berytus, but their dissensions and folly led to their final defeat and the total failure of the expedition. The fifth Crusade had a singular ending, for instead of waging a war on the infidel the crusaders turned their arms against Constantinople and founded the Latin empire of the East. Its churchly promoter was Innocent III, one of the great popes; its military leaders were Simon of Montfort, Walter of Brienne, and Geoffrey of Villehardouin. It was resolved to go to the East by sea; and the Doge of Venice was to furnish the fleet. While they were at Venice there came to them Alexius, the younger son of the Eastern emperor, Isaac Angelus; help was implored by Alexius against a usurping brother who had cast their father into prison. The crusaders lent a willing ear, sailed in 1203 for Constantinople, took it, and set upon the throne Baldwin, Count of Toulouse, a descendant of Charlemagne. This change was accomplished with a sum of cruelty and bloodshed which forever alienated the Greek Christians from the Latin Church. For a half century, however, the pope was head of all Christendom.

The Greek Christians of Constantinople were for a time excluded from office and treated as barbarians. As the crusaders were entirely ignorant of the art of founding a state the Latin empire of the East came to an end in 1261, having lasted fifty-seven years. The Venetians profited most by the Crusade, having through its facilities extended their dominion and acquired enormous wealth.

The sixth Crusade brought into prominence one of the most extraordinary men of the Middle Ages, Frederick II, grandson of Frederick Barbarossa. Though Emperor of Germany he lived in Sicily, where he established a court of which refined sensuality was the chief feature. Saracen and Christian were alike to him. He had promised to make the Crusade, and for his delay Pope Gregory IX excommunicated him. Roused at length he sailed (1228), and the next year (1229) made a treaty with the sultan Kameel by which Jerusalem, with the exception of the Mosque of Omar, Joppa, Nazareth, and Bethlehem were restored to the Christians. It is characteristic of the age that the pope was so furiously angry with Frederick for making this treaty that not a single priest took part in the coronation service which once more gave Jerusalem a Christian king. The seventh Crusade was brought to an end in 1240 by a treaty which was very favorable to the Christians. The eighth was led by the most remarkable ruler of the Middle Ages, the saintly Louis IX of France. He should have been a monk, but hereditary succession made him a king. He was no general, and in 1249 he was taken prisoner while fighting in Egypt. During his captivity he endured suffering with saintly patience. After his ransom, in 1250, he made a pilgrimage, clothed in sackcloth, to Nazareth.

The ninth and last Crusade was led by St. Louis again, in association with Edward, the son of Henry III of England. Louis set out for Africa, in 1270, with an army of sixty thousand men. At Carthage a plague broke out among his soldiers to which he himself quickly succumbed. He

died saying, "I will enter thy house, O Lord; I will worship in thy sanctuary." Edward disembarked at Acre, and took Nazareth, with a great slaughter of the infidels (1271), after which he made a truce for ten years. Gregory X tried in 1274 to set on foot another Crusade, but failed. The religious military orders which had grown up under the inspiration of the Crusades retired from the Holy Land. The Teutonic Knights took possession of Lithuania and Poland; the Knights of St. John occupied Cyprus and Rhodes; the Templars were suppressed by the French king, their property was confiscated, and their Grand Master, Du Molay, burned at the stake. To sum up, the Crusades were productive both of good and evil:

1. They helped to destroy the feudal system. While the knights and barons were exhausting themselves in the holy wars the kings were strengthening their authority at home. Many estates which were held on condition of military service were absorbed by the crown.

2. The weakening of the power of Mohammedanism in the East prolonged the existence of the Eastern empire. Had the crusaders been more united, or had they possessed any statesmanlike qualities, they might have overthrown the Mohammedan power and changed the course of history.

3. The contact of the East and the West in the Crusades quickened the intellectual energy of Western Christendom and prepared the way for the revival of learning and the Reformation.

4. Against these advantages must be set the gain in the power of the papacy, the enormous increase of wealth and influence of the clergy, and its consequence of moral corruption, the shocking cruelties perpetrated by the crusaders which were a stain on the Christian name. In moral worth Richard of the Lion-Heart was not a whit superior to Saladin; yet it must be said that the virtues of Tancred and St. Louis, especially their purity of purpose and heroic patience, lift them to a height of almost ideal excellence. They are exemplars of knightly chivalry and devotion, justice and truth.

## NOTES TO CHAPTER XXXII.

## I. THE OTTOMAN TURKS.

The Turks living between the Oxus and the Jaxartes were converted to Mohammedanism in the year 710, the wonderful year of Saracen history. After the establishment of the caliphate at Bagdad "the Turks appear under the caliphs as slaves, as subjects, as mercenaries, as practical masters, as avowed sovereigns, and lastly, in the case of the Ottomans, as themselves claiming the powers of the caliphate. The dominions of the caliphs gradually broke up into various states, which were ruled for the most part by Turkish princes who left a merely nominal superiority to the caliph."<sup>1</sup> Among the various tribes of Turks the Seljuks were most successful in making their power permanent. In the eleventh century they invaded Asia Minor and established their capital at Nice. The Eastern emperor, however, succeeded in driving them back so that the Seljuk capital was changed to Iconion, the ancient Iconium. In 1258 the caliphate at Bagdad was extinguished. It had before its extinction become a mere shadow. The Seljuk Turks were now dominant in western Asia ; on the ruins of their dominion the Ottoman power grew up. "The tale runs that in a battle between the Turks and the Moguls, the Turks, as the weaker side, were being worsted, when an unknown company of men came to their help. These proved to be a wandering band of Turks from the far East, who in the confusions of the times were seeking a settlement under their leader, Ertoghrul. The strangers were rewarded with a grant of lands, and those lands, step by step, grew into the Ottoman empire."<sup>2</sup> Othman, the son of Ertoghrul, whose name gave the title Ottoman, or Osmanli, to his followers, fixed his capital at Brusa in 1326 ; allegiance to the Seljuk sultan was thrown off by his son. The Ottoman Turks obtained their first footing in Europe at Gallipolis in 1356, Hadrianople became their capital in 1361, and finally Constantinople was captured by them in 1453. In the following century the Ottoman sultan became caliph or pope during the reign of Selim the Inflexible (1512-1520).

## II. BIBLIOGRAPHY.

## I. Mohammedanism.

*The Life of Mahomet* (new edition, London, 1877), by Sir William Muir, is now the standard. His *Annals of the Caliphate*, second edition, London, 1892, and his *Annals of the Early Caliphate*, London, 1883, are of great importance.

A good treatise is that of R. Bosworth Smith, *Mohammed and Mohammedanism*, New York, 1875. *The Literary Remains of Emanuel Deutsch*, New York, 1874, Freeman's *The Ottoman Power in Europe*, London, 1877, and his *History and Conquests of the Saracens*, London, 1877, are all valuable.

The religious teachings of Mohammedanism are concisely treated by Southgate in the Introduction to vol. i of his *Narrative of a Tour through Armenia*, etc., New York, 1840, and also in Ellinwood's *Oriental Religions and Christianity*, Lecture vi, New York, 1892.

<sup>1</sup> Freeman, *Ottoman Power in Europe*, p. 91.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 99.

For many years the standard translation of the Koran was that of George Sale. It has appeared in many editions. Its Introduction is especially valuable. A new translation is contained in the *Sacred Books of the East*, vols. vi, ix, Oxford, 1880, made by E. H. Palmer. Hughes's *Dictionary of Islam* treats in an able manner the doctrines, rites, ceremonies, and customs of Islam.

## II. The Crusades.

Among the chief works on the Crusades are the following : *History of the Crusades*, by J. F. Michaud, 3 vols., New York ; Gibbon's *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, vols. v and vi ; Milman's *History of Latin Christianity*, vols. iv, v, vi ; Finlay's *History of Greece*, vols. ii and iii, subtitle of the volumes, "History of the Byzantine and Greek Empires, 1057-1453 ;" Hallam's *View of the State of Europe During the Middle Ages* ; Michelet's *History of France*, book iv, chap. iii, *et seq.* ; E. Pears, *The Fall of Constantinople* (Fourth Crusade), London, 1885 ; T. A. Archer and C. L. Kingsford, *The Crusaders*, in the Story of the Nations series, New York, 1894. The following books can also be consulted : G. W. Cox, *The Crusades*, New York ; F. G. Woodhouse, *The Military Religious Orders of the Middle Ages*, London, 1879 ; George Z. Gray, *The Children's Crusade*, Boston, 11th edition, 1895.

## CHAPTER XXXIII.

## THE POPES AND THE EMPERORS.

It is impossible for us in history to pass beyond the shadow of Rome. Wherever we are the imperial city, in its laws, institutions, or ideas, is still in sight. The title assumed by Augustus, *Imperator*, is perpetuated in the modern Emperor; the name of Cæsar lives in the Russian title Czar and the German Kaiser; and the geographical terms, Roumanian, Roumelian, are witnesses of an all-pervading power. Her language is the basis of the French, the Spanish, the Portuguese, and the Italian; and the races of Western Europe are to-day commonly divided into the Latin and the Teutonic. In one sense the Roman empire fell; in another the empire lived far into the Middle Ages, and maintained a shadowy existence till the year 1806. But alongside of the secular there grew up a spiritual empire, also Roman and also world-embracing in the scope of its ambition. From the days of Charlemagne (800) the relations of the spiritual and secular empires were sources of perpetual conflict, and this conflict it is our purpose now to trace.

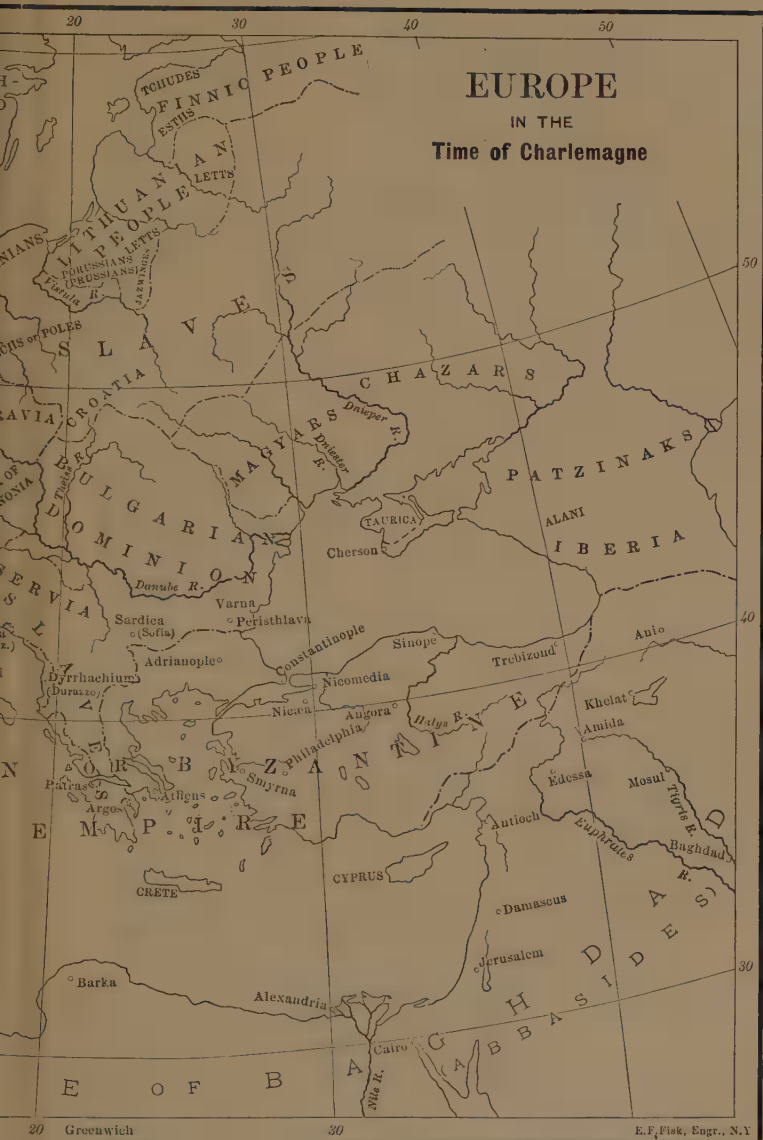
The Goths did not destroy Roman imperialism; they did not wish to destroy it; they were awed by its visible splendors; and when they entered into possession it was their aim to perpetuate its institutions. Athanaric (376), who had waged war with Valens, exclaimed when he saw the market place of Constantinople, "Without doubt the emperor is a God upon earth, and he who attacks him is guilty of his own blood."<sup>1</sup> Ataulf (411), the brother-in-law and successor of Alaric, declared that it was his desire to maintain by Gothic strength the fame and power of Rome. To the minds of the barbarians the empire seemed predestined to be universal and eternal. The image of the

<sup>1</sup> Bryce, *The Holy Roman Empire*, p. 17. References are to edition of 1880.











emperor, supreme and absolute, yet governing through means of established law, was to them the most august image on earth. This thought inspired Charlemagne with the ambition to reestablish the empire, to check the separatism of Teutonic life by the massive unity of imperial life ; to be not only King of the Franks, but the successor of the Cæsars. When he was crowned in St. Peter's he was clad in the robe of a Roman patrician, and in the shouts of the people he was called *Augustus et Imperator*. The coronation was a great event. The master force of the Middle Ages was the impulse toward anarchy, " caused by the ungoverned impulses and barbarous ignorance of the great bulk of mankind ; " <sup>1</sup> but underneath this was the passionate longing for political unity and for the restoration of the empire as the symbol of law. Charlemagne's political fabric was shattered ; but the idea embodied in him was never lost ; men struggled for it, fought for its realization, and by the force of the struggle were educated to a better political and civil life.

But if the mediæval mind craved a world-embracing empire it craved also a world-embracing Church. If men in their temporal estate were to be under the government of the one, in their spiritual estate they should be under the supervision of the other. The boundaries of the Church and the empire were the same. Both pope and emperor derived their authority from God ; the pope was the celestial ruler of mankind, the emperor the temporal. " The pope, as God's vicar in matters spiritual, is to lead man to eternal life ; the emperor, as vicar in matters temporal, must so control them in their dealings with one another that they may be able to pursue undisturbed the spiritual life, and thereby attain the same supreme and common end of everlasting happiness. " <sup>2</sup> The emperor's duty, therefore, was to maintain the peace of the world, to protect the pope, to be guided by his advice, and to submit to his fatherly rebukes. In the relations of the two there were plentiful materials for disagreement and for conflict.

<sup>1</sup> Bryce, *The Holy Roman Empire*, p. 50.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 105.

The supremacy of the empire over the papacy was first emphasized in Otto, or Otho, the Great (crowned King of the Franks 936; crowned emperor 962). He is the second Charlemagne. Successful in wars against the German rebels and the Hungarians, he crossed the Alps, in 951, at the entreaty of Adelaide, widow of Lothair of Provence, one of the claimants of the throne of Italy, who had appealed for his aid, married Adelaide, and was acknowledged King of Lombardy. In 961 he led a second expedition into Italy, this time at the invitation of the pope, who offered him the imperial title as an inducement, and received the crown of the empire in Rome from the treacherous John XII. The popes were at this time chosen by local assemblies, and were beyond description sensual and vicious. No sooner had Otho left Italy for home than John XII rebelled, renounced his allegiance, and sent messages to the Magyars to invade Germany. Otho returned to Rome, called a council, deposed John XII, and set up Leo VIII. After his second departure the people rebelled again and elected an antipope, Benedict V. Still a second time Otho returned and suppressed the rebellion; the rebel pope begged for mercy and surrendered the crozier and pallium. The grateful Leo, now firmly fixed in the papal chair, recognized the right of the emperors to approve the papal elections and acknowledged himself a vassal of the empire. At this point begins the purification of the papacy; the profligate priests of Italy are displaced as candidates, and Germans, the nominees of the emperors, are elected in their stead. This change was consummated in the reign of Otho III, the grandson of Otho the Great. It astonished Italy, which had thus far furnished the cardinals and the popes; but it satisfied Christendom. The youthful Otho appeared in Rome with a company of German prelates, and appointed his chaplain, Bruno, to the headship of the Church under the name of Gregory V (996). No sooner had Otho left the city than the usual series of events followed; the Romans rebelled, set up an antipope, John XVI, and defied the imperial



authority. In truth, the Romans did not relish foreign rule. Otho returned, captured the antipope, put out his eyes, cut off his nose and tongue, and paraded him through the streets of the city on an ass, with his face to the ass's tail.<sup>1</sup>

These facts show the supremacy of the Othos over the papacy, their determination to purify it, and their barbarous though well-meant severity. In the work of purification they succeeded perfectly; they redeemed the papacy and prepared the way for Hildebrand, who brought the emperors down to the dust. Otho III spent most of his time in Italy, built a palace on Mount Aventine, and himself regulated the administration of the city. He considered himself the successor of the Constantines and Justinians of former ages. When he appointed a judge his formula was, "With this code judge Rome and the Leonine city and the whole world;" his seal bore the legend, "*Renovatio Imperii Romanorum.*" What he might have accomplished we can only conjecture; for he died on the threshold of manhood in 1002. With his death the line of the great Othos became extinct. With Conrad II, whose accession is dated 1024, the Franconian line of emperors begins. Under them the empire rose to the climax of its power over the papacy and under them had its most terrible fall. Henry III (1039-1056) ruled Germany and Rome alike with an iron hand. "In Rome," says Bryce, "no German sovereign had ever been so absolute. He became hereditary patrician, and wore constantly the green mantle and circlet of gold which were the badges of that office. The synod passed a decree granting to Henry the right of nominating the supreme pontiff; and the Roman priesthood were forced to receive German after German as their bishop at the bidding of a ruler so powerful, so severe, and so pious."<sup>2</sup>

Having reached the dividing line between the highest power of the empire over the papacy and the victory of the popes

<sup>1</sup> See Milman's *History of Latin Christianity*, vol. iii, p. 197.

<sup>2</sup> *The Holy Roman Empire*, pp. 151, 152.

over the emperors, it may be well to make a brief review of both papal and imperial history from the time of Charlemagne. Under the sons and successors of Charlemagne the empire was divided, and the kingdoms of France, Germany, and Italy appeared as separate national organizations. The empire after the death of the last of the Carolingians (911) was vacant for forty years. Its power was restored, as we have already seen, under Otho I (936-973). This new and restored empire of Charlemagne was composed of Germany and Italy, and is known in history as the Holy Roman Empire. We have seen that Charlemagne was crowned by Leo III (800). After him the papacy fell into the deepest degradation. For a long time (904-936) it was controlled by three women, Theodora the elder and her daughters Marozia and Theodora the younger, who procured the election to the papal chair of their lovers or sons. The pope John XII, whom Otho I deposed, was the grandson of Marozia, one of these infamous women. Shortly after his deposition he died a violent death. Even the reform of the papacy which began under Otho I was not without fluctuations. Under Otho II the papacy sank again into corruption. Its final recovery of dignity and power dates from the middle of the eleventh century.

The assumption of supremacy by the emperors provoked a reaction, and, unfortunately for the Franconian line, Henry III's successor was a child, and under the reign of this child, known as Henry IV, the struggle of the papacy for independence and supremacy began. If in theory the emperors had claimed that the popes were their subjects, on the other hand the popes had claimed that they were the source of imperial power. No emperor was crowned till the pope had crowned him; and no emperor could be crowned without acknowledging the papal headship over the Church. During the time of the Saxon and the early Franconian emperors the papal claims were not asserted, but were nevertheless cherished. But a Lateran Council (1059) had vested the right of electing the pope in the higher clergy

of Rome. The cardinals were to choose and the laity and emperor were to be asked to approve. It is easy to see that the approval might on occasions be dispensed with. Hildebrand, who achieved the enfranchisement of the papacy from imperial control, was elected pope April 22, 1073, and took the name of Gregory VII. His experience in public affairs was large, for he had been the master spirit of the papacy for years. His origin was exceedingly humble, even obscure. "He was," says Milman, "a monk from his boyhood. Mortification in the smallest things taught him that self-command and rigor which he was afterward to enforce on himself and on mankind; it was his self-imposed discipline, perhaps his pride, to triumph over every indulgence of the senses. His sternness to others was that which throughout life he exercised upon himself."<sup>1</sup>

With all the energy of a great will he had resolved upon two reforms: (1) The enforcement of the celibacy of the clergy, and (2) The abolition of the imperial power of investiture. Hildebrand knew perfectly well that only a celibate priesthood without family ties could be welded into a spiritual army, wholly subject to the command of the pope. Hundreds, perhaps thousands, of the priests had married, and justified their marriage by appealing to the New Testament. By the mandate of Hildebrand married priests were required instantly to renounce their wives or to renounce the priesthood; married bishops who disobeyed were to be degraded from office. The publication of this mandate in the churches of Germany excited the wildest commotion. The archbishops and bishops who read it from the pulpits were assaulted, sometimes stoned, and in several instances compelled to flee for life. Many wives of priests committed suicide, some died of grief, and well they might, for they were denounced by Hildebrand as concubines and prostitutes. But Hildebrand was inexorable, and at the cost of incredible suffering to the families of the priests made his requirement good.

<sup>1</sup> *History of Latin Christianity*, vol. iii, p. 365.

Investiture was the conveyance to a bishop of the ring and staff of office by the king or emperor. It carried with it "the right to the temporal possessions or endowments of the benefice; it assigned a local jurisdiction to the bishop; it was in one form the ancient consent of the laity to the spiritual appointment; it presumed not to consecrate, but permitted the consecrated person to execute his office in a certain defined sphere, and under the protection and guarantee of the civil power."<sup>1</sup> The investiture made the bishop or abbot a subject of the temporal power, and was the assertion of authority over the episcopal estates as national property. By the decree of a council held in Rome in February, 1075, Gregory VII abolished the right of investiture by any and every secular ruler. The terms of the decree were most peremptory. Every ecclesiastic who accepted lay investiture was excommunicated, and every prince who granted an investiture was excommunicated also. "This statute," says Milman, "made a revolution in the whole feudal system throughout Europe. All the great prelates and abbots, who were at the same time the princes, the nobles, the counsellors, the leaders in the diets and national assemblies, became to a great degree independent of the crown. Their lands and estates were as inviolable as their persons. As the estates and endowments were withdrawn from the national property and became that of the Church, the pope might be in fact the liege lord, temporal and spiritual, of half the world."<sup>2</sup>

The battle between the papacy and the empire was now fairly joined. On the one side the pope, an old man, had no support but his iron will and spiritual power. His enemies in Italy were many and active in seeking to effect his overthrow. He had one firm friend, the Countess Matilda, of Tuscany, in whose strong fortress of Canossa he more than once sought refuge. His antagonist, Henry IV, was young, pleasure-loving, and unconscious of his own great ability. He was summoned

<sup>1</sup> Milman, *History of Latin Christianity*, vol. iii, pp. 415, 416.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. iii, p. 417.

to Rome to answer for his offenses in keeping company with excommunicated persons and exercising the prerogative of investiture. Henry instantly summoned a council of German bishops and deposed the pope; the pope replied by deposing the emperor, February 22, 1076. The language of the decree is memorable: "I interdict King Henry from the government of the whole realm of Germany and Italy. I absolve all Christians from the oaths which they have sworn or may swear to him, and forbid all obedience to him as king." And now begins a story of humiliation which has scarce a parallel in Christian history. Except a few of his devoted friends his subjects fell away from the king. Many of the great ecclesiastics, who were also princes of the realm, would not so much as eat with him or come into his presence. A diet of the empire was held which decreed that Henry must make submission to the pope; that he must part with all the signs of royalty till the ban of excommunication was removed; and that unless he was reconciled to the Church, after a year from the date of his sentence his possession of the throne must be forfeited.

Henry yielded, dismissed his counsellors, disbanded his army, surrendered all power and authority, and in the depth of one of the coldest of winters started for Italy. Mount Cenis was almost impassable; the royal party had to make the descent on foot over the snow; the queen and her infant son were wrapped in skins of oxen and dragged down. Gregory was at Canossa. The excommunicated bishops appeared before the pope in bare feet and in the garb of penitents; were shut up in cells, but after a few days were forgiven. For Henry the lowest depth of humiliation was reserved. "On a dreary winter morning," says Milman, "with the earth deep in snow, the king was permitted to enter within the two outer of the three walls which girded the castle of Canossa. He was clad only in the thin white linen dress of the penitent, and there, fasting, he awaited in humble patience the pleasure of the pope. A second day he stood, cold, hungry, and mocked by vain hope. And yet a third



day dragged on from morning to evening over the unsheltered head of the discrowned king. Every heart was moved except that of the representative of Jesus Christ. The patience of Henry could endure no more; he took refuge in an adjacent chapel of St. Nicolas, to implore, and with tears, once again, the intercession of the aged Abbot of Cluny. Matilda was present; her womanly heart was melted. Henry fell on his knees and in a passion of grief entreated her merciful interference. To female entreaties Gregory yielded an ungracious permission for the king to approach his presence."<sup>1</sup> The terms of absolution were that the king should appear before Gregory at the time and place to be named and answer the charges brought by his people against him. If acquitted, his kingdom would be restored to him; if condemned, it must be resigned forever.

Thus did Gregory put his foot on the neck of the king; but pity was still alive in the hearts of men, and a reaction came. The people rallied to Henry in utter disregard of excommunications and interdicts. He found himself becoming stronger; nevertheless his rivals and enemies met in diet, deposed him, March 13, 1077, and elected Rudolph of Swabia in his place. The pope had now plunged the empire into the miseries of a civil war, but he did not shrink from this or from any consequence of his policy. He summoned the contestants to appear before him for the adjudication of their claims; but soon he threw off the mask, assigned the crown to Rudolph, and deposed Henry again. In this second sentence of deposition his language reaches the loftiest height of papal pretensions. He asserts the right to dispose of all civil dignity and power throughout the world: "Come then, ye fathers and most holy prelates, let all the world understand and know that since ye have power to bind and loose in heaven ye have power to take away and grant empires, kingdoms, principalities, duchies, marquisates, counties, and the possessions of all men according

<sup>1</sup> *History of Latin Christianity*, vol. iii, p. 456.



to their deserts. If ye then judge in spiritual affairs, how great must be your power in secular! Let kings, then, and all the princes of the world learn what ye are and how great is your power, and fear to treat with disrespect the mandate of the Church.”<sup>1</sup>

Henry's power grew apace. A synod of German bishops deposed Gregory; soon after Rudolph was killed in battle. The emperor crossed the Alps with an army and laid siege to Rome; for three years his army was encamped about the city, but failed to force an entrance. During all this period Gregory was inexorably firm; to the demands of the citizens that concessions should be made to Henry IV his only answer was, “Let the king lay down his crown and give satisfaction to the Church.” The wearied Romans took their affairs into their own hands and surrendered the city. On Christmas, 1083, Gregory retired to the castle of St. Angelo, and Henry, with his army, entered the Lateran gate. A council was called, Gregory was deposed, and a new pope was elected. Soon the Normans of Sicily, Gregory's allies, on whom he had called for help, appeared under Robert Guiscard, to the number of thirty thousand foot and six thousand horse. It was a strange army; Saracens, Christians, and freebooters were mingled in it together. Robert released the pope and then began to plunder the city; a tumult broke out, Rome was set on fire, and a scene of massacre and pillage followed such as the city had never known. What the Goths had not done was done by the allies of Gregory VII. The pope looked on and never interfered; not daring to remain in Rome to meet the anger of the citizens, he retired with the Normans to the castle of Salerno, where he soon after died. In dying he absolved all mankind save the emperor and the antipope. His last words were, “I have loved justice and hated iniquity, and therefore I die in exile.” The struggle between the Church and the empire did not end with the death of Gregory; it was renewed by Urban II

<sup>1</sup> *History of Latin Christianity*, vol. iii, pp. 480, 481.

with the utmost vigor. "Urban," says Milman, "had all the resolute firmness of Gregory, but firmness less aggressive, and tempered with the wisdom of the serpent. His subtler policy was more dangerous, and eventually more fatal, to the imperial cause than the more bold and violent oppugnancy of Hildebrand."<sup>1</sup> The Church stirred up successively the emperor's sons Conrad and Henry to rebel against him. Conrad's party was suppressed, but the treason of his son Henry broke the emperor's heart. He died August, 1106, after a troubled reign of fifty years. The Church would scarcely permit a decent interment of his body. After five years of contention his remains were placed in the last resting-place of the emperors in the Cathedral of Spires.

But Henry V, though he had been a rebel, became the avenger of his father, and in his turn humbled the papacy. Germany was more united to him than it had ever been to Henry IV. He descended into Italy with a great army. Paschal II, the successor of Urban II, hastened to make a treaty on the basis: (1) Of a surrender by the clergy of all their temporalities, that is, their vast estates which made them subjects of the empire. (2) The surrender by the emperor of the right of investiture. In the nature of the case this treaty could not satisfy the leaders of the Church. A Lateran Council, held in 1112, abrogated it wholly. The struggle finally ended under Pope Calixtus II in a concordat between him and Henry, ratified at Worms in 1122. The emperor conceded the right of investiture by ring and staff, and granted to the clergy the right of the free elections of bishops; the pope granted that all elections of bishops and abbots should take place in the presence of the emperor or his commissioners, with appeal, in the case of contested elections, to the metropolitan and provincial bishops. The bishop was to receive by the touch of the sceptre all the temporal rights and possessions of his see, and was to do homage and render faithful service in like manner as other

<sup>1</sup> *History of Latin Christianity*, vol. iii, p. 511.

feudatories of the empire. It seems to us strange that a decision so simple and so equitable could not be reached without the horrors of civil war and bloodshed protracted for nearly seventy years. As long as the bishops were feudal princes they had feudal obligations, and were properly subject to the emperor; as spiritual officers they were just as properly subject to the pope.<sup>1</sup>

Two questions remain to be considered: (1) On what documentary grounds did the papal claims of supremacy rest? And (2) What was the fate of these claims after the Concordat of Worms? To the first question it may be answered in a general way that the authority of Peter was asserted as the inheritance of the papacy; but if this authority belongs to the successors of St. Peter the decretals of all the bishops of Rome would show the fact. Now the only genuine decretals of the popes in existence begin with the pontificate of Siricius (384–398), and had been collected and made public in the first half of the sixth century. The claims of Gregory and his successors rested for documentary authority on the greatest and most successful forgeries ever perpetrated in the history of the world. These are the spurious Isidorian decretals, which first appeared a little before the reign of Charlemagne, and which assumed to be decrees issued by the early popes from Clement (92) to Melchisedes (310). To these were added, besides other forgeries, a mixture of genuine and spurious decrees of popes from Siricius (384) to Gregory II (715); in all about one hundred pretended papal decretals. The name taken by the compiler was Isidore Mercator, and as the compilation was supposed to come from Spain the name was easily confounded with that of Isidore of Seville, a canonist of a former time of great fame. Riculfus, Archbishop of Mainz from 784 to 814, is believed to be the real author of these forged decretals; but it is probable, says Lea, "that the whole series grew by gradual accretion under

<sup>1</sup>See for Concordat of Worms, Milman's *History of Latin Christianity*, vol. iv, p. 145.

the hands of those who were watching the progress of events and who became emboldened by the ease with which they escaped detection.”<sup>1</sup> Charlemagne paid little attention to them; he governed his empire by his own capitularies; but in the weakening of the civil power which followed his death the decretals obtained the force of authority both in Church and state. Nicholas I, whose reign began in 858, was the first pope who assumed the forged decretals to be genuine; and by means of them he subdued and humbled King Lothair. Succeding popes followed his example, assumed the doctrines of the decretals in their letters and instructions, and so built up the system of papal law which was wielded with such power by Hildebrand.

The points asserted in the forged decretals were: (1) That the spiritual power represented by St. Peter is superior to the temporal represented by the empire; (2) That the decrees of provincial synods must be ratified by the pope in order to be valid: (3) That all important causes relating to the Church must be decided by the pope; (4) That no spiritual person can be judged by a temporal tribunal. Stated briefly, therefore, the aim of these forgeries was to make it “appear that in the first ages of the Church the Roman pontiffs were clothed with the same spiritual majesty and supreme authority which they now assumed.”<sup>2</sup> “The false decretals,” says Milman, “do not merely assert the supremacy of the popes; they comprehend the whole dogmatic system and discipline of the Church, the whole hierarchy, from the highest to the lowest degree, their sanctity and immunities, their persecutions, their disputes, their right of appeal to Rome.”<sup>3</sup> The internal evidences of forgery are so palpable that the genuineness of the decretals has been given up by Catholics themselves. But such was their authority for eight hundred years that Gregory IX (1227–1241) incorporated

<sup>1</sup> *Studies in Church History*, p. 49. See also, on the pseudo-Isidorian and other spurious decretals, Janus, *The Pope and the Council*, pp. 94–150.

<sup>2</sup> Mosheim, as quoted in Thompson's *Papacy and the Civil Power*, p. 389.

<sup>3</sup> *History of Latin Christianity*, vol. iii, p. 59.

them in his codification of all papal decretals. They also formed a part of the canon law compiled by Gratian of Bologna about the middle of the twelfth century. Incorporated with the forged decretals, and helping to give them effect, was the so-called Donation of Constantine to Sylvester I. It affirms that this emperor "transferred the seat of empire and founded his new Rome for the single purpose of relinquishing to the popes the sole and undisputed possession of the West and of rendering the successors of St. Peter the legitimate heirs and successors of Augustus."<sup>1</sup> This forgery appeared in the eighth century, and was a favorite weapon in the papal armory.

As to the fate of the papal claims after the death of Gregory VII, it may be said that although he had won a victory it required the genius and energy of a long series of successors to make his victory good. It is not practicable, full as this history is of interest, to follow it in detail. Hadrian IV (1154-1159) in the twelfth century, in the height of his struggle with Frederick Barbarossa, declared: "For this reason are we placed above nations and kingdoms that we may destroy and pluck up, build and plant. So great is the power of Peter that whatever is done by us worthily and righteously must be believed to be done by God." In the thirteenth century Pope Innocent III (1198-1216) successfully maintained "the essential inherent supremacy of the spiritual over the temporal power, as of the soul over the body, as of eternity over time, as of God over man." In the same century Pope Gregory IX (1227-1241) declared that "kings and princes were humbly to repose themselves on the lap of priests, Christian emperors were bound to submit themselves, not only to the supreme pontiff, but even to other bishops. The apostolic see was the judge of the whole world." In the same century, Pope Innocent IV (1243-1254) asserts: "Christ founded not only a pontificate but a royal sovereignty, and committed to Peter the rule both of an earthly

<sup>1</sup> Lea, *Studies in Church History*, p. 165.



and a heavenly kingdom, as is indicated and visibly proved by the plurality of the keys. The power of the sword is in the Church and derived from the Church."

This assertion of supremacy over the state culminated at the beginning of the fourteenth century in the famous bull *Unam Sanctam*, issued by Boniface VIII (1294-1303). "There are," says this pope, "two swords, the spiritual and the temporal: the one, the spiritual, to be used by the Church; the other, the material, for the Church: the former, that of the priest; the latter, that of kings and soldiers, to be wielded at the command and the sufferance of the priests. One sword must be under the other, the temporal under the spiritual. The spiritual instituted the temporal power, and judges whether that power is well exercised. If the temporal power errs, it is judged by the spiritual. We, therefore, assert and pronounce that it is necessary to salvation to believe that every human being is subject to the Pontiff of Rome." Nor did the popes of this period and subsequent ages rest content upon mere assertion. They applied the principle of supremacy over the state with unflinching courage. King John (1199-1216) of England conveyed his realm to Innocent III as a fief, and did homage to the pope as his temporal lord. This was done by the king to escape the penalties of excommunication and interdict. When the barons had wrested from their king *Magna Charta*, the foundation of English freedom, Innocent forbade the king to observe it, the barons to enforce it, and declared it null and void. "Paul III," says M'Clintock, "in 1536 and 1538 deposed and damned Henry VIII of England and absolved his subjects from all oaths of allegiance; Pius V, in 1570, uttered a bull against Queen Elizabeth, in which, 'out of the fullness of apostolic power,' he deprived the said queen of her 'pretended title to the kingdom,' and released her subjects from 'all manner of duty, dominion, allegiance, and obedience.'"<sup>1</sup>

In resisting these papal pretensions the emperors fought ■

<sup>1</sup> *Temporal Power of the Popes*, pp. 84, 85.



losing battle. Under Frederick Barbarossa (1152–1190), who was in power at home almost a second Charlemagne, the effort was made under the best possible conditions and failed. Frederick, says Bryce, “was a sort of imperialist Hildebrand strenuously proclaiming the immediate dependence of his office on God’s gift, and holding it every whit as sacred as his rival’s. On his first journey to Rome he refused to hold the pope’s stirrup, as Lothair had done, till Hadrian IV’s threats that he would withhold the crown enforced compliance.”<sup>1</sup> A Lombard league supported the popes, and Frederick was so badly defeated in the battle of Legnano (May 29, 1176) that he made a peace which left the substantial victory on the papal side. Under Frederick II (1212–1250) a long and deadly war with the papacy was waged, but the popes abated not a whit of their lofty assumptions, and in the end remained masters of the field. In truth, the forces of civilization fought on the side of the popes. A great spiritual monarchy alone could curb the injustice, violence, and oppression of the feudal system. The Church had led the Teutonic peoples up from barbarism, and its hold upon them was justified by the long exercise of its beneficent power. The independence of the papacy was essential to the prosecution of its work in that rude age. Inspired by the idea of lordship over the world, the papacy rose to its highest splendor; sank again into the lowest deep of iniquity it had ever known, until Christendom demanded reformation and reformation was achieved.

The power over the state is still asserted, and has been expressed in our time with renewed emphasis by Pius IX. The claim of supremacy over the state has not been confined to the Middle Ages. Although the papal interdicts no longer excite the terror of mankind, the papacy none the less asserts its principles. The Syllabus of 1864 set forth by Pius IX affirms all that was affirmed by the mediæval popes. When the new Belgian constitution was adopted in 1832 Gregory XVI issued

<sup>1</sup> *The Holy Roman Empire*, p. 169.

an encyclical in which he declared freedom of conscience to be an insane folly, and the freedom of the press detestable. In the encyclical letter which precedes the Syllabus of 1864 Pius IX recites with approval the very words of Gregory XVI on these points. In an allocution dated June 22, 1868, Pius IX declared the new constitution of Austria to be null and void: "By our apostolic authority we reject and condemn the above-mentioned (new Austrian) laws in general, and in particular all that has been ordered, done, or enacted in these and in other things against the rights of the Church by the Austrian government or its subordinates; by the same authority we declare these laws and their consequences to have been, and to be for the future, null and void. We exhort and adjure their authors, especially those who call themselves Catholics, and all who have dared to propose, to accept, to approve, and to execute them, to remember the censures and spiritual penalties incurred *ipso facto*, according to the apostolical constitutions and decrees of the ecumenical councils, by those who violate the rights of the Church."<sup>1</sup>

## NOTES TO CHAPTER XXXIII.

### CONDENSED STATEMENT OF COUNCILS, POPES, AND EMPERORS.

#### I. COUNCILS.

1. Council of Nice, A. D. 325, at Nicæa, Bithynia. Established the divinity of the Son, in the sense that he is of the same substance with the Father.

2. Council of Constantinople, A. D. 381, at Constantinople. Reaffirmed the divinity of Christ against the Arians, and defined the divinity and personality of the Holy Spirit. Condemned Apollinarianism.

3. Council of Ephesus, A. D. 431, at Ephesus. Condemned Nestorius, but made no distinct declaration upon the relation to each other of the two natures in the person of Christ.

4. Council of Chalcedon, A. D. 451, at Chalcedon, opposite Constantinople. Defined the relation to each other of the two natures in the person of Christ as against Nestorianism on the one hand and Eutychianism on the other.

5. Second Council of Constantinople, A. D. 553, at Constantinople. Repeated the condemnation of the Eutychian or Monophysite view of the relation to each other of the two natures of Christ.

<sup>1</sup> Janus, *The Pope and the Council*, p. 28.

6. Third Council of Constantinople, A. D. 680-681. Condemned the Monothelites, who affirmed that Christ has one will only. Declared two wills in Christ, the human will being subordinate to the divine.

7. Second Council of Nice, at Nicæa, A. D. 787, sanctioned image worship.

These seven are called Ecumenical Councils because their decisions are accepted by both the Greek and Roman Churches. The first of Nice and that of Chalcedon are the most important ; the fifth and sixth virtually complete the work of the fourth. The so-called Ecumenical Councils assembled by the Latin Church are not recognized by the Greeks. The chief councils recognized by the Latins are :

8. Fourth of Constantinople, 869. Deposed the Greek patriarch Photius.

9. First Lateran, 1123. Confirmed Concordat of Worms (1122).

10. Second Lateran, 1139. Settled quarrels about papacy.

11. Third Lateran, 1179. Regulated elections of popes and condemned the Waldenses.

12. Fourth Lateran, 1215. First council to use the term transubstantiation.

13. First of Lyons, 1245. Deposed the emperor Frederick II.

14. Second of Lyons, 1274. Reunion of the East and West considered.

15. Vienne, 1311-1312. Suppressed the Templars.

16. Constance, 1414-1418. Condemned John Huss, and asserted the authority of the council over the pope.

17. Ferrara-Florence,<sup>1</sup> 1438-1439. Tried to unite the Greeks and Latins.

18. Fifth Lateran, 1512-1517. Declared the Church sufficiently reformed.

19. Trent, 1545-1563. Defined Catholic faith.

20. Vatican, 1869-1870. Declared the infallibility of the pope.

## II. POPES.

In classifying the popes we select leading characters and events. The order of succession of the first bishops of Rome is obscure ; but beginning with Clement, A. D. 92, we have :

1. From Clement to Leo the Great, or to the full assertion of papal prerogative, A. D. 92 to A. D. 440-461.

2. From Leo the Great, 461, to Gregory the Great, 590-604, or to the papacy as a leading factor in the life of the Middle Ages.

3. From Gregory the Great to the crowning of Charlemagne by Pope Leo III, 800, or to the union of the papacy with the Frankish power.

4. From the crowning of Charlemagne, 800, to Hildebrand or Gregory VII, 1073-1085 ; that is, to the beginning of the conflict of the Church and empire for the supremacy.

5. From Gregory VII to the beginning of the decline of the papal power under Boniface VIII, 1294-1303, and the beginning of the Babylonian captivity, 1305. This is the period of the greatest splendor of the papacy.

6. From the Babylonian captivity, 1305-1377, to the beginning of the

<sup>1</sup> The Council of Ferrara-Florence was convened by Pope Eugenius IV in opposition to the Council of Basle (1431-1449), which deposed him. It was composed in part of the papal minority which withdrew from Basle. The Council of Ferrara-Florence ■ considered a continuation of the first sessions of Basle by Catholic historians, the Council of Basle being only accepted in part. The councils of Vienne, Constance, and the Fifth Lateran are also disputed.

schism, 1378. During this period the papacy is wholly under French influence, and the popes live at Avignon, France.

7. The papal schism from 1378 to 1417, the date of the election of Pope Martin V, or to 1428, the date of the submission of Clement VIII. A period of decline.

8. From the election of Martin V, 1417, to Leo X, 1513-1521. The period of the infection of the papacy with the pagan spirit and of its deepest corruption.

### III. EMPERORS.

1. From the first emperor, Augustus, B. C. 27-A. D. 14, to Vespasian, A. D. 69, and the destruction of Jerusalem, A. D. 70.

2. From the beginning of the reign of Vespasian, A. D. 69, to the close of the reign of Marcus Aurelius, A. D. 180. The flourishing period of the empire.

3. From the reign of Commodus, A. D. 180, to the triumph of Constantine over Licinius, A. D. 323. The supplanting of heathenism by Christianity.

4. From the sole reign of Constantine to the division of the empire between the sons of Theodosius I: Honorius in the West, A. D. 395-423; Arcadius in the East, A. D. 395-408. The period of the abandonment of Roman traditions and the putting on by the emperors of oriental manners. This change began with Diocletian, A. D. 284-305.

5. From the division of the empire, A. D. 395, to the fall of the empire of the West, under Romulus Augustulus, A. D. 476. The period of the Gothic irruptions.

6. From the fall of the West to the reorganization of the Roman empire, under Charlemagne, 800. The period of Justinian, followed by the Mohammedan invasions in the East and the ascendancy of the Franks in the West.

7. From the crowning of Charlemagne, 800, to the crowning of Otho the Great as emperor, 962. The period of the growth of separate nationalities in Western Europe and of the decline, after Charlemagne, of his empire.

8. From the crowning of Otho the Great, 962, to the struggle with the papacy over the right of investiture, 1073. The period of the revival of the glory of Charlemagne's empire.

9. From the struggle between Henry IV and Hildebrand, 1073, to the Concordat of Worms agreed to by Henry V and Calixtus II, 1122.

10. From Henry V and the Concordat of Worms, 1122, to the accession of Charles V, 1519.

### IV. IMPERIAL LINES IN THE WEST.

#### 1. *Saxon Emperors.*

Otho I. ....	936 or 962-973	Otho II. ....	973-983
(936 is the date of accession ; 962,		Otho III. ....	983-1002
date of crowning by the pope.)		Henry II. ....	1002-1024

#### 2. *Franconian Emperors.*

Conrad II. ....	1024-1039	Henry V. ....	1106-1125
Henry III. ....	1039-1056	Lothair II. ....	1125-1137
Henry IV. ....	1056-1106		

3. *Swabian Emperors.*

Conrad III.....	1137-1152	Otho IV, alone.....	1208-1212
Frederick I, Barbarossa..	1152-1190	Frederick II.....	1212-1250
Henry VI.....	1190-1197	Conrad IV.....	1250-1254
Philip and Otho IV.....	1198-1208	The Great Interregnum...	1254-1273

4. *Hapsburg Emperors.*

From Rudolph, 1273, to Sigismund.....	1410	From Albert II, son-in-law of Sigismund, 1438, to Charles V.....	1519
Sigismund, King of Bohe- mia.....	1410-1437	Charles V .....	1519-1558

Rudolph "restored peace and order, never visited Italy, escaped the ruinous quarrels with the pope, built up a German kingdom, and laid the foundation of the conservative, orthodox, tenacious, and selfish house of Austria."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Schaft, *Church History*, vol. iv, p. 259.

## CHAPTER XXXIV.

## THE INQUISITION.

WE are now to enter upon the history of an institution which is peculiar to the Latin Church, and which has had no parallel in the experience of mankind. Roman emperors while still heathen put Christians to death, but they created no department of state charged with the function of searching for them. Under Theodosius in the year 385 the first blood of Christian heretics was shed by Christians. Priscillian and his six associates were then executed in the same Gaul where afterward the Inquisition had its rise. During the period from 385 to 1229 bishops had punished heretical opinions and heretics as these had appeared within the limits of their jurisdiction. But in the Council of Toulouse we have the beginnings of a papal system for the detection and punishment of heresy which was designed to embrace the whole domain of the Church. With Rome as the centre of authority it worked its will in every province of Latin Christianity except England. Its terrible power was felt in France, Spain, the Netherlands, Germany, Portugal, Italy, Spanish America, and Portuguese Asia. Repressed and frequently suppressed on the continent of Europe, it has lasted until our own time, having been extinguished in Italy as late as 1870. Thus for more than six hundred years it has often been the terror and always the disgrace of Christendom.

Distinguishing, therefore, between the sporadic punishment of heretics and the establishment of a special office for the detection and punishment of heresy, which only is the Inquisition, we may call the Statutes of Toulouse (1229) its first charter. The object of these statutes was, not only to punish the public exhibition of heretical opinions, but also to search



into the privacy of domestic life and the recesses of the heart. Inquisitors were to be appointed to examine all houses for heretics, and to secure the arrest of such as were found. Every house in which a heretic was concealed was to be pulled down. Heretics who recanted were to wear two crosses of distinguishing color on their clothes; those who recanted from fear of punishment were to be imprisoned for life. All persons were to take an oath of abjuration of heresy, and if not appearing for the purpose in fifteen days were to be held as suspected. No one suspected of heresy could practice as a physician or fill any office of trust. A subsequent council held at Melun set a reward of one mark on the head of every heretic, to be paid to the captor. This was the beginning of a system which associates with the name of religion refinements of cruelty before unknown to men.

In the year 1215, fourteen years before the framing of the Statutes of Toulouse, Pope Innocent III called the fourth Lateran Council, at which canons were enacted that every bishop should once a year make inquisition for and punish heretics, and that all secular princes should take oath to root out heresy from their dominions. Thus the process of growth from the episcopal pursuit of heretics to the performance of this service by special legates of the popes, and on to the committal of this function to the Dominicans, can be readily traced. The Inquisition was not the creation of Dominic, nor of Innocent III, nor of his successors, nor of any one mind or any one generation; it was an outgrowth of the papacy, which required more than a century for its maturing. The popes who had most to do with its development were Innocent III (1198-1216), Gregory IX (1227-1241), and Innocent IV (1243-1254). Other popes, however, assisted; for instance, Urban IV (1261-1264) appointed an inquisitor-general before whom all appeals might be heard. The Dominicans were established as inquisitors in Toulouse in 1234; in 1255, at the request of St. Louis, Pope Alexander IV appointed "the provincial of the

Dominicans and the guardian of the Franciscans inquisitors-general for France." The establishment of the Inquisition, however, was resisted by the French parliament, from jealousy of papal interference with the lives and property of Frenchmen. As a papal institution the Inquisition never was more than partially successful in France; the searching for heresy and heretics was left to the bishops and secular authorities. The ill-omened Bastille of Paris was built by Charles V, in 1369, as a prison for heretics, and its first occupant was the man who laid the corner stone (Aubriot), who was committed on a charge of heresy. After this the papal Inquisition declined until it was revived to put down the Protestants.

Spain received the Inquisition from Gregory IX under the authority of a bull dated May 26, 1232. Dominicans were appointed to be the administrators. Here it flourished as nowhere else. The objects of the Spanish Inquisition were Jews and Moors, who under compulsion had embraced Christianity, but whose fidelity to the faith was suspected. The Moors were also an anti-national element of the population, and on that ground objects of hatred; in addition both Moors and Jews were wealthy, so that the confiscation of their estates was a source of large revenue. Under Ferdinand and Isabella, who had united the kingdoms of Castile and Aragon and were expelling the Moors from Granada, the system known as the Spanish Inquisition received its complete form. In 1477 Philip de Barberi, a Sicilian inquisitor, came to the court and asked for the privilege of reorganizing the Inquisition upon the Sicilian model. King Ferdinand wanted money and was promised the proceeds of the confiscations. Isabella was devout and was stirred by the picture of the desecration of Spain wrought by heresy. Under the advice of Cardinal Mendoza the constitution of the Inquisition was recast and sanctioned by a papal bull published in 1480. Torquemada was named inquisitor-general, of whom Llorente says that "it was hardly possible that there could have been another man so capable of

fulfilling the intentions of King Ferdinand by multiplying confiscations; those of the court of Rome, by propagating their jurisdictional and pecuniary maxims, and those of the projectors of the Inquisition, by infusing terror into the people by public executions."<sup>1</sup> Associated with him were two assessors and three king's counsellors. These formed the supreme council, under which were subordinate tribunals. In time the supreme council was enlarged and consisted of an inquisitor-general and six counsellors, besides other officers. Each provincial tribunal was administered by three inquisitors. "The inquisitor-general," says Rule, "exerted an absolute power over every Spanish subject, so that he almost ceased to be himself a subject."

The Inquisition began its work with such energy that two thousand Jews were burned in the year 1481 alone in the dioceses of Cadiz and Seville. Besides these seventeen thousand persons were subjected in that year to cruel penance.<sup>2</sup> The rage against the Jews knew no bounds. Those who had under compulsion professed the Christian faith, but retained any of the old Jewish customs, who had eaten meat in Lent, or whose friends had turned their faces to the wall when dying, were arrested by the Inquisition and punished. In 1492 Torquemada obtained from his sovereigns an order for the expulsion of the Jews from Spain, which he executed with unflinching severity. "Some perished at sea by wreck, disease, violence, or fire; and some by famine, exhaustion, or murder on inhospitable shores. Many were sold for slaves, many were thrown overboard by savage captains. Parents sold their children for money to buy food."<sup>3</sup> Eight hundred thousand persons, many of them wealthy, were lost to Spain by this proceeding of Torquemada. The expulsion of the Jews was followed by the expulsion of the Moors, which Torquemada directed but did not live to execute. It was not wholly effected till 1609, under

<sup>1</sup> Rule, *History of the Inquisition*, vol. i, p. 128.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. i, p. 133.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. i, p. 149.

King Philip III. The Jews and Moors thus expelled formed some three millions of the most prosperous and intelligent part of the population of Spain. Besides the losses to Spain by expulsion, Llorente estimates the results of the Spanish Inquisition in the time of Torquemada as follows: Burnt at the stake, 10,220; burnt in effigy, 6,860; punished with infamy, confiscation, imprisonment, or loss of civil rights, 97,321; a total of 114,401.

It may be readily imagined that Torquemada suffered the terrors of an evil conscience. To insure his personal safety, he never traveled without an armed bodyguard of two hundred and fifty familiars of the Inquisition. He was succeeded by Deza and Cardinal Ximenes, the latter of whom, despite his patronage of learning, is answerable for the murder of thirty-five hundred persons and the ruin in all worldly conditions of forty-eight thousand more. In butchery Ximenes exceeded Deza, who is charged by Llorente with burning 2,592 persons and ruining by penances 38,440. So suspicious were the inquisitors at all times that Ignatius Loyola, the founder of the Jesuits, was imprisoned by them at Salamanca, whither he had come to attend the university. The inquisitors, not satisfied with their work upon land, tried to add the sea to their domain, and under authority of a bull of Pius V (1571) established a search for heresy in ships. In every seaport of Spain a commissary visited each outgoing vessel to ascertain if heretical books or anything else heretical was on board. But human nature could not endure this incessant interference with civil life; the municipal authorities grew more and more restive under inquisitorial rule. The Inquisition declined in Spain from the seventeenth century, and was abolished, as we shall see, in the next century by Napoleon I. Spain carried her system of inquisition into all her dependencies and colonies. Charles V, the emperor, gave the Holy Office in 1520 to Spanish America; but his son, Philip II, organized it thoroughly, establishing three central tribunals at Lima, Mexico, and Carthagen (1571).

We know that there was an *auto-da-fé* in Mexico as early as in 1547, the year that Cortez, its conqueror, died. Dr. Rule says that the Spanish inquisitor was "hot, vengeful, and improvident," and that the Portuguese was "a Spaniard very deeply vulgarized. He could not be more cruel, but he was more disgustingly brutal in his cruelty."

Portugal received the Inquisition under a bull of Pope Paul III in 1536. The Protestants were included with the Jews as its objects. The bull named three bishops to be commissioners, under an inquisitor-in-chief. A supreme council which sat twice a week was established at Lisbon. The Jews, who had been offered the choice of leaving the kingdom or accepting Christianity, had, in large numbers, made a formal profession of the faith. They were known as the "New Christians," and were objects of suspicion to the inquisitors. Many of them purchased exemption from suffering by money, while others, in large numbers, were imprisoned and tortured. In 1690 they sent a deputation to Pope Alexander VIII, imploring his intervention in behalf of five hundred of their people, of both sexes, who had been in the prisons of the Inquisition, some for fourteen years and none less than seven years. At Lisbon the place for the punishment of heretics was the waterside; the victims were executed in the presence of a mob, which urged on the inquisitors to all manner of barbarities. Even the great earthquake at Lisbon (1755) did not stop the bloody work. It was not till 1821, when Portugal formed a new constitution, that the Holy Office was suppressed in that kingdom. As in the Spanish colonies of the West, so in the Portuguese colonies of the East the Inquisition was duly set up. Its chief centre was Goa, on the west coast of India, and among its victims were the poor Nestorians. Here the tribunal of the Inquisition lasted till after 1812.

We will not follow the details of the history of the Inquisition in Italy, where it was established in the thirteenth century. As Italy was divided into many states the opera-



tions of the Holy Office varied greatly. The Waldenses were, at times, the special objects of its zeal. In the year 1542 Paul III reorganized the Inquisition by establishing a central tribunal at Rome, with universal jurisdiction. Six cardinals were to be commissaries and inquisitors-general, with authority to appoint subordinate inquisitors throughout the world. The Spanish inquisitors were, however, exempted from the supervision of this Roman tribunal. The Holy Office was established in the Netherlands under the authority of Charles V, in 1522. Charles appointed Francis Van der Hulst inquisitor-general for the provinces. Van der Hulst was succeeded, among others, by the notorious Peter Titelman. The powers of the Inquisition were steadily increased, until, in 1550, the civil authority was made subordinate to it. In rapid execution Titelman exceeded Torquemada. Some one asked Philip II, the son and successor of Charles V, to introduce the Spanish Inquisition into the Netherlands. "Wherefore," replied he, "introduce the Spanish Inquisition? The Inquisition of the Netherlands is more pitiless than that of Spain." In their rage for murder the inquisitors at length issued a decree (February 16, 1568) condemning the whole population of the Netherlands to death. All, without regard to age or sex, were doomed to slaughter. "From this universal doom," says Motley, "only a few persons especially named were excepted. A proclamation of the king, dated ten days later, confirmed this decree of the Inquisition, and ordered it to be carried into instant execution."<sup>1</sup> That the Inquisition was one cause of the revolt of the Netherlands against Spain there can be no question. The Inquisition was brought into Germany between 1231 and 1233; it was not till a century later that it was thoroughly established there. It made, however, no such progress in Germany as in Spain and Portugal.

We possess two authentic documents which contain the rules of procedure adopted by the Inquisition; the one is the *Directo-*

<sup>1</sup> *Rise of the Dutch Republic*, vol. ii, p. 158.



*rium Inquisitorum* of Nicholas Eymerich, inquisitor-general of Castile for forty years from 1356, and for nearly as many of Aragon; the other, the *Liber Sententiarum* of the tribunal at Toulouse, from 1308 to 1322. Eymerich's rules of procedure are such as the following: The testimony of all sorts of persons, even criminals, may be taken in cases of heresy; fathers and sons may testify against each other. The accused must not see the witnesses against him nor know who they are. False witnesses, who have caused the death of an innocent person, may be required to do penance. A confession may be secured by sending spies to talk in prison with accused persons. The confession, once extracted, is sufficient evidence without other testimony. The advocate of the supposed heretic must be chosen by the inquisitors and must swear to abandon the case as soon as the heresy is proved. If heresy is suspected and there is only one witness, torture may be used for securing full proof. Or if the principal fact is confessed, but circumstances are denied, the person may be tortured. Even the opinion that Christ and his disciples did not possess property was a ground of suspicion, and the person holding it was required to make abjuration. As soon as the sentence is pronounced the property of a heretic is confiscated, and his children and children's children are infamous. For heretics convicted, but repentant, perpetual imprisonment is granted as a concession. Heresy is presumed in those who blaspheme God when half drunk or who talk heretically in sleep. All who harbored heretics, or gave them food, or looked ill at an inquisitor, or hindered the Inquisition, were obnoxious to the penalties of the Holy Office. This, according to an inquisitor of forty years' experience, was the system. It could only barbarize the nation by which it was accepted. We have no means of ascertaining accurately the number of the victims of the Inquisition. In its history, everywhere, there were times of greater and of less activity; and to this fact even Spain was no exception. Llorente gives the aggregate of the victims in this kingdom from the

time of Torquemada to 1809 as follows: Burnt alive, 31,912; burnt in effigy, 17,659; penitents, imprisoned, etc., 291,450; making a total of 341,021.<sup>1</sup> For the honor of human nature it is to be hoped that this summary is exaggerated. Llorente was secretary of the Inquisition at Madrid from 1789 to 1791. After its suppression by Napoleon he spent several years in examining its archives. He has been charged with inexactness, and there are critics who do not rank him high as an historian. "At the same time," says Lecky, "Llorente has adduced some fearful evidence of particular instances of persecution, which seem to show that his grand total is scarcely as improbable as might be supposed."<sup>2</sup> Paul Sarpi estimates the number of persons put to death in the Netherlands during the reign of Charles V at fifty thousand, and Grotius at one hundred thousand; either number exceeds the number given by Llorente for Spain during more than three hundred years.

Wherever the first Napoleon carried his victorious arms he abolished this infamous institution. When he entered Ancona, Italy, in 1797, he called into his presence the local heads of the Church. Turning to the vicar of the Inquisition, he said, "Your tribunal is suppressed from this moment; there shall be no more butchers." When he entered Madrid in 1808 the council of the Inquisition refused submission to him; by a brief order he abolished it, arrested the inquisitors, and sequestered their revenues. When Frederick VII returned to power, in 1814, he restored the Holy Office. From 1820 to 1823 it was suspended; in 1823 the so-called Tribunal of the Faith, which was the Inquisition under a new name, took its place and lasted till the revolution of 1868. In 1809 the army of Napoleon entered Rome and demolished in part the prisons of the Inquisition. After his fall it was renewed, but without its old power. When Pius IX fled from the city in 1849 the prisons of the Inquisition were broken open again and

<sup>1</sup> Rule, *History of the Inquisition*, vol. i, p. 290.

<sup>2</sup> *History of Rationalism in Europe*, vol. ii, p. 40, note.

two persons, an aged bishop and a nun, found there. When the pope returned to Rome under French protection the Inquisition was established again, and lived a feeble life till 1870, when the occupation of the city by Victor Emmanuel suppressed it forever.

## NOTES TO CHAPTER XXXIV.

### I. CATHOLIC DEFENSE OF THE INQUISITION.

The Catholic historian Alzog admits the facts in relation to the Inquisition, but makes these pleas in abatement of censure: 1. That the Albigenses were malignant heretics and dangerous to Church and state. 2. That to be just to the Middle Ages they should be judged by the principles and ideas of those times, and not our own. 3. That Luther, Melancthon, and Calvin supported coercive measures against dissenters from their faith. 4. That the Spanish Inquisition was different from that established by the holy see, and that it was a national institution. 5. That the Churchmen associated with the lay inquisitors in Spain mitigated the severities of the Holy Office, and that this is true of Torquemada and Deza. 6. That even if Llorente's assertions be admitted it is more than paralleled by the bloody conflicts brought on Europe by the introduction of Protestantism. The advantage, indeed, is on the side of Spain.<sup>1</sup> In reply it may be said: 1. It is denied that the Albigenses were dangerous to the state. Count Raymond, of Toulouse, their sovereign, saw no reason for killing them. The fact that they were dangerous to the Church does not justify torture. 2. Judged even by the principles of the Middle Ages the Inquisition cannot be acquitted of barbarity. It exceeded in cruelty all that the Middle Ages had before conceived. 3. Luther and Melancthon were opposed to coercion in religion. The Protestant world quickly condemned Calvin's participation in the burning of Servetus. 4. The Spanish Inquisition was chartered by the holy see, and the charter could have been revoked by the pope at any time. Its administrators, the Dominicans, also had their charter from the holy see, and were under its supervision. 5. That the Churchmen associated with the lay inquisitors in Spain mitigated the horrors of the Inquisition is contradicted by its history. 6. The Church of Rome is responsible for the conflicts which made the establishment of Protestantism in Europe so bloody. It instigated the wars waged against the Protestants.

### II. BIBLIOGRAPHY.

The following books may be consulted on this subject: H. C. Lea's *History of the Inquisition of the Middle Ages*, 3 vols., New York, 1887; also the same author's *Chapters from the Religious History of Spain Connected with the Inquisition*, Philadelphia, 1890; W. H. Rule's *History of the Inquisition*, 2 vols., London, 1874; Llorente's *History of the Inquisition in Spain*, abridged translation, Philadelphia, 1843; Motley's *Rise of the Dutch Republic*, vol. i; W. H. Lecky's *History of Rationalism in Europe*, 2 vols., New York, 1887, chap. iv. See also "Dominic and the Inquisition," in E. Lawrence's *Historical Studies*, New York, 1876.

<sup>1</sup> *Universal Church History*, vol. ii, pp. 979-987.

## CHAPTER XXXV.

## THE RELIGIOUS ORDERS.

THE history of the religious orders of the Latin Church discloses two important facts: (1) They are at all times the right arm of the papacy. (2) They run in the uniform course of a beginning in austerity and poverty, a growth in wealth and consequent luxury, and an end in corruption. They furnish missionaries, saints, restorers of the Church, and popes; but as well they furnish hordes of ignorant monks whose sensuality is a byword and reproach. St. Bernard from his monastery in Clairvaux rules Western Christendom, and leaves to the Church a shining example of piety. St. Thomas Aquinas builds up the subtle fabric of scholastic theology; but, on the other hand, the dirty begging friar is the butt of the wit of Chaucer and Erasmus, and the followers of St. Dominic organize the most remorseless system of cruelty the world has ever seen. Nothing shows the inexhaustible vitality of the Latin Church so well as the recuperative power of monasticism. New orders spring up to replace the old, which have been corrupted by prosperity, and each new order is severer and austerer than its predecessors. In the line of succession a distinct progress can be perceived. Thus monasticism is in the beginning a hermit life, then an associated life; the associated life is at first contemplative, and then active in missions and charity. In the period of the Crusades the determination toward war is so strong that military orders of monks are created; finally monasticism leaves its secluded retreats and the preaching friars spread themselves all over Europe. Going out of the world and returning to the world again, the circle is made complete; yet in every change the corporate spirit of the system asserts itself with all-controlling power.

During the eighth century great efforts were made to arrest the decline of monastic discipline. The rule of St. Benedict in 742 was made obligatory by law in all the monasteries of the Frankish empire. But even Catholic writers admit the general depravation at this time of monastic morals. The monks of Cluny (910) led the way in the restoration of purity; they followed Benedict's rule, and in the twelfth century had two thousand houses, chiefly in France. Bernard of Cluny, or Bernard of Morlaix, as he is sometimes called, is the author of one of the sweetest hymns on heaven extant. It is known in English as "Mother dear, Jerusalem," or "Jerusalem the Golden," in Latin by its first words, *Hic breve vivitur*. The Cistercian order, founded in 1098, was made famous by Bernard of Clairvaux. His monastery was founded in 1116 in a valley long known as the Valley of Wormwood, but from his time called the clear valley (Clairvaux). Bernard was the epitome of his age: poet, preacher, saint, counsellor of popes, champion of orthodoxy as against the rationalism of Abelard, his extraordinary labors were only exceeded by his extraordinary virtues. His sweet, evangelical hymns, full of the fire of devotion, are still sung in all the churches. Such was his self-abnegation that he refused ecclesiastical preferment, and such was his power in preaching that "wives hurried away their husbands, mothers withdrew their sons, and friends their friends from the resistless magic of his eloquence."<sup>1</sup> From this order, says Alzog, the Catholic historian, "went forth great statesmen and rulers of the Church. To it does agriculture owe a large debt of gratitude, and the lower classes much of the amelioration of their condition. Its influence was everywhere felt; and even religious, usually very tenacious and jealous of their own rules and traditions, sometimes, reformed their own monasteries on the model of Clairvaux."<sup>2</sup>

But of all the romantic stories of the Middle Ages perhaps

<sup>1</sup> Milman, *History of Latin Christianity*, vol. iv, p. 164.

<sup>2</sup> *Universal Church History*, vol. ii, p. 687.



the most romantic is the story of the rise and growth of the military orders, the Templars, the Hospitallers or Knights of St. John, and the Teutonic Knights. Beginning in poverty, they grew to be the best organized armies of the times; acquired enormous wealth, sovereignty, and finally one of them, the Teutonic, laid the foundations of the kingdom of Prussia, which has become the German empire of our age. The Hospitallers originated in 1023 in Jerusalem. Some Christian merchants obtained permission of the Saracens to erect a hospice in that city for pilgrims coming to the holy sepulchre. The servitors in the hospice were called the Hospitaller Brothers of St. John the Baptist. The Turks, when they became masters of Jerusalem, drove them out and plundered their houses. Fired by both the crusading spirit and hatred of the Turks, they became a military order and spread all over Europe. In 1310 they captured Rhodes from the Saracens, held it for over two hundred years, and made it a base of operations against the infidels. "Their establishment in that island," says Milman, "became the bulwark, long the unconquerable outpost of Christendom in the East."<sup>1</sup> Driven in 1523 from Rhodes, in 1530 they retired to Malta, of which they were masters until 1798, when the island was surrendered by them to the French. The Knights of St. John still exist, though their importance has gone.

The Templars were founded (1118) by seven French knights, and their first name was "The Poor Soldiers of the Temple of Solomon." They commemorated their original poverty in their badge, which represented two knights mounted on one horse. The growth of this order was promoted by St. Bernard, who gave them the support of his matchless eloquence. He regarded them as "a perpetual sacred militia, which would conquer and maintain the sepulchre of the Lord, become the bodyguard of the Christian kings of Jerusalem, the standing army on the outposts of Christendom."<sup>2</sup> From the seven poor

<sup>1</sup> *History of Latin Christianity*, vol. vi, p. 390.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. vi, p. 385.



knights they grew to be fifteen thousand perfectly equipped, subject to no prince or king, taking the word of command only from their Grand Master, and ready for military service in the West or East. For two hundred years the Templars flourished, receiving increasing privileges from the popes and obtaining from the pious gifts of large estates. Their establishments in London and Paris rivalled in splendor the palaces of kings. Unfortunately for them, when they were driven from the East and, finally, from Cyprus they found no resting place on the borders of Christendom, but returned to the heart of Europe. Du Molay, the Grand Master, collected sixty knights and a large sum of treasure and started for Paris. "In this state, having landed in the south, and made his slow progress through France," says Milman, "he entered the capital and proceeded to the mansion of the order, in Paris as well as in London, the most spacious, the strongest, and even most magnificent edifice in the city. The treasure which Du Molay brought was reported to amount to the enormous sum of one hundred and fifty thousand golden florins and a vast quantity of silver."<sup>1</sup> That the Templars were rich, that they were his creditors, was enough for Philip the Fair. On a night in October, 1307, all the Templars in France were arrested. They were charged with infidelity and monstrous crimes; were tortured and shut up in dungeons. Some confessed under stress of pain, some died of their sufferings, some were burned at the stake. Du Molay died at the stake (1314), declaring that God would avenge him on his unrighteous judges. Pope Clement V and Philip the Fair both died within a year of Du Molay, and the popular feeling regarded their sudden deaths as the retribution of God. Clement V, lustful and avaricious, left an evil fame which is without a single redeeming feature, and Philip the Fair suffered in his family the deepest disgrace which a man can know. By such judges was the order of Templars suppressed.

The order of Teutonic Knights was founded, 1190, for the

<sup>1</sup> *History of Latin Christianity*, vol. vi, pp. 391, 392.

relief of German pilgrims in Jerusalem. Their service in the East done, they were assigned the task of converting the heathen nations of northeast Germany and Poland. "Theirs," says Milman, "was a complete Mohammedan invasion, the Gospel or the sword. The avowed object was the subjugation, the extermination if they would not be subjugated, of the Prussian, Lithuanian, Esthonian, and other kindred or coterminous tribes."<sup>1</sup> It was a new crusade, lasting for years, which drew to its ranks knights from all parts of Germany. They succeeded, became sovereigns of a population of nearly three millions, and founded many of the important cities on the shores of the Baltic. Albert of Brandenburg, who was Grand Master in the time of the Reformation, became a Lutheran, and formed that part of the territory of the order known as East Prussia into the duchy of Brandenburg, the nucleus of the kingdom of Prussia. The order survived till 1809, when it was abolished by Napoleon I.

But the growth of the hierarchy in power and the advance of the ritual in pomp and in magnificence removed the Church ever farther from the people. Preaching was little known; excepting to the learned Latin had become a dead language. The heretical sects, though feeble in numbers, were winning their way through the power of the purity and the moral earnestness of their leaders. Just at this juncture, at the opening of the thirteenth century, two monastic orders arose whose avowed object was by the acceptance of a more rigorous poverty than had yet been known, and by preaching, to win back to the Church the affections of the masses of society. These were the mendicant orders, founded by St. Dominic and St. Francis. Both orders agreed in accepting, not poverty, but beggary, as the condition of the lives of their members. The Dominican or the Franciscan monk was not to own the dress he wore; he was to subsist on alms; to be content with the coarsest fare and the meanest shelter; in a word, he must put himself on a level

<sup>1</sup> *History of Latin Christianity*, vol. vi, pp. 536, 537.

with the very humblest of mankind. He was not, however, to be a recluse; his business was to be abroad in the world, where men most congregate, and to preach to them the Church's Gospel.

Dominic was born of the noble house of Guzman, in 1170, at Calahorra in Old Castile, and was educated in the University of Valencia. As a student he was most laborious, abstinent, and charitable. Securing the friendship of the Bishop of Osma, he traveled with his friend through the south of France, where the Albigensian heresy had broken out. Meeting there three papal legates, who had come with the usual parade of luxury and wealth, and had failed to reconcile the heretics to the Church, Dominic rebuked them in words which became memorable: "It is not by the display of power and pomp, cavalcades of retainers, and richly houseled palfreys or by gorgeous apparel that the heretics win proselytes; it is by zealous preaching, by apostolic humility, by austerity, by seeming, it is true, but yet seeming holiness. Zeal must be met by zeal, humility by humility, false sanctity by real sanctity, preaching falsehood by preaching truth."<sup>1</sup> From that time Dominic devoted himself to preaching; preached himself with power; and in 1215 obtained from Pope Innocent III the charter of the order of friars preachers (*Ordo Praedicatorum*). "That the members of the new order might be free to devote themselves entirely to their spiritual labors, they were forbidden to accept any property requiring their active administration, but were permitted to receive the income of such as was administered by others. Property might, therefore, be held by the order as a body, but not administered by its members."<sup>2</sup>

What was Dominic's share in the founding of the Inquisition? Did he take part in the horrible persecution of the Albigenses of southern France? That the Dominicans were the administrators of the Inquisition we all know; and that popular Catholic history

<sup>1</sup> Milman, *History of Latin Christianity*, vol. v, p. 242.

<sup>2</sup> Alzog, *Universal Church History*, vol. ii, p. 710.

ascribes to Dominic its origin is equally well known. Thus, says one historian: "What glory, splendor, and dignity belong to the order of preachers words cannot express; for the holy Inquisition owes its origin to St. Dominic and was propagated by his faithful followers." The evidence for this assertion is, however, not to be had. Yet he was in the very midst of the Albigenian crusade; saw the bloody work done, and has left on record no rebuke of its horrors. Bishops and priests marched at the head of the slaughtering army, but he was not, it is claimed, among them. Says Alzog, "His peaceful disposition, his spirit of prayer, his charity, forbearance, and patient temper, formed a consoling contrast to the bloody crusade which had recently been set on foot against the Albigenses."<sup>1</sup> Still Dominic was to the end the friend of the cruel De Montfort, the leader of the invading army.

Francis Bernardone, known as St. Francis of Assisi, the founder of the *Fratres Minores*, was born in 1182. He lived in an ecstasy of faith and love. His religious pulse was the pulse of fever heat. He might be called insane had not his method been so rationally adopted to the ends which he kept in view. The son of a prosperous trader, he abjured property and chose poverty as his bride, and by poverty he meant destitution. After he had, while still a young man, decided on his mode of life "he found his way to Rome, and there threw down all he possessed on the altar of St. Peter. On his return he joined a troop of beggars and exchanged his dress for the rags of the filthiest among them."<sup>2</sup> His father, who was displeased with his eccentricities, summoned him before the bishop, in order to compel him to surrender all claim to the paternal estate. "I will give up the very clothes I wear," said Francis, and stripped himself entirely naked. "Peter Bernardone was my father; I have now but one Father, he that is in heaven." He was at this time twenty-five years of age. The bishop,

<sup>1</sup> *Universal Church History*, vol. ii, p. 710.

<sup>2</sup> Milman, *History of Latin Christianity*, vol. v, p. 255.

touched by his enthusiasm, gave him a suit of coarse clothes and took him into his service. "He begged," says Milman, "at the gates of monasteries; he discharged the most menial offices. With even more profound devotion he dedicated himself to that unhappy race of beings whom Christianity was constrained to banish from the social pale, the lepers. He tended them with more than necessary affectionateness, washed their feet, dressed their sores, and is said to have wrought miraculous cures among them."<sup>1</sup> He set himself to work to repair the dilapidated church of Assisi, and succeeded perfectly. He gathered about him a band of disciples, who were inspired by his enthusiasm. Opening the Gospel, he found before him, "If thou wilt be perfect, sell all thou hast, and give to the poor." Opening again, he read, "Take nothing for your journey." Again he read, "If any man will come after me, let him take up the cross and follow me." Taking these for a divine monition, he sent out his followers toward the four quarters of the world. Pope Innocent III (1210) gave the order his sanction, and full of the zeal of love they set out to convert mankind. Men of this spirit always find hearers and always secure successors. Strong in the purpose of converting the Mohammedans, St. Francis went to the East, where the crusaders were fighting, made his way to the sultan and preached to him. The sultan, supposing him to be insane, treated him kindly, and returned him to the Christian army.

In the poetry of St. Francis, which is classed with the earliest of the vernacular Italian, we get glimpses of his character. It is "a long, passionate ejaculation of love to the Redeemer in rude metre; it has not even the order and completeness of a hymn, it is a sort of plaintive variation on one simple melody."<sup>2</sup> He had a strong affection for all living creatures, and in his hymns extends this love to all nature. He speaks in one of them of his brothers, the wind and the sun, his sisters, the moon and the water.

<sup>1</sup> Milman, *History of Latin Christianity*, vol. v, p. 257.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. v, p. 264.



When dying, "Welcome, sister death," he said. The preaching of St. Francis differed in its style from that of Dominic. Dominic was logical and argumentative, St. Francis emotional and sympathetic. "His words," says St. Bonaventura, "penetrated like glowing fire to the inmost depths of the heart." His rule "includes the three monastic vows of chastity, obedience, and poverty; the last requiring that the postulant shall not actually possess goods at the time of admission and shall be incapacitated to possess them at any future time."<sup>1</sup> An order of nuns was established under his rule known as *Ordo Dominarum Pauperum* (the Order of Poor Women). A third order of St. Francis was composed of lay members, who lived a secular life but accepted the Franciscan discipline as far as it could be applied to their circumstances. They were known as Tertiaries. Dominic also established a similar third order, whose members were known as *Familiares* (friends), from which the word familiars, so well known in the history of the Inquisition, has its origin. They formed a connecting link between the monks and society and were a powerful support. In less than ten years from the foundation of the Franciscan order, that is, from 1210, five thousand attended a meeting of the chapter; in fifty years the order numbered thirty-three provinces, eight thousand convents, and two hundred thousand members of every kind. Of the estimation in which Francis and Dominic were held by the Latin world in the Middle Ages no better evidence can be given than the lines of Dante:<sup>2</sup>

"The one [Francis] was all seraphical in ardor;  
The other [Dominic] by his wisdom upon earth  
A splendor was of light cherubical."

As usual the vow of poverty was in time evaded, as far as it applied to the corporate body, and special papal dispensations authorized both Franciscans and Dominicans to accept endowments of property.

<sup>1</sup> Alzog, *Universal Church History*, vol. ii, p. 715.

<sup>2</sup> *Paradiso*, Canto xi, vs. 37-39.



We must now go back and trace the history of a widespread revolt against the sacerdotal system of the Latin Church. The more the papacy and the priesthood grew in power and wealth the more the people were alienated from both. The tradition of the simplicity of the lives of Jesus and his apostles was never wholly lost. These dissidents from the Church are divided into three classes: (1) The orthodox anti-sacerdotalists, who held in the main to the Church's creed. (2) The Biblical anti-sacerdotalists, who were known as the Poor Men of Lyons and Waldenses. (3) The Manichæan perfectionists, sometimes called Albigenses. Of the heretics of the first class the leaders were Peter de Brueys and Henry the Deacon, who lived in the first part of the twelfth century. Peter attacked infant baptism, transubstantiation, and prayers for the dead, the tenets which gave the clergy all their importance. Henry arraigned the immorality of the priests. "He went to the very hearts of men, and maddened them to a deep, implacable hatred of the priests. Yet, at first, some even of the clergy sat at the feet of the persuasive preacher and melted into tears. But as he rose to the stern denunciation of their vices they saw their alienated flocks gradually look on them with apathy, with contempt, with aversion."<sup>1</sup> St. Bernard was summoned to encounter this dangerous uprising. He preached powerful discourses, traversing all of Languedoc; but after he left the heretical spirit was as active as ever. Albi and Toulouse became the centres of the disaffection; the revolt spread through England and Germany, and heretics were burned at Oxford, Rheims, and Cologne.

The Biblical heretics found a leader in Peter Waldo, of Lyons (1170), called by Milman the St. Francis of heresy. Waldo was a rich merchant of Lyons, was awakened to an earnest life, devoted all his property to charity, provided for a translation of the Bible into the language of southern France, and sent out his disciples two and two to preach in the villages. They soon found their name, "The Poor Men of Lyons."

<sup>1</sup> Milman, *History of Latin Christianity*, vol. v, p. 144.

Two of them went to Rome to ask Alexander III for permission to preach, and were refused. The Archbishop of Lyons also interdicted their preaching. Thus they were driven into hostility to the Church; they discarded the priestly system; they denied the five added sacraments of the Church; rejected purgatory and indulgences; and last of all they adhered to the Scriptures, which they interpreted in a sober manner. Their lives, even their enemies being witnesses, were unimpeachable. Driven from southern France to Piedmont, they have lived in the fastnesses of the Alps to this day.

The Manichæan revival in Europe was an importation from the East, where the Paulicians had long resisted the efforts of the emperors to suppress them. Settled in Europe first in Thrace, the Crusades opened their way into the West. Their distinctive doctrines—the dualism in the composition of the creation, and the eternity of matter and its hostility to spirit—led again, as they had led in the East, to a severe asceticism, accompanied with frequent outbursts of license. The south of France became Manichæan, but beneath the Manichæism was a contempt for the priesthood and a loss of the old fealty to the Church. We must picture to ourselves southern France, which had advanced rapidly in civilization, as fermenting with these various heresies, and both nobles and common people enrolled among the heretics. Pope Innocent III sent legates, sent Cistercian monks, sent Dominic and his preachers to reclaim the heretics, but all in vain. He then commanded Count Raymond, of Toulouse, to extirpate the heretics by force; excommunicated him for hesitation and disobedience. Castelnau, the papal legate, was murdered by one of Raymond's subjects, and a storm fell on the devoted heads of the poor people.

All France was summoned by the pope to execute vengeance, and France answered with an army of twenty thousand knights and two hundred thousand common soldiers. "Never," says Milman, "in the history of man were the great eternal principle of justice, the faith of treaties, common humanity, so

trampled under foot as in the Albigensian war. Never was war waged in which ambition, the consciousness of strength, rapacity, implacable hatred, and pitiless cruelty played a greater part. Papal legates and the greatest prelates headed the host and mingled in all the horrors of the battle and the siege." <sup>1</sup> "Slay them all, God will know his own," was the injunction given to the invading army. At Béziers seven thousand persons were slain in the Church of St. Mary Magdalene. Count Raymond, of Toulouse, was deposed, and Simon de Montfort was made ruler in his place (1215). These proceedings prepared the way for the systematic extirpation of heresy in southern France by means of the Inquisition.

## NOTE TO CHAPTER XXXV.

## THE WALDENSES.

Alexis Muston, in his *History of the Waldenses*, claims that they are the descendants and representatives of the primitive Church, and that in their valleys they retained the doctrines of primitive Christianity. He also claims that the writers nearest to the time of Waldo do not speak of the Vaudois as his disciples. In his opinion Waldo is not the reformer's family name. The presumption is, according to this writer, that when Waldo retreated from France to Italy he found the Waldensian Church already in existence, and that the followers of Waldo united themselves to it. In no other way, he thinks, can the rapid increase of the Waldenses after the emigration to the Alps, both in numbers and influence, be accounted for than by the supposition "that the new refugees had already in that country brethren of their own religion; whilst their settling in that country can hardly be explained but by supposing the previous existence of their brethren in religion there. On either of these suppositions the Vaudois of the Alps must have been prior to the disciples of Waldo."<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *History of Latin Christianity*, vol. v, p. 185.

<sup>2</sup> Muston, *History of the Waldenses*, vol. i, p. 15.

## CHAPTER XXXVI.

## SCHOLASTIC PHILOSOPHY.

THE name scholastics was given to teachers of the seven liberal arts, grammar, dialectic, rhetoric (*Trivium*), arithmetic, geometry, music, astronomy (*Quadrivium*), in the cloister schools of Charlemagne, and was afterward conferred on all who occupied themselves with the sciences. Scholasticism was a revival of the philosophic spirit, but at first in subordination to the received doctrine of the Church. It was a mark of the awakening of the energies of the human mind from a long sleep. "Just as young men, when they first begin to study logic, are not satisfied till they are practising upon their companions, caring little for truth, but much for victory; so, now, men's minds began to grow sensible of their power; and the great fascination was not so much love of truth as an unquenchable craving for single combats, and for victory over the intelligence of fellow-men."<sup>1</sup> Thus scholasticism is a part of history of the human mind during the Middle Ages. Its periods are two: (1) The period of the accommodation of the Aristotelian logic and neo-Platonism to the Church theology from John Scotus Erigena (820) to the thirteenth century. (2) The complete development of scholasticism by the full application of the Aristotelian philosophy to the Church doctrine, from the beginning of the thirteenth century to the middle of the fifteenth. In their relation to the doctrine of the Church we may make, says Cousin, three distinct periods: (1) The period of absolute subordination of philosophy to theology. (2) The period of the alliance of philosophy and theology. (3) The separation between philosophy and theology which terminated in the birth of modern philosophy.<sup>2</sup> Scholasticism is therefore dependent on logic,

<sup>1</sup> Vaughan, *Life and Labours of St. Thomas of Aquin*, vol. i, pp. 139, 140.

<sup>2</sup> See *History of Modern Philosophy*, vol. ii, p. 17.

and, as Aristotle was the only teacher of logic known, on the logic of Aristotle. It begins with logic as a science, and when fully trained applies the laws of this science to the dogmas of the Church. At the time "it attains its full stature in St. Thomas it has, with the exception of certain mysteries, rationalized the whole churchly system. Or, we might say with equal truth that the philosophy of St. Thomas is Aristotle Christianized. It is, moreover, the attitude of the schoolmen to these two influences that yields the general characteristic of the period. Their attitude throughout is that of interpreters rather than of those conducting an independent investigation. And, though they are at the same time the acutest of critics and offer the most ingenious developments of the original thesis, they never step outside of the charmed circle of the system they have inherited. They appear to contemplate the universe of nature and man, not at first hand, but in the glass of Aristotelian formulæ. Their chief works are in the shape of commentaries upon the writings of the philosopher. Their problems and solutions alike spring from the master's *dicta*, from the need of reconciling these with one another, and with the conclusions of Christian theology."<sup>1</sup>

The philosophy of the schoolmen revolved about the question of the existence or non-existence of universals. Substantially they were divided by this question into two schools, Nominalists and Realists. The question as stated was this: Have generic and specific notions such as horse, tree, bird, an independent existence, or do they only exist for the mind and in the mind? If they do exist independently are they body or spirit? That is, are they separate from sensible things or in them? The Realists affirmed the existence of universals; the Nominalists denied it. The answers to these questions were three: (1) That universals have an independent existence apart from the individual objects and prior to them—*universalia ante rem*; this

<sup>1</sup> *Encyclopædia Britannica*, ninth edition, vol. xxi, p. 417, article "Scholasticism," by Professor A. Seth.

is extreme Realism. (2) That universals have a real existence, but only in the individual objects—*universalia in re*. (3) That universals exist only in words, that is, have no reality—*universalia post rem*; this is extreme Nominalism. It will be readily perceived that Nominalism carried with it important consequences. "If every genus is a mere word it follows that there is no reality except in individuals; then many unities may appear to be simple abstractions; among others the unity that is above all unities, the unity that forms the basis of the Holy Trinity; there is nothing real in it except the three persons, and the Trinity itself is but a nominal unity, a simple sign, representing the relation of the three."<sup>1</sup>

The most famous of the Nominalists was Roscellinus of Compiègne (died about 1125). He applied his doctrine, that only individuals really exist, to the Trinity, and asserted tritheism. He was condemned by the Council of Soissons (1092). He was also antagonized by Anselm, who wrote the treatise *De Fide Trinitatis*, in which he laid down the principles of Realism. Anselm's interest was, however, greater in theology than in philosophy; Roscellinus found a more formidable antagonist in William of Champeaux (died 1121). This leader of Realism went to the other extreme and maintained "that genera so far from being mere names are the only entities that exist; and that the individuals, in which it has been attempted to resolve genera, have existence themselves only through relation to what is universal. For example, said he, that which exists is humanity, of which all men are but fragments."<sup>2</sup> Abelard propounded a theory midway between Nominalism and Realism which he called Conceptualism. His fundamental position is "that the forms of things existed in the divine mind before creation, as conceptions." Summing up the results of this logical conflict, we may say, that on the foundation of Nominalism a Christian faith cannot possibly be built. We cannot conceive of a Christ dying

<sup>1</sup> Cousin, *History of Modern Philosophy*, vol. ii, p. 30.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. ii, p. 31.



for the human race, for there is no human race; there are on Nominalist principles, only so many individuals. Nor can we conceive of the Son of God assuming human nature, for there is in reality no human nature. As Cousin says finely, "If the human race is but a word, we are driven to assert that there is nothing common and identical in all men—that the brotherhood and equality of the human family are pure abstractions, and that since individuality is the sole reality, the sole reality is difference." And to this let me add a summing up of Professor Seth: "Nominalism by making universality merely subjective pulverizes existence into detached particulars."<sup>1</sup> On the other hand, extreme Realism, which makes all individuals but accidents of one and the same substance, tends to pantheism. And this difficulty the opponents of William of Champeaux, especially Abelard, quickly saw and compelled him to modify his position. The truth seems to be that the essential constituents of a genus are in the individuals of each genus, and by that fact they are correlated. God thought a human race when he created the first pair, and he intended that the constituents of the race, that collection of qualities which makes the identity of human nature, should be in every individual member. Realism triumphed in the Church and had its most eminent theological exponent in Thomas Aquinas. Nominalism revived at the end of the thirteenth and in the fourteenth centuries with Duns Scotus and William of Occam for its leaders.

Abelard (1079–1142), whose life was one of extreme vicissitude, may be called the leader of mediæval rationalism. He did not fear to express doubts of the Church's settlement of many theological questions. He issued a work entitled *Sic et Non*, in which he brought forward one hundred and fifty-eight questions determined by the fathers, popes, and Church leaders, in opposite ways. Nor were they questions of a trivial kind. Among them were the origin of evil, God's freedom in action, the fall of man, the nature of Christ's person. He seemed in

<sup>1</sup> *Encyclopædia Britannica*, ninth edition, vol. xxi, p. 422.

this work to take delight in setting authority against authority. The Church was alarmed. Charges of heresy against him were made by Bernard of Clairvaux, the champion of orthodoxy in that age. The controversy between them led to the summoning of a council at Sens in 1140. Bernard had said of his antagonist that "he savored of Arius when he spoke of the Trinity, of Pelagius when he spoke of grace, and of Nestorius when he spoke of the person of Christ." Abelard, however, shrank from the encounter with Bernard, appealed to Rome, was condemned, made his peace with the Church, and sought a quiet retreat where he soon after died. Despite his rationalism the influence of Abelard on theology was wholesome. He brought into it a clearness and order which were improved upon by Thomas Aquinas. He was the first to make the distinction between arguments of authority and arguments of reason which lies at the foundation of the later scholastic theology. Anselm's maxim in theology was, *Credo ut intelligam*. "Without faith," he said, "there is no experience, and without experience understanding is impossible." Abelard's principle was the opposite, that rational doubt and then insight must lead to faith. Bernard's method was to seek truth by fellowship with Christ in love.

At the beginning of the thirteenth century scholasticism attained its highest development; it owed this to the complete knowledge of Aristotle derived from the Arabians, the Jews, and the Greeks of the Eastern empire. Thomas Aquinas (born 1227) is the chief of the schoolmen. He separated natural theology from revealed theology. He says: "By natural reason we may know those things which pertain to the unity of the divine essence, but not those which pertain to the distinction of divine persons; and he who attempts to prove by the natural reason the trinity of persons detracts from the rights of faith." That is, the truths cognizable by reason are the preambles of faith; these, and these only, are the subjects of demonstrative argument.

The personal history of Thomas Aquinas shows him as a

man of singular purity, self-abnegation, and devotion to truth. Born of a noble family and related to royal houses, he sacrificed worldly prospects in choosing a monastic life. He was educated in the University of Naples, near his home (Aquin), became a Dominican in his seventeenth year, and completed his studies in Cologne and Paris under the famous schoolman Albertus Magnus. In 1257 he was made doctor of theology, and began his lectures, which were delivered in Paris, Rome, Bologna, and Naples—all these cities claiming his services. When he returned in the latter part of his life to Naples so great was his fame that he was received with the honors usually paid to a prince. Says a Catholic writer: "The whole city turned out to meet the man of God. The highway was one sea of human heads, which flowed steadily in one direction, when, touching upon the simple *cortège* of the Angelical, and surrounding him, and almost swallowing him up, it gradually flowed back toward the city."<sup>1</sup> His last days were spent in an ecstasy of visions. Soon after his death in 1274 he was canonized, and ranks in the Latin Church with the four great fathers, Augustine, Ambrose, Jerome, and Gregory. The industry of Thomas was amazing; his works fill twenty-eight quarto volumes and embody all the knowledge possessed by the Western world in his time. Theology was, in his age, the mistress of the sciences, and to this mistress the others were subordinated. The mediæval idea of the state, writes a modern author, "was the Holy Roman empire actually embracing and dominating over all the countries in Europe; its idea of the Church, that visible and tangible catholicity which existed before the great Reformation; and in the department of knowledge it showed its characteristic quality in its desire to embrace in one system, under one science, the whole of human thought."<sup>2</sup> Aquinas prepared himself for his great undertaking: (1) By the careful study of the fathers and the collation of their opinions. (2) By the study of the

<sup>1</sup> Vaughan, *Life and Labours of St. Thomas of Aquin*, vol. ii, p. 895.

<sup>2</sup> *Encyclopædia Britannica*, ninth edition, vol. ii, p. 231, article on Aquinas.

Arabian science, founded on Aristotle, for the purpose of confuting Arabian pantheism. (3) By the study of the Scriptures. (4) By an exhaustive study of Aristotle's philosophy. In order to be accurate he had translations of Aristotle made for him. Greek was not known in the Western Church, and Aristotle was read in translations of translations. The results of his study of the Arabians appear in his *Summary of the Catholic Faith Against the Gentiles* (*Summa Catholicæ fidei contra Gentiles*); of the study of the fathers, in his commentary on the *Sentences* of Peter Lombard; of his study of the Scriptures, in his *Catena Aurea* and other expositions; of Aristotle, in his voluminous commentaries on that great philosopher. These were so many introductions to his *magnum opus*, the *Summa Theologiæ*. The contemplation of God, according to St. Thomas, is the end of human existence; therefore, the knowledge of God, or theology, is the chief of all knowledge; but theology is both revealed and rational, and may call in the aid of reason or philosophy. Philosophy is the servant of theology, and is to be employed in elucidating the mysteries of the faith. It is hardly necessary to add that in philosophy Thomas of Aquin was a Realist. He taught that the universal is immanent in the individual, and also that universals existed in the divine mind before creation, "as the thoughts which God had before creation of the things to be created." In taking certain doctrines of faith out of rational theology Thomas Aquinas did not mean to exclude the proving of their reasonableness by argument. He meant that such doctrines were above, not contrary to, reason. He therefore wholly denied that there was any contradiction between theology and philosophy.

Duns Scotus (1266-1308) had a critical rather than a constructive mind. He held firmly to the Church's faith, but questioned the rational arguments used for its support. With Thomas he withdrew the Trinity and the incarnation from natural theology, but besides these, the immortality of the soul and creation of the world out of nothing. These he maintained

rested for their validity wholly on revelation; reason could only show their greater or less probability. Duns Scotus helped on the rupture between theology and philosophy, and was followed by William of Occam (died 1347), who restored Nominalism and prepared the way for philosophic scepticism. He denied that any of the doctrines of the Church are demonstrable by reason, and held that even the existence and unity of God are purely dogmas of faith. His Nominalism led him to the position that "whatever transcends the sphere of sensible experience belongs to the sphere of faith." Only an *a posteriori* proof of the existence of God is possible, and that not a rigorous one. With Occam, theology and philosophy became mutually contradictory; what was theologically true might be philosophically doubtful, or even false. The defense of the faith passed from the schoolmen to the mystics, and the mystics prepared the way for the Reformation.

Scholasticism, though barren of results, served as a training for the European mind. It demonstrated, however, that philosophy in subjection to theology can never attain ■ symmetrical growth. With the spread of Greek learning, which followed the fall of Constantinople, the human mind took ■ new departure. The study of the Scriptures destroyed the credit of the mediæval theology, and by a natural consequence the credit of the philosophy of the schoolmen also. With the growth of Protestant theology there was a parallel growth of Protestant philosophy; but unlike the scholastic this philosophy was independent of theology, as philosophy ought always to be. The movement of Protestant philosophy, however, does not come within the scope of this chapter.

We now consider the additions made by the schoolmen to the Church's theology. The most important of these was the establishment of the doctrine of transubstantiation. "The Church of Rome teaches that the whole substance of the bread and wine in the eucharist is converted into the body and blood of Christ in such a manner that Christ in his entirety, including his human



soul and his divine nature, are contained in the elements; and that with such a thorough transmutation that not only is the whole Christ contained in the wine as well as in the bread, but with the same completeness in each particle of the bread, and in each drop of the wine.”<sup>1</sup> The fathers of the Greek Church had held the conversion of the bread and wine of the Lord’s Supper into the body and blood of Christ, but obviously in a mystical sense. That is to say, the body of Christ was partaken of under the figure of the bread and the wine. The doctrine of their literal conversion into the body of Christ was first propounded by Paschasius Radbertus (died 865). He affirmed that the bread and wine were the “same body which was born of Mary.” Paschasius was opposed by Ratramnus (died 863), whose objection was that “if it were possible to eat the body of Christ in the proper sense of the term no faith would be any more required.” The doctrine of Radbertus was adopted so generally that when Berengar (999–1088) expressed doubts of its truth he was condemned by the synods of Vercelli and Rome in 1050, and again by a synod at Rome in 1078, and would have suffered severely but for the protection of Gregory VII. Berengar was compelled to retract his opinion and to make oath to the following confession: “The bread and wine which are placed on the altar are, after consecration, not only the sacrament, but also the very body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ; and it is in fact and sensibly handled by the hands of the priests, broken and masticated by the teeth of the faithful.”<sup>2</sup> Peter Lombard (died 1160) in his *Sentences* affirmed that the priests create the body and blood of Christ. Pope Innocent III (1198–1216) made transubstantiation an article of faith. Pope Urban IV (1261–1264) and Pope Clement V (1305–1314) instituted the Corpus Christi day as a festival in honor of the sacrament, and thus popularized the new doctrine. Many questions, however, remained in relation to the process and effect of transubstan-

<sup>1</sup> *Encyclopædia Britannica*, ninth edition, vol. viii, p. 653, article “Eucharist.” <sup>2</sup> Hagenbach, *History of Doctrines*, vol. ii, p. 95.



tiation, some of them serious and others absurd. "Is the bread changed both into the flesh and blood of Christ?" "Is the change gradual or instantaneous?" "Is the bread changed, also, into the soul of Christ, or his divinity, or into the whole Trinity?" "If a mouse were to partake of the consecrated bread would it partake of the body of Christ?" On this latter question the most eminent schoolmen gravely delivered their opinions. We owe to Hildebert of Tours (1055-1134) the coining of the word *transubstantiation*, which greatly helped to establish the dogma in the Church. The idea of the sacrificial character of the sacrament follows logically from the doctrine of transubstantiation. It is not surprising, therefore, to find that Peter Lombard in his *Sentences* affirmed that Christ is offered up as a sacrifice for the sins of men; the adoration of the host dates from the thirteenth century. Yet even after the establishment of the dogma of transubstantiation the mystic, Hugo St. Victor, affirmed that he who eats without being united with Christ by faith has not the true sacrament.

One more step remained to complete the sacramental creed of the Latin Church, namely, the doctrine of concomitance. According to this the body of Christ was held to be wholly in either element, and therefore those who received the host partook of Christ's blood as well as his body. Robert Pulleyn (died about 1153) was the first to claim the cup exclusively for the clergy. The reason assigned by him for denying the cup to the laity was the danger of spilling Christ's blood. Other theologians followed, among them Thomas Aquinas. This practice served to make the distinction between the clergy and laity, which was in harmony with the mediæval spirit. Before the Lutheran Reformation it led to the bloody wars of the Hussites with the Church and the German empire.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For the Catholic account of the early controversies upon the doctrine of transubstantiation see Alzog, *Universal Church History*, vol. ii, pp. 430-448.

## CHAPTER XXXVII.

## WYCLIF.

THE triumph of the papal power over the state could not, in the nature of things, be lasting ; a reaction was sooner or later inevitable. The growth of knowledge, the growth of the sentiment of national independence, alike inspired resistance to the claims of the popes. On the other hand, the corruption of the popes themselves, and the schism which began in 1378 and lasted nearly forty years, weakened the papacy and encouraged the earnest men who demanded reform. The reforming movement followed two lines: (1) The reform of the administration of the Church, on the basis of its existing doctrines, through the action of general councils. (2) Reformation by attack on the Church's doctrinal system. The first method of reform ended in the councils of Constance and Basle, but ended in failure. The second was the method pursued by men providentially raised up, who prepared the way for Luther. The first of these, usually known as "the morning star of the Reformation" was Wyclif.

To understand Wyclif we must properly understand the English people. The English had always been jealous of the encroachments of the Church. Their feeling of national independence had been stimulated by the dastardly act of King John (1199-1216), son of Henry II. This king in May, 1213, gave England as a fief to Pope Innocent III and received his kingdom back again on the condition of an oath of allegiance to the pope and the payment of an annual tribute of one thousand marks. "Thereby," says an historian, "England became literally a portion of the Church-state, the king a vassal of the pope, and the pope liege lord, and sovereign of England." The nobility, stung by this humiliation,

wrested from John *Magna Charta*, the security for the rights of all English subjects. This celebrated treaty contains also a guarantee of the rights and liberties of the national Church. They then turned themselves against Rome, and there followed in the succeeding reigns statutes which have been famous in English history. These are the statutes of Mortmain, Provisors, and Præmunire. The statute of Mortmain forbade the alienation of lands to the Church without the king's license. It dates from the time of Edward I (1274-1307), but was reenacted in the time of Edward III (1327-1377). The second statute, that of Provisors, forbade the popes to present to benefices in the patronage of spiritual or lay Englishmen. It was designed to prevent him from filling the benefices with foreigners, many of whom enjoyed the revenues of these livings without ever coming to England. There was a popular outcry against sending so much money out of England to pay foreign priests; it was declared that two thirds of the revenues of the kingdom went abroad for this purpose. The statute of Præmunire, passed in the reign of Richard II (1377-1399), subjected all persons who brought papal bulls for translation of bishops, and other purposes, into the kingdom to the penalties of forfeiture and perpetual imprisonment. These statutes were the germs of the royal supremacy in spiritual affairs asserted and established by Henry VIII. Without rejecting the Catholic faith, England was in the time of Wyclif ready for a grapple with the papacy, and in that fact he found much of his support.

Besides the kindling of national feeling in opposition to the papacy, there preceded the appearance of Wyclif an awakening of churchly thought against papal claims and priestly vices. Robert Grosseteste, Bishop of Lincoln from 1235 to 1253, protested against the corruptions of the Roman court, carrying his protest in person to Rome. He especially opposed the acceptance by clerics of secular offices, and just as vigorously the appointment by the pope of foreigners,

who could not speak English, to English benefices. His language on the latter abuse is very direct: "The cause and source of it is the Curia itself. Not only because it fails to put a stop to these evils, as it can and should, but still more because by its dispensations, provisions, and collations it appoints evil shepherds, thinking therein only of the living which it is able to provide for a man, and for the sake of that handing over many thousands of souls to eternal death. He who commits the care of the flock to a man in order that the latter may get the milk and the wool, while he is unable or unwilling to guide, to feed, and protect the flock, such an one gives over the flock itself to death as a prey."<sup>1</sup> William of Occam, "the invincible doctor" of the schoolmen (died about 1349), denied the unlimited power of the pope, and affirmed that the papal primacy is of human origin. "The head of the Church," he said, "and its foundation is one—Christ alone." Thomas Bradwardine (1290–1349), the "doctor profundus" of the schoolmen, affirmed the doctrine of grace as against the prevalent Pelagianism of the Church. The title of Bradwardine's work is *Of the Cause of God*. He says in this: "The doctrine is held by many either that the free will of man is of itself sufficient for the obtaining of salvation; or, if they confess the need of grace, that still grace may be merited by the power of the free will, so that grace no longer appears to be something undeserved by men, but something meritoriously acquired. Almost the whole world has run after Pelagius and fallen into error."<sup>2</sup> But more decisive still is the *Vision of Piers Plowman*, supposed to be written by William Langland, a priest living on Malvern Hill, on the borders of Wales. This famous poem puts into the form of an allegorical vision the arraignment of the vices of the clergy. It is written in Middle English in rhythm, not in rhyme, and is quite intelligible to us in our day.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Lechler, *John Wiclif and his English Precursors*, vol. i, pp. 45, 46.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. i, p. 93.

<sup>3</sup> See, for analysis of *Piers Plowman*, Professor Henry Morley's *English Writers*, vol. iv, chap. xii. See also extract from Morley in Lechler, *John*

The facts known of the early life of Wyclif are very few. He was born near Richmond in Yorkshire, in or about 1320; it is said that his parents were the owners of the manor of Wyclif, from which he takes his name. He inherited the strong traits of character which mark the people of Yorkshire to this day. They are pure Anglo-Saxons, and Wyclif represented Anglo-Saxon sturdiness and vigor. The family of the reformer in one of its branches is said to have been extant until this century; it had, however, remained Catholic. Of his early education nothing is known; he entered Oxford probably between his fourteenth and sixteenth years, but what college is uncertain, though Balliol is conjectured. Oxford at that time, as all the universities of Europe, included among its students youths and boys, who would now be in gymnasia or training schools. He pursued the usual course of study, first the *Trivium*, grammar, logic, and rhetoric, then the *Quadrivium*, arithmetic, astronomy, geometry, and music. These comprehended the literary and scientific culture of his age. Of Greek he never acquired any knowledge; his expositions in his writings of Greek words are usually faulty, and often erroneous. It is clear from Wyclif's ignorance of Greek that the knowledge of it was not to be had at Oxford; a man of his spirit would not have neglected this language had it been taught. He excelled in dialectics, as can readily be seen from his works; he had also a strong passion for the natural sciences, as far as they were then known, and may have come in contact with some of the disciples of Roger Bacon, who died about 1294. "It is worthy of all consideration," says Lechler, "how often in his writings and with how much love he refers to this department of science. At one time it is arithmetic or geometry, which must do him service in illustrating certain truths and relations; at another it is physical and

*Wiclif and his English Precursors*, vol. i, p. 119. The chief editions of *Piers Plowman* are those of Thomas Wright (1842-1856) and W. W. Skeat (1867-1873; later edition, 1886). An account of it may be found in Craik's *History of English Literature*, vol. i, pp. 245-264.

chemical laws, or facts of optics or acoustics, which he applies to illuminate moral and religious truths.”<sup>1</sup> He next devoted himself to theology, which in that period consisted almost wholly of dogmatics, as set forth in the *Sentences* of Peter Lombard, exegesis and history holding a very subordinate rank. The biblical course, however, preceded the dogmatic, but consisted entirely of glosses on the Latin text. The biblical course of the university was ineffective for two reasons: (1) The Scripture was interpreted, not independently, but according to tradition. (2) Biblical study, instead of being, as with us, the foundation of theology, was merely preliminary to dogmatics, and was left to the care of junior teachers. From theology he passed to the canon law, in which he was, in mature years, well versed. His student life, judging from the time then given to each branch, lasted ten years, and closed probably in 1345. From 1345 to 1366 (the dates are uncertain) he was a college fellow spending these twenty-one years in the prosecution of study. In 1361 he was Master of Balliol College, though the year in which he became Master cannot be definitely fixed.

The public life of Wyclif divides itself naturally into two parts: (1) That in which he appears as a statesman engaged in the settlement of ecclesiastico-political affairs. (2) That in which he appears purely as a religious reformer. In both, however, the interests of religion are uppermost in his mind. His transition from the quiet of academic studies to politics seems to us, from the lack of information, sudden. All at once we see him a royal commissioner, a member of Parliament, a friend and ally of John of Gaunt, the son of Edward III, and in these positions having a decided influence upon the course of affairs in England. Unfortunately many portions of his career are obscure, for we really know less of the life of Wyclif than we know of the life of Cæsar. He must have won while in Oxford a high reputation for practical administrative ability. In the year 1365 Pope Urban V pressed his claim for

<sup>1</sup> *John Wiclif and his English Precursors*, vol. i, p. 138.



the payment of the annual tribute, conceded by King John, which had now been in default for thirty-three years. King Edward was also required in case of refusal to make payment, to appear before the pope, as his feudal lord, and to give answer for disobeying the pope's command. King Edward III had always refused payment, and laid the papal claim before Parliament (1366). Wyclif has preserved in a tract written by himself the answers of the temporal lords. One said: "Our ancestors won this realm and held it against all foes by the sword. Julius Cæsar exacted tribute by force; force gives no perpetual right. Let the pope come and take it by force. I am ready to stand up and resist him." Another said: "The pope calls himself the servant of the servants of the Most High; his only claim to tribute from this realm is for some service done. But what is his service to this realm? Not spiritual edification, but draining away money to enrich himself and his court, showing favor and counsel to our enemies." Another: "It is better to hold the realm immediately of God."<sup>1</sup> Parliament quickly decided that the tribute should not be paid, and that if Urban V attempted to collect it by force he should be resisted by force. The effect of the united resistance of crown and Parliament was that the papal claim of tribute was never after heard of. There is good reason for believing that Wyclif was a member of the Parliament of 1366. Besides the bishops and abbots, six masters of arts were summoned by the king to attend, and Wyclif may have been one of the latter class. Wyclif was requested to answer one of the vindicators of papal claims, and did so.

He appears next in public life as an opponent of the collector of papal dues in England. These were of various kinds; the first fruits of benefices,<sup>2</sup> especially of bishoprics, was a large source of papal revenue; to this was added the infringement on

<sup>1</sup> See Milman's *History of Latin Christianity*, vol. vii, pp. 363, 364.

<sup>2</sup> On filling a vacant benefice the pope claimed the first year's income, or a large portion of it, as his prerogative. This tax was called the first fruits, or annates.

the rights of patrons by the papal provisors; in fact, nothing could escape the ingenuity of the papal tax-gatherers. Garnier, a Frenchman, and nuncio of Gregory XI, came to England for this purpose in 1372, remaining a number of years, and travelled through the kingdom with a train of servants and half a dozen horses, collecting tribute on every hand. Wyclif, in the year 1377, attacked him in a short tract, in which he defends the rights of the nation against all such papal usurpations. He argues that the concession given by the crown to Garnier was contrary to the fundamental laws of England. In this tract he also takes strong ground against the absolutism of the papacy and asserts that the pope "is bound to be preeminently the follower of Christ in all moral virtues, especially in humility and patience and brotherly love."<sup>1</sup> He already appeals to the Gospel as authority for his opinions.

In 1374 Wyclif was chosen one of the royal commissioners to settle by treaty the pending disputes between England and the pope. Some years previous to this he seems to have been made one of the king's chaplains. At the head of the royal commission was John of Gaunt. What circumstances had attracted Wyclif to John of Gaunt we do not know, but this haughty and ambitious prince was for a time the reformer's devoted friend. They were both agreed in hostility to the encroachments of Rome, and national feeling may have drawn them closely together. The conference with the papal legates was held at Bruges, in Flanders, but its only result was to leave the *status quo* unchanged. "Whosoever was in actual possession of a church living in England should no longer have his right of incumbency challenged on the side of the Roman Curia; benefices which the pope had already reserved, in the event of a vacancy, should, in so far as they had not already become vacant, be filled by the patrons themselves; and all annates, or first fruits, not yet paid should be remitted."

<sup>1</sup> Lechler, *John Wiclif and his English Precursors*, vol. i, p. 224.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. i, p. 233.

The appointment of Wyclif as a member of this commission is evidence of the esteem in which he was held by the English court. The treaty concluded by the commissioners failing of result, the Parliament of 1376, known in history as the "Good Parliament," brought the complaints of the nation to the notice of the king. Of this Parliament, also, it is conjectured that Wyclif was a member by royal summons. The complaints of the country were bitter. Garnier, it was charged, was sending out of England two hundred thousand pounds a year; the papal revenues from England were greater than the revenues of the king; the papal brokers at Avignon were selling English benefices to worthless "creatures who were destitute of learning and character;" foreigners were priests of parishes which they never saw, or cared to see; cardinals, most of them not natives of England, were holding the richest cathedral appointments. The Commons asked the king to enforce the statutes against provisors and to take other measures for the protection of the realm. We must suppose Wyclif as participating actively in, as being, indeed, a leader in this national movement, although unfortunately it was followed by no immediate result.

By this time Wyclif had become a recognized leader of the people against Rome, and was thenceforth an object of the implacable hostility of the papacy. He was first summoned February 19, 1377, to St. Paul's, London, before the Convocation of Canterbury, to answer the charge of heresy. What was meant to be reached was his opposition to papal influence. His association with John of Gaunt, whose hostility to the papacy was so well known, also marked him out for an object of attack. It is probable that it was the aim of the Convocation to attack John of Gaunt through Wyclif. The Duke of Lancaster and Lord Henry Percy, the proud marshal of the kingdom, with a band of soldiers and a number of theologians, accompanied him. The examination was prevented and the meeting broken up by a violent altercation between Percy and John of Gaunt on the one side, and Courtenay, Bishop of London, on the other.

Wyclif had not the opportunity of saying a single word. A second trial was commanded by the pope, Gregory XI, who, on May 22, 1377, addressed five bulls to the king, the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of London, and the University of Oxford, requiring them to seize Wyclif and bring him to trial for heresy. The bishops were ordered, if the charge of heresy was proved, to cast him into prison, there to await the pope's pleasure. Nineteen propositions taken from his writings were made the basis of the charge.<sup>1</sup> These affirmed : (1) That the right of property and inheritance is not unconditional and absolute. (2) That in the event of the abuse of its property by the Church it may be secularized by the state. (3) That it is an abuse of the power of excommunication for the Church to employ it for securing its revenues. (4) That the power of the keys is valid only in so far as it is conformed to the Gospel. The first of these principles is aimed at the tenure by which the Church held property. The Church's theory was that its property, being dedicated to God, was by virtue of that fact inalienable. Wyclif held, on the contrary, that the Church's jurisdiction is wholly spiritual, and that in the temporal sphere it is subject to the civil power. The application of these positions to England and the English people is obvious. Wyclif made a written answer to the charges, in which he justified his theses one by one. In 1378 the trial began at Lambeth. Now not the nobles, but the people, protect him. Crowding the chapel, their looks and gestures alarmed the judges. At the critical moment the widow of Edward, the Black Prince, the mother of the king, Richard II, sent a message forbidding the trial to go on. The death of Gregory XI, March 27, 1378, terminated the proceedings. With his death began the papal schism which lasted nearly forty years. England acknowledged Urban VI; France, Clement VII. The distracted condition of the Church could not increase Wyclif's respect for the papacy.

<sup>1</sup> All but one of these propositions are taken from his work, *De Civili Dominio*.

He became now a more positive reformer. The head of numerous followers, he organized a body of preachers, who travelled through England, preaching in churches, market towns, and streets. He intended, by this force, to combat the work of the mendicant friars. His preachers were gladly received by the people. He himself set the example by an earnest ministry of the word of God. The preaching of his age was of the most wretched description; legends and buffooneries formed a large part of the discourses of the mendicants. Wyclif in his homiletical writings insisted that it is God's word only that should be preached; and that "to feed the flock without Bible truth was the same as if one were to prepare for another a bodily meal without bread." His sermons to the people were plain and popular, with here and there passages of true pathos. It is characteristic of them that they appeal to God's word as the ultimate authority for doctrine, but there is not in them any statement of the way of salvation through an appropriating faith in Jesus Christ alone. The preachers sent out by him were itinerants, very much like those called into service centuries later by Wesley. At first they were all priests; but in time laymen also were employed. If, as is conjectured, Oxford was the starting point from which they set out, we have in this fact another anticipation of Wesley. In their mode of address they were direct and trenchant, setting before the people the facts of an eternal destiny in the most vivid style. They are described by a contemporary historian as "men in long garments of coarse red woollen cloth, who went forth barefoot, and staff in hand, in order to represent themselves as pilgrims and their wayfaring as a pilgrimage. Thus they wandered from village to village, from town to town, from county to county, wherever they could find willing hearers."<sup>1</sup>

It is to this period (1378-1382) of his life that his English version of the Scriptures from the Vulgate is referred. "It

<sup>1</sup> See Wyclif's assertion of the competence of preachers who have only a call from God, in Lechler's *John Wiclif and his English Precursors*, vol. i, p. 309.

must," says Milman, "have been sent out and widely promulgated in different portions, or it could not, before the days of printing, have become so familiar to the popular mind as to give ground to the bitter complaint of one of Wyclif's adversaries that laymen and women who could read were better acquainted with the Scripture than the most lettered and intelligent of the clergy."<sup>1</sup> As in his opinion God's word should be preached to the people, so he believed it should be read by the people in their own tongue. His labors as a preacher naturally prepared the way for his work as a translator. There had never before this been a version of the entire Bible in the vernacular of England; the Psalms had, however, been translated into Anglo-Saxon, Anglo-Norman, and Old English. None of these versions had been made for the common people, but were solely for the higher classes and particularly the clergy. Wyclif translated the New Testament himself; in the translation of the Old Testament he had the help of Nicholas of Hereford, an Oxford man. Almost immediately after the appearance of the translation its revision began. This was completed in 1388, by John Purvey, four years after Wyclif's death. Of the Middle English, which preceded our modern English speech, Wyclif's Bible is the finest example. Wyclif may be considered to be the founder of modern English prose composition. His version of the Scriptures is the basis of all the earlier English versions, and out of these came our Authorized Version, which is the great English prose classic.

The schism in the papacy and the violent measures adopted by the rival popes to overthrow each other led Wyclif to discard the papal headships of the Church altogether. He said of the rivals that the best and wisest course for a Christian was to "stand by and look quietly on and let the two halves of anti-Christ destroy each other." More than this; by the year 1380 he had arrived at the conclusion that the dogma of transubstantiation is unscriptural. In the year 1381 he published twelve



theses on the Lord's Supper, in which he declared "that the consecrated host which we see on the altar is neither Christ nor any part of him, but the efficacious sign of him;" and also "the sacrament of the eucharist is in its own nature bread and wine, having by virtue of the sacramental words the true body and blood of Christ at every point of it." His opinion, therefore, resembles that of Luther. He asked the question very pertinently, "Where find you that ever Christ or any of his apostles worshipped the sacramental bread?" The chancellor of the university summoned a number of doctors to pronounce judgment upon the theses; the judgment was one of condemnation, and an order was issued forbidding them to be taught in Oxford. Wyclif appealed to the king, and reiterated his assertions. John of Gaunt sent a messenger to Wyclif enjoining silence on the subject. Wyclif's opinions on transubstantiation, like those of Luther, were formed gradually. From his opposition to papal secular power he was led by the study of the New Testament to his opposition to all sacerdotal power. The doctrine of transubstantiation expresses the highest claims of sacerdotalism.

In 1381 William Courtenay, Bishop of London, became Archbishop of Canterbury. He had been an inflexible opponent of Wyclif during all his episcopate, and was sagacious and resolute to accomplish whatever he took in hand. Courtenay summoned a synod of bishops, doctors, and monks to examine the reformer's erroneous and heretical opinions. The synod met at the Church of the Black Friars, London, in May, 1382. Ten articles gathered out of Wyclif's writings were condemned as heretical, and fourteen other articles as erroneous. Among these were the denial of transubstantiation and the following affirmations: (1) That if a bishop or priest be in mortal sin he doth not ordain, consecrate, nor baptize; (2) That if a man be truly contrite all exterior confession is to him invalid; (3) That Christ did not ordain the mass; (4) That if the pope be a wicked man he has no power over the faithful; (5) That it is

contrary to Scripture for ecclesiastical persons to have temporal possession.<sup>1</sup> The condemnation of these opinions was followed by cautious yet decided measures against all who held them. June 26, 1382, a royal order directed the arrest and imprisonment of Wyclif's itinerant preachers. July 12, 1382, the archbishop sent an order to the Chancellor of Oxford forbidding anyone attending the preaching of Wyclif, or of his adherents, or to favor them. This was followed by another order from the same source suspending Wyclif and his friends in the university from scholastic functions. Finally a second royal mandate forbade any favor to be shown to Wyclif and other teachers of heresy. Wyclif was not present when his opinions were condemned, on account of sickness, for at this time he was supposed to be dying. He, however, said, "I shall not die, but live to declare the works of the friars."

He was now summoned to appear in person before the Convocation of Canterbury, which met at Oxford, November 18, 1382. Whether he appeared or not is not ascertained, but it is certain that no sentence was pronounced. He was still left at large. Parliament met November 19, 1382. Wyclif addressed a memorial to it asking: (1) That all persons bound by monastic vows might follow the more perfect law of Christ; (2) That Christ's doctrine of the eucharist be taught; (3) That neither king nor kingdom obey any see or prelate further than their obedience be grounded on Scripture; (4) That no foreigner should hold preferment in England; (5) That no bishop should hold secular office; and (6) That no one should be imprisoned on account of excommunication. This act shows manly courage; for, however much Wyclif's titled friends were opposed to the papal tyranny, they had no intention of breaking with the Church in doctrine. Wyclif stood almost alone, but no one dared touch his person. Some impression that the king and Parliament would not suffer bodily harm to be inflicted on Wyclif must have restrained his persecutors. He was permitted

<sup>1</sup> See Lechler, *John Wyclif and his English Precursors*, vol. ii, pp. 234, 235.

to retire to the rectory of Lutterworth, where he spent two quiet years before his death. While celebrating mass in his church he was struck with paralysis, and died on the 28th of December, 1384.

There is much of Wyclif's life which we wish to know, but from the scantiness of our material cannot. In his habits he was simple and in his appearance austere. He had equal power in addressing the learned and the common people; could be the subtle schoolman or the popular pamphleteer, as occasion required. His literary activity was prodigious. His doctrines may be thus summarized: (1) The denial of the right of the clergy to hold vast possessions. (2) The denial of the authority of pope or priest beyond the limits laid down in Scripture. (3) The denial of transubstantiation, and the assertion of the mystical presence of the body and blood of Christ in the Lord's Supper. (4) The assertion of the right of the people to the free use of Scripture. These are not the elements of a complete reform, but they are preparations for reform. The strong points of his nature are intellect, will, and moral integrity. "He is," says Lechler, "a man in whom the understanding predominates, an understanding pure, clear, sharp, penetrating. It is in Wyclif as if one felt the fresh, cool breath of the morning air before sunrise; while in Luther we feel something of the kindly warmth of the morning sun himself."<sup>1</sup> Wyclif is easily the first Englishman of his time, solid, inflexible, and always victorious. The harvest which followed his seed-sowing appeared first in Bohemia. Through Anne of Bohemia, the wife of Richard II, and her attendants, the writings of Wyclif were carried to Bohemia, where they prepared Huss to be his successor. Thirty years after Wyclif's death the Council of Constance condemned his writings, and ordered that his bones, if they could be recognized, should be dug up and cast upon a dunghill. The story is that, in obedience to the order, his bones were dug up and burned, and the

<sup>1</sup> *John Wiclif and his English Precursors*, vol. ii, p. 305.

ashes cast into the river Swift, which runs by Lutterworth. And so in the words of Fuller, the Church historian, the ashes of Wyclif were "cast into the Swift; thus this brook conveyed them to the Avon, Avon to the Severn, Severn to the narrow seas, they to the main ocean. And thus the ashes of Wyclif are the emblem of his doctrine, which now is dispersed all the world over."<sup>1</sup>

That Wyclif looked forward to a complete reformation of the Church there can be no question. He says: "I anticipate that some of the friars whom God shall be pleased to enlighten will lay aside their unfaithfulness, and will freely return to primitive truth, as Paul did before them."<sup>2</sup> This prediction was literally fulfilled in Luther, a mendicant friar of the Augustinian order, who brought the Church back to the Pauline doctrine of justification by faith alone.

## NOTES TO CHAPTER XXXVII.

### I. OPINIONS OF WYCLIF.

We cannot be said to have as yet a full knowledge of all of Wyclif's opinions. Most of his Latin works have been lying hid away in manuscript, in great libraries, for five hundred years, and only in our time has an effort been made to exhibit them in their completeness. Twenty-one volumes have been issued by the Wyclif Society, which was founded in 1882 for the purpose of publishing Wyclif's Latin works, and five more will be needed to give to the world the full expression of his thought. Of what he has left his Latin writings are the most numerous, the largest in bulk, and the most important for the history of his opinions; the English are valuable as showing the man and the Christian and as studies in English literature. His works are philosophical, theological, and practical. Among them is a complete system of theology, but in fact they touch upon nearly all the subjects which could interest a scholar in that age.

The indifference of England to Wyclif's memory is a mystery which I am unable to solve. It is a fact that the first biography of this reformer, that of John Lewis, published in 1720, was written in reply to an assault upon his memory by an English clergyman. This libeller had taken for the foundation of his libel an account of Wyclif written by a French Roman Catholic, named Varillas. I conjecture that Wyclif's views of the identity of the offices of presbyter and bishop, and the essential parity of all ministers,

<sup>1</sup> Fuller, *Church History of Britain*, new edition, 1837, vol. i, p. 493.

<sup>2</sup> *Dialogus*, book iv, chap. xxx. See also Lechler's *John Wiclif and his English Precursors*, vol. ii, p. 145.

have made his writings distasteful to State-Churchmen. Like Cromwell, the greatest of Englishmen in the political sphere, Wyclif, the greatest of Englishmen in the ecclesiastical sphere, seems beyond English appreciation. Compared with him the men who carried forward the Reformation under Henry VIII are hardly worth naming. He was original, they were copyists; he was not afraid to stand alone, they swayed to one or the other side with the king and his court.

His opinions may be described under five heads: 1. On the rights and powers of the Christian ministry. 2. On the sufficiency of the Scriptures for salvation. 3. On Christ and his kingdom. 4. On faith. 5. On the sacraments and church membership. Some of his opinions may be stated more in detail as follows: 1. He held that the Church consisted of the whole body of the elect. This position set him in opposition to the Roman Catholic dogma that the clergy are the Church.<sup>1</sup> 2. He also asserted that the Church may for a time consist of the laity alone. That is, he rejected the doctrine of a mediatorial human priesthood as necessary to salvation. 3. He rejected the celibacy of the clergy as unscriptural. 4. He affirmed most explicitly the equality of presbyters and bishops, declaring that in Scripture there are two orders only of the clergy, presbyters and deacons. He affirmed (1) that as to power all ordained men are equal (*De Civili Dominio*, book i, chap. xxxviii). (2) That in the primitive Church two orders of clergy sufficed (*Dialogus*, book iv, chap. xv). (3) That the assumption by bishops of superiority over presbyters was a consequence of the donations of Constantine to Sylvester I. 5. Lechler finds three stages in Wyclif's opinions of the papacy: (1) To 1378. (2) From 1378 to 1381. (3) From 1381 to his death in 1384. In the first he admits the papal supremacy within certain limits. In the second he denies the principle of the papal primacy. In the third he opposes the papal primacy. In the first he denies the plenary power of the pope and asserts that papal authority is not necessary to salvation. He accepts, as Melancthon, the papacy, *jure humano*. The second stage coincides with the papal schism, and he thinks that the Church would be as well off without any popes. In the third stage he describes the pope as anti-Christ. 6. Wyclif's objections to transubstantiation were: (1) Philosophical. (2) Scriptural. He considered the claim that the priest made the body of Christ a blasphemy. His idea of the Lord's Supper is that there is: (1) True bread and wine. (2) The body of Christ. (See concerning the eucharist in *De Apostasia*, chap. x.) 7. As to the corruption of the Church he held that it arose from its vast possessions. He therefore asserted (1) That the Church holds property as a trust. (2) That when the Church is faithless the state has the right to sequester its property. (3) To make his position firm he argues that there is no absolute ownership of property; that God alone possesses absolutely.

## II. BIBLIOGRAPHY.<sup>2</sup>

The life of Wyclif, by the Rev. John Lewis, already mentioned, was republished at Oxford, 1820. *The Life and Opinions of John de Wycliffe*, by the Rev. Robert Vaughan, an original investigation, appeared, London, 1828, a second

<sup>1</sup> See Arnold's *Select English Works of John Wyclif*, vol. iii, p. 447.

<sup>2</sup> The spelling of Wyclif's name, as is shown by the authorities quoted, varies greatly. The form, Wyclif, used in the text, is that adopted by the Wyclif Society.



edition in two volumes in 1831, a revised edition in one volume in 1853; this last is called *John de Wycliffe, a Monograph*. Vaughan also published *Tracts and Treatises of John de Wycliffe*, London, 1845. *The Life of Wiclif*, by C. W. Le Bas, a popular account, appeared in 1832. The standard life is *John Wiclif and his English Precursors*, by Professor G. Lechler, of Leipsic, translated with notes by Peter Lorimer, D.D., 2 vols., London, 1878; a revised and condensed edition in one volume, London, 1884. Professor Lechler has also edited *Joannis Wiclif Trialogus cum supplemento Trialogi*, Oxford, 1869. *Wiclif and Hus*, by Professor J. Loserth, translated by the Rev. M. J. Evans, London, 1884, shows the dependence of Huss upon Wyclif. Among other accounts of Wyclif are *Wiclif's Place in History*, by Professor Montagu Burrows, being three lectures delivered at Oxford, new edition, London, 1884, and a life of Wyclif, in the *Heroes of the Nations* series, by Lewis Sergeant, New York, 1892. *Fasciculi Zizaniorum Magistri Johannis Wyclif cum Tritico*, ascribed to Thomas Netter, of Walden, confessor to King Henry V, edited by the Rev. W. W. Shirley, was published London, 1858. Shirley also published, Oxford, 1865, *A Catalogue of the Original Works of John Wyclif*. The Lives by Lewis, Vaughan, and Lechler contain lists of his writings. The list in Lechler has superseded the lists of the other two works. Of Wyclif's English works the following publications may be mentioned: *Select English Works of John Wyclif*, edited by Thomas Arnold, 3 vols., Oxford, 1869, 1871; *English Works of Wyclif Hitherto Unprinted*, edited by E. D. Matthews, London, 1879; *Wycliffite Versions of the Holy Bible*, edited by Forshall and Madden, 4 vols., Oxford, 1850. This has an historical Preface of great value on the early English versions of the Bible, particularly the version of Wyclif. It gives an account of the manuscripts of these early versions and where they may be found.



## CHAPTER XXXVIII.

## JOHN HUSS.

IN opening the account of the life of Huss it is important to group together a number of facts, which help to explain his appearance as a Church reformer, and the effect produced by him upon Bohemia and Europe. The first of these was the condition of Bohemia itself. Prague, the capital, was a rising city, and boasted a renowned university. The Bohemian Church was not so much Latin as Greek, for it was the child of Greek Christianity; its subjection to the Pope of Rome had been a slow process; the compulsory celibacy of the clergy and the withholding of the cup from the laity in the Lord's Supper had been resisted with great tenacity. The Bible had been translated into the Bohemian language, and was to some extent read by the people. Moreover, members of the persecuted Waldenses had found a refuge in Bohemian territory; even Waldo himself is said, by one tradition, to have concealed himself in the Bohemian mountains.

Another fact to be noted is that before the time of Huss preaching apart from the mass had been established in the Bethlehem chapel of Prague. This pulpit was an anticipation of the Protestant worship in which the sermon is a leading feature. It was prophetic of the days to come. The chapel had been founded and endowed by a rich merchant named Kreutz, and John of Mulheim, a member of the king's court, that the common people might there "be refreshed by the bread of holy preaching." The corner stone of this edifice was laid by the archbishop, John of Jenstein, and after some pains the pope confirmed the foundation. Here Huss preached for twelve years, from 1402, having been selected by the founder himself. The third fact is that Huss had been preceded by

good men in the work of reform throughout Bohemia. The earliest of these predecessors was Conrad Waldhauser, sometimes called Conrad Stickna, an Augustinian monk. Waldhauser is first known as a preacher in Vienna, from 1345–1360. Stirred by the corruptions of the Church, he became an itinerant evangelist through all Austria, and was invited by the emperor, Charles IV, to Bohemia, where he labored till 1369. He was eminently a preacher of repentance and drew his arguments directly from the Bible.

The second forerunner of Huss was John Milicz, of Moravia. Milicz might be called an earlier Wesley, for he preached often five times a day, and to reach all classes he varied his language, using Latin, or German, or Bohemian. He reformed the city of Prague, went to Rome, and was cast into prison, where he wrote a work on anti-Christ. He died at last at Avignon, to which city he had gone to defend himself against his enemies. Milicz had the spirit of Greek as distinguished from Latin Christianity, and taught the identification of the pope with anti-Christ—a truth which Huss afterward used with great effect. The third predecessor of Huss was Matthias of Janow, a doctor of the University of Paris. He was a disciple of Milicz, and judged everything by God's word. He took up the thought of his master, that the pope is anti-Christ, and developed it in his principal work, *Regulæ Veteris et Novi Testamenti*. He died in 1394.

The fourth fact to be noticed is the papal schism which lasted from 1378 to 1417, a space of nearly forty years. During this period pope anathematized pope; the partisans of each fought for their master with weapons which were other than spiritual. At the time when Gregory XII and Benedict XIII were rivals the Council of Pisa was called (1409) by the cardinals on their sole authority for the purpose of giving peace to Christendom. In June, 1409, the council assumed for the first time in the history of Latin Christianity the right of deposing a pope, and deposed Gregory XII and Benedict XIII.

Milman says that this decision of the General Council "shook the papal power to its base." The council then elected a pope who took the name of Alexander V and reigned ten months. He was succeeded by Balthasar Cossa, a man of consummate ability and of equally consummate rascality, who assumed the name of John XXIII. He was a soldier, a usurer, a seller of preferments, a robber of rich men, a murderer, and a debauchee. There were now three popes, Gregory XII, Benedict XIII, and John XXIII, each sustained by his partisans, and in this condition the Church remained till the assembling of the Council of Constance.

The last fact to be noticed is the inheritance of the doctrines of Wyclif by Bohemians. Queen Anne, wife of Richard II of England, died in 1394. Her attendants carried Wyclifism with them to their homes. Jerome of Prague, Huss's disciple and fellow-martyr, was a student of Oxford soon after Wyclif's death. He transcribed some of the English reformer's books and took them to Bohemia, where he showed them to Huss. A convocation of the University of Prague (May 28, 1403) condemned the writings of Wyclif, but this fact only served to call greater attention to the proscribed doctrines. Huss was at first prejudiced against his English predecessor, but studied him and eventually accepted his teaching. He was known in Bohemia as a follower of Wyclif, and under this name was condemned by the Council of Constance.

John Huss, or John of Hussinitz, was born in either 1369 or 1373, the two dates being given by different authorities, and takes his name from his native village, in southern Bohemia. His parents were peasants, but they had the good sense to do the utmost in their power for their son's education. His first school was that of the monks in the monastery of Hussinitz. He was so eager for learning that the monks sent him to a better school in the neighboring village of Prachatitz. His expenses were here defrayed by Nicholas of Hussinitz, the nobleman of his native place. He next went to the University

of Prague. He was poor, but perhaps not poorer than the majority of the students in attendance upon the universities of Europe in that age. His university life was blameless and his repute for intellectual power very high. "Meanly born but of no mean spirit" was the testimony of one who was not his friend.

The University of Prague itself has a history ; it was third in rank after Paris and Oxford, and the first university formed in the German empire. The students who frequented it were counted by thousands. It was founded in 1348 by the emperor Charles IV, one of the most politic of the line of German sovereigns and a patron of learning and art. Here Huss became bachelor of arts in 1393, master of arts in 1396, dean of the philosophical faculty in 1401, pastor of the Bethlehem chapel in 1402, and rector of the university in the same year. Thus in nine years he had reached, by the force of merit alone, the highest academic honors. A contest arose between the Bohemians and the Germans for the control of the university, a contest which greatly affected both the life of Huss and the course of the Bohemian Reformation. The students represented four "nations," Bavaria, Saxony, Poland, and Bohemia. Each nationality had a vote in the university government, and was represented in the doctors and professors. As, however, three of the "nations" were German, the Germans had a preponderance in the administration and enjoyment of the revenues. In the University of Paris, where there were also four nationalities, the native French had three votes. The Bohemians claimed the same relative power for themselves in the University of Prague. The king, advised by Huss, decided (1408) in their favor. The offended Germans withdrew in large numbers and founded the University of Leipsic. No doubt the fact that the Bohemians were inclined to Wyclifism, while the Germans were opposed to it, helped to create this division.

It would require too much time to trace the steps by which

Huss came into full sympathy with Wyclifism; they were steps slowly taken. The call for reform was heard all over Europe. The ignorance and sensuality of the monks, the wealth of the higher clergy, the crimes of the popes, and the schism in the papacy made reformation imperative. The fact that Wyclif was a reformer predisposed earnest men to study his works. One of Huss's teachers, Stanislaus, commended Wyclif publicly to the students of the university; one of his associates, Paletz, offered to defend Wyclif's doctrine; the result was that Huss became a close student of the writings of his English predecessor. Before long he was talked about as a Wyclifite, a heretic. To this charge he gave little heed, saying, "I only wish that my soul, when it leaves this body, may reach the place where that of this excellent Briton dwells."

Two methods of reform only were practicable: (1) By the application of Church law through general councils to the correction of the vices of the popes and the disorders of the clergy. This method would not subject the reformers to the charge of heresy. Leaders of this species of reformation were John Gerson, Chancellor of the University of Paris, and Peter D'Ailly, Cardinal of Cambray, two of the best scholars and most honored men of Europe. (2) The second method was the application to existing abuses of the principles of the New Testament. The examples of Christ and his apostles were a powerful rebuke of priestly sin. To follow this method demanded of the reformer some independence of Church authority. It is noteworthy that the reforming movement came first from the extreme West, and then from the extreme East of the papal empire. The national feeling of England had always resisted papal claims, and that had supported Wyclif. Affiliation with Greek Christianity had created a like impatience of papal sway in Bohemia. In both countries the conditions favored an appeal to something higher than Church law, to the word of God itself.

We are now to trace the succession of facts which gave to

Huss the name and fame of a heretic. At the time of the beginning of this part of our story he occupied important positions. He was rector of the university, confessor of Queen Sophia, the wife of Wenceslaus, King of Bohemia, and preacher in Bethlehem chapel. As he learned the truth from Wyclif he proclaimed it from the pulpit. He says of his English master: "I am drawn to Wyclif by the reputation he enjoys with the good, not the bad priests at the University of Oxford, and generally with the people, though not with bad, pomp-loving, dissipated prelates and priests. I am attracted by his writings, in which he expends every effort to conduct all men back to the law of Christ, and especially the clergy, inviting them to let go pomp and dominion of the world and to live with the apostles according to the law of Christ."<sup>1</sup> As a preacher Huss, though not specially eloquent, was a power in Prague. "Vast congregations," says De Schweinitz, "thronged to hear him, representing every class of society, except the clergy of rank, the German masters, and the monks. Nobles, Bohemian masters, students, merchants, mechanics, and peasants all hung upon his words. The queen was one of his most faithful hearers. The biblical character of his sermons, and the evidences with which they abounded that they were the outflow of personal conviction and living faith, gave them power; while the pure Bohemian which gushed from his lips, the idiomatic phrases which he used, and the transparent simplicity of his style rendered them exceedingly attractive."<sup>2</sup>

In 1404 two Englishmen, James and Conrad of Canterbury, became members of the university, and taught Wyclif's doctrines. Being silenced, they set up a picture in which Christ riding into Jerusalem and the pope riding on a caparisoned charger, and followed by soldiers, were represented in contrast. The picture was visited by crowds of the people, who readily comprehended the lesson. Through these and other means

<sup>1</sup> Gillett, *Life and Times of John Huss*, vol. i, p. 77.

<sup>2</sup> *The Moravian*, April 5, 1882.



the study of Wyclif became general in the university. Wyclifism might now be said to be in the air throughout the city of Prague. Paletz, one of Huss's friends, on a certain occasion, threw a copy of Wyclif's writings into the midst of the masters of the university as they sat together, saying, "Let who will impugn a single word, I will defend it." The cause of Wyclif became a university cause, a Bohemian cause, and a Bohemian cause especially for the reason that the condemnation of Wyclif's writings in 1403 was obtained by the predominance of the Germans in the university. In 1406 Sbynko, the archbishop, who was more of a soldier than a theologian, summoned a synod, which forbade the teaching of the doctrines of Wyclif. In 1408 a university assembly, consisting of sixty-four masters and doctors, a hundred and fifty graduates, and one thousand students, decreed that no member of the university should teach Wyclif's opinions. But it was provided that the prohibition referred to the opinions only as taken in a practical sense. The decree shows that Wyclifism had penetrated the university, and that the conservative members were alarmed. In 1409 Huss was elected a second time rector of the university. His attachment to Wyclif's writings was now made more and more manifest. He translated several of Wyclif's treatises into Bohemian, and took measures for their circulation. He sent a copy of Wyclif's *Triologus* to the uncle of King Wenceslaus, then Margrave of Moravia. Archbishop Sbynko now ordered the burning of Wyclif's and other heretical writings, and forbade the reading of them within his diocese. This was followed (1409) by a papal bull from Alexander V forbidding preaching in private chapels, and appointing a commission to arrest the spread of heresy. The few university students who still retained copies of Wyclif's works were required to give them up.

This was the testing time for Huss. Many who thought as he did hastened to make their peace with the Church. Preaching had been forbidden by papal bull; should he obey the pope or

obey God? He decided to preach still. "In order," he said, "that I may not make myself guilty by my silence, forsaking the truth for a piece of bread, or through fear of man, I avow it to be my purpose to defend the truth which God has enabled me know, and especially the truth of the Holy Scriptures, even to death. And if the fear of death should terrify me, still I hope in my God, and in the assistance of the Holy Spirit, that the Lord himself will give me firmness."<sup>1</sup> On June 25, 1410, Huss made an appeal to the pope, which was virtually a protest against the enforcement of the papal bull, before a notary and seven witnesses. July 16, 1410, there was a public burning of the writings of Wyclif gathered from every possible source, under the order of Archbishop Sbynko. The people of Bohemia were enraged by the burning, and expressed their anger in acts of violence and derisive songs. Huss spoke out on the following Sunday from the Bethlehem pulpit: "Fire does not consume truth," he said; "the books which are burnt are a loss to the whole nation." His appeal went to Rome, and along with it a vindication of his own course from the archbishop. Huss was ordered to appear in person at Rome and there to justify himself; but he refused to go, on the reasonable ground that his life would not be safe if he went. The king, the queen, and the university begged for a reversal of the papal order. No heed was paid to their prayer, and in March, 1411, Huss's excommunication for contumacy was published in the churches of Prague. He continued, notwithstanding, to preach. The city of Prague, for sustaining him, was placed under an interdict; but the storm of anger aroused against the archbishop appalled the latter; his courage gave way. He recalled the excommunication and interdict, and soon after died (1411), worn out by a struggle to which he was not equal.

Up to this time Huss had had with him the king, Wenceslaus, the queen, his associates of the university, and the people of Bohemia. He was now to see the falling away of the scholars

<sup>1</sup> Gillett, *Life and Times of John Huss*, vol. i, p. 152.

and the princes, and to find himself, save for the help of a few friends and the inarticulate sympathy of the people, alone. The king, the nobles, and the people with Huss had acquiesced in the decision of the Council of Pisa, which deposed the rival popes and elected Alexander V. Practically Alexander had been elected by Balthasar Cossa, and at a time convenient for the plans of Balthasar, Alexander died. It now suited this popemaker to become pope himself. September 9, 1411, as John XXIII, he issued a bull against his enemy Ladislaus of Naples, the supporter of Gregory XII. In this proclamation he called on all Christendom to enter upon a crusade against Ladislaus; all who bore arms and all who gave money to further the crusade were promised plenary indulgence. To be loyal to such a monster as John XXIII was a trial to Huss, but to accept the crusade was more than he could bear. He spoke out in his Bethlehem chapel. "Is this," he asked, "an act worthy of the common pastor of all Christendom? Bishops are required every Sabbath to read the bull of excommunication against Ladislaus; Christians are summoned in this personal quarrel between the pope and king to march against the latter and dethrone him. For this they are promised the forgiveness of their sins and eternal salvation. Is the shedding of blood then to procure the remission of sins? Is it Christianity, is it Gospel, to incite Christians to war upon Christians?"<sup>1</sup>

In the war that followed Ladislaus was victor; he captured Rome and sacked and plundered it. John XXIII barely escaped. As soon as he was safe he proclaimed another crusade against his enemy, and called upon Christendom to ravage the kingdom of Naples with fire and sword. Wenceslaus sided with the pope, whose aid he wished in his political schemes; the university professors sided with the king, for they could not endure the frowns of royalty. Huss was left alone. In May, 1412, the legate of John XXIII reached Prague, having the papal bulls. The people were summoned to the public

<sup>1</sup> Gillett, *Life and Times of John Huss*, vol. i, p. 198.

places of the city by drumbeat; boxes were put in the cathedral and other churches to receive the money for the crusade. The doctors of the university met and decided to obey king and pope. Huss denounced the papal scheme both in his lecture room and the Bethlehem chapel. "He maintained," says Gillett, "that it was an antichristian procedure to spur Christians on to war with Christians, and, with a view to shedding of blood, to sell indulgences for money."<sup>1</sup>

The city divided into two parties; the king's council met and advised submission and peace. In June, 1412, Huss posted a notice on the doors of the churches of Prague that he would on the seventh of the month publicly dispute on the following question: "Whether it is according to the law of Christ, and a profitable thing, that Christian believers, with God's glory, the salvation of souls, and the welfare of the kingdom in view, should give their support to the bull of the pope proclaiming a crusade against Ladislaus, King of Naples."<sup>2</sup> A great crowd assembled on the appointed day, the common people forcing their way in among the scholars. Huss denied the right of the pope to absolve from sins by the promise of indulgences, and called the collectors of money for the crusade "thieves of anti-Christ." No one supported Huss but Jerome of Prague; but both he and Huss were applauded by the citizens. After a second meeting of a like kind the people followed Huss to his home, and said at parting: "Huss, abandon us not; remain firm." The commotion spread into the churches; while the preachers were preaching the people interrupted, calling them liars and deceivers. Two students and a shoemaker were arrested for creating such disturbances and executed. Their bodies were carried in solemn procession to the Bethlehem chapel by the common people. Huss preached a funeral discourse on their fate, saying that no further communion could exist between the adherents of Rome and the Bohemian Christians. In the summer of 1412 the excommu-

<sup>1</sup> *Life and Times of John Huss*, vol. i, p. 207.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. i, p. 208.

nication of Huss was made final. No one could give him food or drink or hold any intercourse with him. Whatever place he stood in was put under interdict. Another bull was issued by the infuriated pope, ordering Huss to be seized and the Bethlehem chapel to be torn down. For a time Huss refused to abandon his post; but finding that the city was suffering from the suspension of religious worship he left Prague at the close of 1412.

And now the controversy spread in every direction, as all such controversies do. Synods were called, debates were held by university doctors. In his retirement Huss was busy; by letters and treatises and messengers sent up and down Bohemia he propagated the new opinions. The interdict became a dead letter, so that in two years he returned without molestation to Prague. "The evangelical party," says Gillett, "was manifestly in the ascendant. Bohemia might almost be considered as hopelessly lost to the Church."<sup>1</sup> Neither the king, nor the nobles, nor the university could be relied upon to put down Huss. In their despair the Church party called for a general council. Several causes conspired to make a council necessary. There was a schism in the papacy; the Turk was threatening Hungary; the Bohemian rebellion against the Church was becoming more formidable every day. Sigismund, son of Charles IV, and now emperor, was resolved that a council should be held, and obtained a reluctant consent from John XXIII. The bishops were summoned to meet in Constance in October, 1414; and Huss was commanded to appear there and answer to the charge of heresy. Of his own free will he determined to go and defend the truth which he had preached in Bohemia.

<sup>1</sup> *Life and Times of John Huss*, vol. i, p. 277.

## CHAPTER XXXIX.

## THE COUNCIL OF CONSTANCE.

BEFORE proceeding with the Council of Constance it is necessary to trace the history of the papacy from the time of Boniface VIII (1294–1303) to the year 1414. We parted with Boniface at the moment of the issue of the bull *Unam Sanctam*, in which he declared it to be “necessary to salvation to believe that every human being is subject to the Pontiff of Rome.”<sup>1</sup> This is the culmination of the papal power; but the hour of triumph was the beginning of its decline. Boniface found an antagonist in Philip the Fair of France, who humbled the pope and made him prisoner. So disastrous was Boniface’s reign that it was said of him, “He came in like a fox, ruled like a lion, and died like a dog.” With Clement V begins the Babylonian captivity of the Church, or the residence of the popes in France, which lasted from 1305 to 1377, a period of over seventy years. During these years, says Milman, “Rome is no longer the metropolis of Christendom; the pope is a French prelate; the successor of St. Peter is not on St. Peter’s throne; he is environed with none of the traditionary majesty or traditionary sanctity of the eternal city.”<sup>2</sup> With Urban VI (1378–1389) began the schism which lasted till 1417. It is astonishing that the papacy should ever have rallied from such depression; but it did rally after the Council of Constance, and then sank lower than ever.

The time appointed for the opening of the Council of Constance was October, 1414. Great preparations were made for the immense concourse of people expected to attend. All the pomp both of the Church and of the empire would be there displayed.

<sup>1</sup> See chap. xxxiii, *The Popes and the Emperors*, p. 334.

<sup>2</sup> *History of Latin Christianity*, vol. vi, p. 370.



It was a splendid exhibition of mediæval civilization. Says one historian, "For several months the converging roads which led to Constance were crowded with all ranks and orders, ecclesiastics and laymen, sovereign princes and ambassadors of sovereigns, archbishops and bishops, the heads or representatives of the great monastic orders, delegates from renowned universities, some with splendid and numerous retainers, some like trains of pilgrims, some singly and on foot." Crosiers were carried before the lords of the Church and banners before the lords of the state. On the 28th of October Pope John XXIII reached Constance with nine cardinals and six hundred followers. On the 3d of November John Huss arrived. He was pale and thin, was attended by John of Chlum and the Lord of Duba, and was followed by a crowd curious to see him. The party, protected by a safe conduct, had started from Prague in October. Before leaving Huss addressed a farewell to his friends, in which he said: "If my death ought to contribute to Christ's glory, pray that it may come quickly, and that he may enable me to support all my calamities with constancy. But if it be better that I return among you, let us pray to God that I may return without stain."<sup>1</sup> "Dear master," said Jerome, when they parted, "be firm." On the journey the people pressed upon him loving attentions, and at a village fifty miles from Constance, where he disputed successfully with the priests, they carried him in triumph through the streets.

The council was opened by the pope November 5. It was large in numbers and represented the strength of the Latin Church. Four patriarchs from the East were there, namely, the patriarchs of Constantinople, Grado, Antioch, Aquileia; twenty-nine cardinals, thirty-three archbishops, one hundred and fifty bishops, one hundred and thirty-four abbots, two hundred and fifty doctors, one hundred and twenty-five provosts. The clergy, with their attendants, numbered eighteen thousand. It is an illustration of the times that the Archbishop of Mayence

<sup>1</sup> Gillett, *Life and Times of John Huss*, vol. i, p. 314.

appeared at Constance clad in the armor of a knight and followed by soldiery. The princes of Germany were present with the emperor, and the free cities were represented by deputies. Keeping in view the objects of the council—1. The union of the Church under one pope, 2. The reformation of the Church in its head and members, and 3. The extirpation of heresy—we can trace the lines which separated parties. The emperor Sigismund was anxious for the restoration of the Church's unity, and also desired to play the part of restorer. John XXIII, who had reluctantly summoned the council, and who was full of foreboding of what was to come from it, manoeuvred with the cardinals in his interests to ward off deposition. D'Ailly, the Archbishop of Cambray, and Gerson, Chancellor of the University of Paris, with the French prelates, aimed at the purification of the papacy and its subordination to a general council.

The question of the order of proceedings was one on which much turned. Could the extirpation of heresy be taken up first, then John XXIII would gain time, and the council could be welded together by a common passion in which the pope would share. But the emperor Sigismund settled this point by consenting to violate his safe conduct given to Huss. The ambassadors of the antipopes, Gregory XII and Benedict XIII, were now admitted to the council. Those of Gregory XII offered the resignation of their chief if Benedict and John would resign also. John had bribed in every direction, had made large promises, but with all his artifices could not suppress the demand for his retirement from the papacy. Cardinal D'Ailly asserted the power of a general council to depose "even a lawful pontiff of blameless character if it be necessary for the welfare of the Church." It was proposed that the voting in the council should be by nations; and as there were four nations represented, the Italians, Germans, French, and English, the Italians, who were the closest adherents of John, were reduced to a minority. John resisted, but in vain. The horrible story of

his life was presented privately to the council. He was driven to despair; yielding at last to the persuasions of his friends, who saw that the union of the three nations was irresistible, he read on March 1, 1415, a form of abdication, prepared, it was said, by Gerson. Its reading was received with an outburst of applause and the singing of the *Te Deum*.

At a public session held the next day the emperor, forgetting all the pope's crimes, his perjuries and his horrible lusts, flung himself prostrate before John and kissed his feet. It was a strange world, this world of mediæval Christianity. But the abdication was conditioned on the resignation of the two rival popes. John hoped to be restored; the emperor was resolved that the resignation should be final. It was suspected that John would flee from Constance and appeal to Christendom; the gates of the city were watched to prevent his escape. All efforts to persuade the pope to make his abdication unconditional failed. On March 20, 1415, he fled from Constance in disguise. Frederick, Archduke of Austria, who favored John's cause, had prepared a tournament outside the walls of the city; he was to joust himself with the brother of the empress, the Count of Cilly. All the city, then filled with fifty thousand strangers, flocked to the spectacle. Pope John, dressed as a groom, and further disguised by a large cloak and a kerchief drawn close about his face, passed through the city gates mounted on a wretched horse. He was not detected, and reached the confluence of the Rhine with the lake. A boat in readiness for him took him to Schaffhausen, a castle of the Duke of Austria. Constance, as soon as the report of the flight spread, was thrown into confusion. The people became riotous, and some broke into the palace occupied by John; but the emperor maintained the peace. The pope sent a message to the council declaring that he had gone to Schaffhausen, not to dispense himself from the promise of abdicating the papacy, but to execute it with greater precision. The only reply made was the placarding of writing on the walls of his palace in Constance describing his infamous life.

The council now made the declaration which virtually changed the constitution of the Church. John Gerson, whose power was felt all through its proceedings, laid down twelve principles which very accurately represented the sentiment of the majority. Some of them are: "1. Jesus Christ himself is the one perfect Head of the Church, the pope is so only in a secondary sense. 2. The union of Christ with his spouse is alone indissoluble; that of the pope with the Church may be dissolved. 3. A pope is necessary to complete the Church, but any particular pope may be removed. 4. An ecumenical council representing the Church may enact canons which a pope is bound to obey. 5. A council can be assembled in some cases without the authority even of a legitimate pope. 6. A council may command the cession of a pope for the welfare of the Church or the termination of a schism. 7. The reformation of the Church, both in faith and discipline, rests ultimately with the council. 8. Councils ought to be held from time to time as the one supreme representative of the Church." <sup>1</sup> The essential part of Gerson's declaration was embodied in a decree of the council, April 6, 1415.

Meanwhile John fled from point to point, sometimes in disguise. He was cited to trial, and not appearing the trial went on in his absence. Sixteen of the articles of the charge were so scandalous that they were left to pass out of sight. There was no defense, and decency was outraged by the hearing of them. John XXIII was deposed, was captured by the imperial soldiers, and surrendered the papal seal and the fisherman's ring. The sentence of the council ordered imprisonment, and he was committed to the castle of Heidelberg. Of the other two popes Gregory XII made little resistance; Benedict XIII fought his battle to the end. For a time he was supported by the Spaniards and Portuguese, but they finally came into the council, making a fifth nation. Benedict was deposed, and lived for some years after, asserting himself till his death to be the head of the Church.

<sup>1</sup> See Milman's *History of Latin Christianity*, vol. vii, pp. 471, 472.

But during all this busy movement how had it fared with Huss? He had gone voluntarily to the council under Sigismund's protection, that he might give an account of his teaching to the assembled fathers, and, as he modestly said, that he might be corrected if this could be done from Scripture. Soon after his arrival he was cited to appear before the cardinals; at the close of his interview with them he was told that he was a prisoner; in fact, he had been entrapped. December 6, 1414, he was taken to the prison of a Dominican monastery on the banks of the Rhine and placed in a noisome underground room. His faithful friend John of Chlum protested, but to no purpose; his physician, however, secured his removal to a healthier apartment. The emperor was appealed to, but basely surrendered the reformer to the council. At one time Huss was so entirely neglected that he nearly died of starvation. His Bohemian friends who found him in this condition were so affected that they burst into tears and prayed Heaven to enable them to avenge the wrong with their swords. He was next taken to the castle of Gottlieben, three miles from Constance, and placed in the tower. Here his feet were put in irons, and by night an added chain fastened his arms to the wall. His disciple Jerome of Prague had also been arrested, and after being led through the streets of Constance by a chain was cast into prison. Huss remained in the tower of Gottlieben till he was summoned to appear before the council. Before long the captive John XXIII was a prisoner with him in the same tower. The heretic and the ex-vicar of Christ may have occupied contiguous cells.

Two questions of interest arise at this point: 1. Why did Sigismund abandon Huss after having guaranteed his safety? 2. How was it that Gerson and D'Ailly and others of like mind who shared some of Huss's opinions joined in convicting him of heresy? To the first question the answer is that the emperor's ambition to play the part of pacificator of the Church, and the consequent necessity that he should be in harmony with the council, led him to surrender Huss. To

the second various answers are given ; one is that Huss was a champion of Realism, and Gerson of Nominalism, and that a feud in philosophy gave edge to theological hatred. This, however, seems incredible. Perhaps the real explanation is that Gerson and D'Ailly sought reform through the application of Church law ; Huss, through the application of Scripture. Huss's appeal to the Bible made him a dreaded heretic ; his primary principle, if applied, overturned the principle of the supreme authority of the Church. He represented Christian liberty as against spiritual despotism, and for Christian liberty he died.

Huss had several audiences with the council. At the first the clamor against him was so great that he could not be heard. A notary who was present testifies that the " proceedings of the assembly were characterized rather by the ferocity of wild beasts than the grave deportment of Christian doctors."<sup>1</sup> Said Huss, " I had expected in such a council as this to find more propriety, piety, and order." Wearied out by its own violence, the council adjourned to June 7, 1415. Huss was led into the presence of the council on June 7, loaded with chains and guarded by soldiers. His faithful friends John of Chlum and the Lord of Duba were at his side. The bearing of the reformer was modest but courageous, and his readiness of reply to the charges as they were successively read, extraordinary. The charges were propositions extracted from his writings, and numbered some thirty-nine. Huss upon the instant corrected false glosses, explained circumstances, and, when truth required it, freely acknowledged the opinions ascribed to him. A third audience was held, in which he stood as in the others, bravely battling with the whole council.

It will be impossible to follow this examination in detail ; he distinctly avowed, however, three of the opinions charged upon him : 1. That Pope Sylvester and the emperor Constantine did evil to the Church when they enriched it. 2. That any eccle-

<sup>1</sup> Gillett, *Life and Times of John Huss*, vol. i, p. 551.



siastic, whether pope, prelate, or priest, if in a state of mortal sin, is disqualified for the administration of the sacraments. 3. That tithes are not dues, but merely alms. These opinions do not, however, touch the core of religion. His tract *On the Church* (*De Ecclesia*) throws clearer light upon his doctrinal position. Some sentences from this, gathered by Gillett, approached very closely to Protestantism. (1) On the power of the keys, he says: "The power of the keys, that is, the power to receive the worthy and reject the unworthy, belongs to God alone, who ordains salvation or foreknows perdition. The priest has no power to release from guilt and eternal punishment. The pope even has not this power; it belongs to God only. The priest has only the churchly office of declaring, not of binding or loosing, unless this is already done of God. The absolution must follow the grace of God and the sinner's repentance." (2) He denied the headship of the pope in the strongest terms: "Christ is the sole supreme head of the Church, the true pontifex, high priest and bishop of souls. The apostles did not call themselves the heads of the Church, but servants of Christ and of the Church. Even Gregory would not allow himself to be called universal bishop. But in truth the pope is no more a successor of Peter than the cardinals are successors of the apostles. He can know no more than any other man in regard to himself, with absolute certainty, whether he can be saved. (3) In the early Church there were but two grades of office, deacon and presbyter; all beside are of later and of human invention. But God can bring back his Church to the old pattern, just as the apostles and true priests took oversight of the Church in all matters essential to its well-being before the office of pope was introduced. So it may be again. Faithful Christians keeping the commandments are the magnates of the Church; but prelates who break them are the least, and, if reprobates, have no part in the kingdom of God."<sup>1</sup>

The conduct of Huss when in the presence of the council

<sup>1</sup> *Life and Times of John Huss*, vol. i, pp. 246-250.

was so admirable that the story of it has a permanent interest. Some of his sentences uttered in the stress of his great trial are memorable. "O blessed Jesus," he said, when his appeal to Christ was treated with scorn, "this thy council condemns us because in our afflictions we have sought refuge with thee, the one just Judge. I constantly affirm that the surest and most safe appeal is to the Lord Jesus. Him none can pervert or bribe by gifts, none can deceive by false witnesses or beguile by craft. He will render unto every one his own." When charged with being incorrigible he replied, "I have ever desired and still desire to be instructed out of the Holy Scriptures." When he was degraded from the priesthood in the presence of the council, and the cup was taken from his hand with the words, "Accursed Judas, we take away this cup in which the blood of Christ is offered for the redemption of souls," he said, "I trust that I shall drink it this day in the kingdom of heaven." When stripped of his robes and a curse pronounced on each garment he said, "These mockeries I bear with equal mind for the name and the truth of Christ." When the paper crown painted with devils was put on him and the words were uttered, "We devote thy soul to the devils in hell," he answered, "And I commend my soul to the most merciful Lord, Christ Jesus."<sup>1</sup>

The same day, July 6, 1415, Huss was burned on a meadow near the city. The burning was witnessed by a great throng. At the stake he prayed, "O Lord Jesus, I would endure with humility for thy Gospel this cruel death; and I beseech thee, pardon all my enemies." He commended Christ to as many as came near him, but was not permitted to make an address. When his neck was bound to the stake by an old chain taken from a poor man's fireplace he said: "The Lord Jesus Christ was for my sake bound with a harsher and more cruel chain. Why, therefore, should wretched I blush for his most holy name to be bound with this sooty one?" Just before the

<sup>1</sup> Milman's *History of Latin Christianity*, vol. vii, pp. 495-497.

fagots were kindled he was adjured to recant. He answered firmly, "I will this day gladly seal that truth which I have taught, written, and proclaimed, by my death." His friend and follower, Jerome of Prague, met the same fate a year later, May 30, 1416. "In the whole history," says Waddington, "of the sufferings and fortitude of Huss there is not one discoverable touch of pride or stubbornness; the records of his heroism are not infected by a single stain of mere philosophy; he was firm indeed, but humble also; he expected death, and he feared it too; he neither sought the martyr's crown nor affected the ambition of the stoic; his principles of action were drawn from the same sources as the articles of his belief; he was a pure and perfect Christian, and he thought it no merit to be so."<sup>1</sup>

And now the important work of the council was done, and yet the Church was not reformed. The question arose, Shall the council continue the work of reform, or shall it proceed at once to the election of a pope and afterward bind him by its reformatory decrees? It was decided to elect; twenty-three cardinals and thirty delegates of the council made up the conclave. They quickly chose Cardinal Colonna, who took the name of Martin V (November 11, 1417). But this new head of the Church was no John XXIII. Apparently moderate, but really resolved on maintaining the papal supremacy, astute and dexterous, he published, the day after his election, a brief in which he confirmed all regulations established by his predecessor. This act perpetuated the old abuses and put aside the reformation of the Church until the pope's pleasure. Sigismund felt this; he had before virtually controlled the council, now his power was gone. Being appealed to by Gerson, he replied: "When we urged that reform should precede the election of a pope you scorned our judgment. Lo! you have a pope, implore him for reform." Martin V issued his own scheme of reformation, and began to make separate treaties with the nations represented for the removal of grievances. The council

<sup>1</sup> *History of the Church*, vol. iii, p. 190.

was checked, beaten. The pope left Constance, and the council was at an end (1418). It had established the right in a time of schism to depose a pope and to elect another. But its assertion of a right to reform the Church in its head and members came to nothing. The pope remained the fountain of authority and by his sole prerogative gave law to Christendom.

The whole action of the Council of Constance turned on the question, "Where does the authority of the Church reside?" "They would break," says Milman, "the yoke under which themselves groaned, that of the pope; but the more resolute were they that their own yoke should not be broken."<sup>1</sup> "It cannot be too carefully impressed," says Waddington, "that the mighty struggles at Constance respected, as far as principles were concerned, not the character of the Church, but the extent to which the pope possessed the attributes of the Church. And this distinction being rightly understood, we shall find no difficulty in accounting for the seeming inconsistency with which the council deposed a legitimate pope with one hand while it consigned the heretics, Huss and Jerome, to a barbarous execution with the other."<sup>2</sup>

The dependence of Huss on Wyclif's writings has been pointed out by Lechler, but it remained for Loserth in his work on Wyclif and Huss to show that Wyclif is copied by the Bohemian reformer word for word. This is especially apparent in Huss's most important tractate, that on *The Church*. It will be remembered that on the 7th day of June, 1412, Huss conducted a disputation in the presence of a large audience in which he denied the right of the pope to grant indulgences, and to proclaim a crusade against Ladislaus, King of Naples. "In this writing," says Loserth, "all the arguments, down to the details, are adopted with a verbal fidelity from different tractates of Wyclif. From the defining of indulgences onward everything is the property of the latter." This disputation in its developed

<sup>1</sup> *History of Latin Christianity*, vol. vii, p. 501.

<sup>2</sup> *History of the Church*, vol. iii, p. 137.

form is Huss's treatise upon the Church. Loserth proceeds also to show that all the important treatises of Huss are in like manner derived, not only substantially, but even verbally, from Wyclif. How is this to be explained? Huss's public life was comprehended within the years 1402-1414. It was a stormy life, and in its conditions unfavorable to much meditation. What Wyclif had elaborated during long years of study was seized upon by his ardent disciple as affording the readiest means of defense. His large appropriation of Wyclif must have been known to his university associates, and as far as we are informed excited no remark. This same tractate of Huss on *The Church* was published in 1520 by Ulrich von Hutten, and so the words of Wyclif were sounding in the ears of men throughout the period of the Protestant Reformation.

## NOTE TO CHAPTER XXXIX.

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## CHAPTER XL.

## THE CHURCH AND THE HUSSITES.

THE execution of John Huss drew after it serious consequences. He was greatly beloved by the people of Bohemia, and they resented the outrage put upon them by the Council of Constance. The nobles to the number of four hundred and fifty-two addressed a remonstrance to the Church fathers, and the common people showed a spirit of resistance. The council met these expressions of feeling by issuing new edicts against Huss's followers. Pope Martin V declared a crusade against them, and forbade the Catholics to keep faith with heretics. "There can be no communion," he writes in this papal brief, "between the faithful and the unbelieving." The bull of Martin, says Gillett, "combined the cruelty of the Inquisition, the brutality of the dragoon, and the malice of the fiend."<sup>1</sup> Both parties appealed to force and began to wage war with each other. To show their independence of the Church the Bohemians on one occasion spread three hundred tables in the open air, at which they received the communion in both kinds. Filled with Old Testament feeling, it was natural for them to give the sacred name of Tabor to the hill fifty miles south of Prague, on which they pitched their tents, and to call themselves Taborites.\* They plundered the churches, assaulted and killed the parish priests and the monks. Following the advice of their leaders, they made of their tent-covered hill a fortified city.

The war was waged on both sides with every circumstance of cruelty. The command to keep no faith with heretics was war-

<sup>1</sup> *Life and Times of John Huss*, vol. ii, p. 372.

<sup>2</sup> "A fortified town occupied the top of Tabor for at least two hundred and twenty years before Christ and sixty years after the birth of Christ, and probably much before and long after."—Kitto's *Cyclopædia*, article "Tabor."



rant for Catholic outrage, and the Hussites retaliated in kind on their enemies. To understand the Hussite war we must have before our minds: (1) The four articles of Prague for which the followers of the dead martyr fought. (2) The parties into which they divided. The articles are: “(1) The full and unrestricted freedom of the preaching of the Gospel throughout Bohemia. (2) The freedom of the communion of the cup. (3) The exclusion of the clergy from large temporal possessions or civil authority. (4) The strict repression and punishment of gross public sins, whether in clergy or laity.”<sup>1</sup> To these articles all the followers of Huss adhered. But the more moderate, known as Calixtines or Utraquists, were content with the assertion of these claims; the Taborites demanded the suppression of monasteries, of the use of external ceremonial or priestly vestments in worship, and wholly denied transubstantiation. They were the Puritans of the fifteenth century, and, like the Puritans of England, found their Cromwell in Ziska. Like the Puritans, too, they were of the common people, while the Calixtines represented the nobility.

Ziska, who was of noble descent, was a great organizer of men, and unquestionably the first general of the century. No matter by whom the imperial armies were led, whether by Sigismund or his lieutenants, they were defeated by Ziska in every important battle. Believing that the monks were the principal instigators of the murder of Huss, he destroyed the monasteries all over Bohemia. Six armies invaded the country between the years 1420 and 1432; every one was crushed. The Taborites armed themselves with iron flails and were so terrible in the use of this novel weapon that their enemies shrank from the encounter. While conducting his campaigns Ziska was blinded by an arrow, but blindness was no bar to his success; he still led his armies to victory. Carried off by the plague in 1424, he was succeeded by Procopius, a monk, who proved to be as consummate a general as Ziska himself.

<sup>1</sup> Gillett, *Life and Times of John Huss*, vol. ii, p. 437.

The soldiers of Ziska were Taborites. Terrible as they were in war, and fanatical as they were in their hatred of Rome, they were sound in their theology. All institutions, doctrines, and rites were subjected by them to the test of Scripture, the position taken in the sixteenth century by Calvin and Zwingli. The opinions of the fathers, they said, were not to be received unless confirmed by the Bible. "They rejected chrism and sprinkling with holy water; the blessing of the chalice, church furniture, and robes; the dress, ceremonies, and order of the mass; sponsors in the baptizing of children. Auricular confession, the fast of Lent, festival days, except the Lord's Day, were treated with no more respect. The sacrament of the eucharist should be celebrated without an altar; the bread was not to be lifted up for the adoration of the worshippers. Purgatory and prayers for the dead were rejected as silly superstitions."<sup>1</sup> Their hatred of images was rancorous, and they burned them, and sometimes the churches of which they were the ornaments. Such were the people who for the space of twelve years were the terror of the German empire. Ziska, though a Calixtine, yet was obeyed by the Taborites with the docility of children.

All through the struggle with the empire the feud between the Calixtines and the Taborites was hot, and again and again broke out into civil war. They united with each other whenever it was necessary for the common defense, but no longer than the necessity required. To draw their thoughts away from internal dissensions, Procopius, Ziska's successor, led his army out of Bohemia and laid waste Saxony, Brandenburg, Bavaria, and Austria. Churches, monasteries, and towns were destroyed. "Over the smoking ruins the conquerors shouted, 'Behold the funeral obsequies of John Huss.'"<sup>2</sup> In 1431 Sigismund made his last effort to subdue Bohemia. He crossed the border with a hundred thousand men, and was defeated so

<sup>1</sup> See Gillett, *Life and Times of John Huss*, vol. ii, pp. 453, 454.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. ii, pp. 518, 519.

suddenly that the papal legate, Cardinal Cæsarini, escaped in the garb of a soldier, leaving behind him the papal bull and his cardinal's cap. Pope and emperor now gave up the subjugation of Bohemia as hopeless. Negotiation was tried, and the Hussites were invited to present their grievances at the Council of Basle, which assembled July 23, 1431. The Hussite delegates attended the council without fear; they needed no safe conducts, for they had proved their ability to take care of themselves. "This," says Lechler, "was the first instance in the whole history of the Church for a council to treat upon an equal footing with a party demanding reforms."<sup>1</sup>

Martin V did not live to see the opening of the council. He had held the papacy fourteen years from 1417, and these had all been years of struggle with the Hussites. He was succeeded by Eugenius IV, a monk of much private virtue, but narrow, obstinate, and resolved on the maintenance of his supremacy. He did more than any one of his predecessors to hasten the fall of the Church's power. The objects of the Council of Basle were: (1) The reunion of the Greek and Latin Churches. (2) The reformation of the Church in its head and members, and (3) The reconciliation of the Hussites. Eugenius was opposed to the assembling of any council, and resolved to suppress this one. The first public session was held December 24, 1431; from that time two years were spent in a conflict of the council with the pope. Eugenius commanded the dissolution of the council; the council cited him to appear in its presence. July 12, 1433, it suspended the pope and forbade all Christians to obey him. The president of the council was Cardinal Julian Cæsarini, a man of strong intellect and large culture, who felt deeply the need of a reformation of the Church. He warned Eugenius of the fatal consequences sure to follow his policy. "If the council," he writes to his master, "is dissolved all will exclaim that we laugh at God and man. As no hope of correction will any longer be left the laity will

<sup>1</sup> Schaff-Herzog, *Encyclopædia*, vol. ii, p. 1045, article "Hussites."

rush like Hussites upon us. Should the council be dissolved the people of Germany, seeing themselves not only deserted but deluded by the Church, will join with the heretics and hate us even more than they. The tree is bending to its fall and can resist no longer." His picture of the depravity of the German clergy is terrible. "Not a day passes," he writes to his master, "but some new scandal is brought to light." Eugenius, being threatened with expulsion from Rome by his factious subjects and threatened also with invasion from abroad, found it prudent to come to terms. He revoked the bull of dissolution and sent two legates to represent him at Basle.

Four years had now been spent in the effort to organize. January 23, 1435, decrees were passed punishing the concubinage practiced by the clergy and forbidding the payment of certain fees to the court of Rome. In 1436 decrees were passed regulating the election of a pope and restraining papal nepotism. This was the substance of the reformation attempted; and at every stage of the deliberations on these articles the council was opposed by representatives of the pope. No doctrinal reform was as much as attempted. Upon the question of the reunion of the Greek and Latin Churches the feud between Eugenius and the council broke out again. The pope insisted that the council should be transferred to Italy, and did assemble one in Ferrara. The council cited Eugenius to Basle for trial on the charge of resisting the reform of the Church, convicted him of contumacy, and on June 25, 1439, deposed him. In his place it elected Amadeus, Duke of Savoy, pope, who took the name of Felix V. Here, then, was a new schism which lasted for many years.

We left the Taborites entering the city of Basle with every circumstance of honor, in order to attend the council. The deputation consisted of three hundred Bohemians. "As they entered the city," says Æneas Sylvius, afterward Pope Pius II, "women, children, and even young girls filled the windows and occupied the roofs of the houses. The lookers-on pointed

out to each other those foreign costumes which had never before been seen there. They gazed with surprise at visages marked with scars and those terrible eyes; and in beholding men of such stern appearance they were less astonished at those things which fame had related of them." The hawk nose and dark countenance of Procopius made him especially conspicuous in this company. The Bohemians presented the four articles of Prague as their *ultimatum*, saying: "We are ready to be united and to become one in the way in which all Christian believers are bound to be united according to the law of God, so that if pope, council, or prelate shall command that to be done which is forbidden of God, or shall pass over, or command to pass over, what is written in the canon of the Bible, we shall be under no obligation to respect them or to render them obedience."<sup>1</sup>

The discussion of the articles lasted two months, the Bohemians having full liberty to defend their opinions. The council could not sincerely concede these claims, but peace was necessary to the safety of the Church, and the Church was determined to have peace even at the price of a deceptive treaty. Three of the articles of Prague were accepted, but the fourth, that in relation to the cup, was agreed to only as a temporary measure. With this treaty, known in history as the *Compactata*, the Calixtines were satisfied; the Taborites were not. There were other reforms which the Taborites deemed indispensable; a civil war broke out between the united Catholics and Calixtines on the one side, and the Taborites on the other, in which the latter were defeated. Procopius was killed in a battle near Prague; his followers were hunted down and murdered, and before long disappeared as an organized force from Bohemia. Sigismund had said, "The Bohemians will only be conquered by themselves." Neither Church nor empire had been able to subdue them; they fell through their own dissensions. In 1437 Sigismund died; in 1451 a Calixtine, George of Podiebrad,

<sup>1</sup> Gillett, *Life and Times of John Huss*, vol. ii, p. 541.

became governor of Bohemia, and in a few years was elected king. In 1462 Pius II revoked the *Compactata* on the pretense that no pope had ever signed them. "The Utraquists were not," says Lechler, "intimidated; in 1485 the king signed an agreement confirming the articles of Basle, and in 1512 the Bohemian Parliament granted to the Utraquists equal rights with the Catholics."<sup>1</sup>

But "out of the strong came forth sweetness," out of the ranks of the avengers of Huss the meek and peaceful Moravians. How this could be is one of the anomalies of history, and yet the anomaly is not so astonishing when the facts are ascertained. Weary of the contentions of civil war, many of the followers of Huss, without distinction of Taborite or Calixtine, sought to worship God in simple fashion, striving to imitate the life portrayed in the gospels. About the middle of the fifteenth century a band of these earnest Christians, led by Gregory, nephew of the Calixtine Archbishop of Bohemia, retired to the village of Kunwald, in the barony of Seftenberg, not far from the Silesian frontier. The spot was lonely; the scanty population of the barony favored Taborite principles. As the community grew a Church was organized; its members called themselves "Brethren of the Law of Christ," and "United Brethren" (*Unitas Fratrum*), the latter name being retained by the Moravians, but their common title in history is "Bohemian Brethren." From these Bohemian Brethren sprang the Moravians. Into the story of the Bohemian Brethren, which is one of heroic suffering, we cannot now enter.

<sup>1</sup> Schaff-Herzog, *Encyclopædia*, vol. ii, p. 1046, article "Hussites."



## CHAPTER XLI.

## SAVONAROLA.

THE demand for the reformation of the Church was not confined to Germany and Bohemia. A loud voice was heard in Italy; it was indeed the voice of a solitary prophet crying in the wilderness, but it was effective in leading many to repentance. Italy in the thirteenth century had made more rapid progress in civilization than the states of central and northern Europe. Genoa and Venice had attained as early as the fourteenth century a prosperous commerce, which spread throughout the Mediterranean and Black Seas. Manufactures, especially of silks, velvets, and jewelry, had reached a high state of perfection. Italians were the bankers of Europe and the inventors of bills of exchange. Florence had in 1350 a population of 170,000, when Paris numbered only 40,000 inhabitants. This city, the capital of Tuscany, had established a pure democracy, which was subverted by the wealth and craft of the family of the Medici. The life of the burghers was uneasy and contentious; internal dissensions often led to the expulsion of noble families, and the wars with adjoining States were carried on almost without cessation.

Savonarola, whose career was destined to work such wonderful effects in Florence, was born in Ferrara, September 21, 1452. His early education was superintended by his grandfather, an eminent physician of that city. It was the desire of the family that Savonarola should follow the same profession. After the grandfather's death he was trained by his father in philosophy, then considered an essential preliminary to the study of medicine. He became familiar, not only with the works of Thomas Aquinas and other schoolmen, but also with the Bible. It was a time of the revival of learning. The knowledge of Greek had

begun to spread in Italy during the latter part of the preceding century. In 1396 the first competent teacher of Greek in western Europe, Emanuel Chrysoloras, had been appointed to lecture in the University of Florence. In 1465 the first book printed in Italy appeared at Subiaco ; in 1476 the first of all books printed from Greek type, a grammar, was issued at Milan ; and in 1490 Aldus, the great Greek printer, established his press in Venice. Cosimo de Medici had founded an academy in Florence for the teaching of the Platonic philosophy, and both he and his grandson, Lorenzo the Magnificent, were diligent collectors of ancient manuscripts. Savonarola was early attracted to Plato ; scholasticism, Platonism, and the Bible were mingled in his studies ; in the Bible he became a most profoundly learned student, yet never attained a clear apprehension of the right method of interpretation. To a mind so serious as his the immorality prevalent in Italy was very repulsive. Hearing in his twenty-second year from a monk a sermon on the benefits of separation from the world, he decided to enter upon a monastic life. Without giving notice to his parents, in April, 1475, he set out on foot for Bologna, and became a member of the Dominican convent in that city.

He entered the monastery as a student and spent his time as a student. The first duty assigned him was the instruction of novices ; in a few years he was transferred to the Convent of San Marco, in Florence, where he filled the same office. His profound study of the Scriptures marked him out for a preacher ; his fame had already spread, and he was appointed to deliver the Lenten sermons in the great Church of San Lorenzo, in 1483. His first efforts in the pulpit were total failures ; his voice was harsh, his action ungainly ; his congregation soon dwindled from a vast concourse to twenty-five persons. He retired to Lombardy and spent nearly four years in quiet and meditation. The condition of Italy disturbed and appalled him ; the revival of learning had paganized the upper classes ; the wickedness of the clergy had debauched the

common people. Applying to his country the prophetic denunciations of the Old Testament and of the Apocalypse, he felt himself inspired to warn it of impending judgment.

In 1490 Savonarola appeared again in Florence. By this time he was much changed. The uncouth manner had disappeared, the harsh voice was mellowed. His first sermons were expositions of the Apocalypse, and were delivered in the chapel of San Marco. The propositions elaborated by him in this series of sermons show the bent of his thoughts. The Church of God, he said, must be purified; Italy would soon be visited by God's wrath. These two sentences, enforced from Scripture, were the themes of his preaching till his death. The chapel of the convent soon became too small for his hearers, and in the following year he transferred his pulpit to the cathedral. Here the people on his preaching days would wait for hours the opening of the church gates, and as soon as entrance was possible would pack all its spaces. Michael Angelo, then a student of art, was one of his hearers; Machiavelli was a contemporary, and no doubt often a listener to the strains of his eloquence. Of the great effects of his preaching these facts are told us: "The scribe to whom we owe the fragments of these sermons at times breaks off with these words: 'Here I was so overcome with weeping that I could not go on.' Pico della Mirandola tells us that the mere sound of Savonarola's voice, startling the stillness of the Duomo, thronged through all its space with people, was like a clap of doom. A cold shiver ran through the marrow of his bones; the hairs of his head stood on end as he listened. Another witness reports: 'These sermons caused such terror, alarm, sobbing, and tears that everyone passed through the streets without speaking, more dead than alive.'"<sup>1</sup> Lorenzo de Medici was at the head of the affairs of Florence, though near the end of his life; the son of Lorenzo, Giovanni, afterward Pope Leo X, had just two years before been made

<sup>1</sup> Symonds, *Renaissance in Italy*, vol. i, *The Age of the Despots*, pp. 511, 512.

merchant, with commercial relations extending over all Europe, had by imperceptible growth of power obtained control of the state. Fond of literature and of art, he had enriched the city by the founding of a library and by princely encouragement to literary men. The government of Florence was concentrated in the hands of the family of the Medici for several generations. The grandson of Cosimo, Lorenzo, was in power when Savonarola became famous in 1490. All the associations of Lorenzo were with the papacy and with the absolute Italian princes. His daughter was married to an illegitimate son of the pope; his son was a cardinal. Savonarola liked him not; would not court his favor; opposed him as a destroyer of the liberties of the city of Florence. When Lorenzo was dying, however, the monk visited him at Lorenzo's request and offered him the consolations of religion on three conditions: Faith in God's mercy, restoration of ill-gotten wealth, restoration of liberty to the people of Florence. According to the story, Lorenzo turned his back on Savonarola and would not utter a word.<sup>1</sup>

In his sermons Savonarola said to the people: "The sword of the Lord will come suddenly and swiftly upon Italy;" and to all appearance the prediction was verified in a startling way. Charles VIII of France invaded Italy in 1494, intending to punish both Tuscany and Naples. Piero, Lorenzo's son, had by his treachery involved Tuscany in this quarrel with the king. The facts were these: Ludovico, the Moor, had seized the government of Milan and had imprisoned the lawful duke, his nephew, Giovanni Galeazzo, whom he finally murdered by poison. Finding all Italy roused against him, he invited Charles VIII of France to undertake the conquest of Naples, his principal foe. Lorenzo had held the balance evenly between Ludovico and Giovanni, but Piero had turned against Ludovico and had aroused his wrath; thus he became involved in the Moor's scheme of revenge. This expedition of the French, says Villari, "proved to be the beginning of the long string of disasters which

<sup>1</sup> Villari, *Life and Times of Savonarola*, vol. i, p. 148.

was to desolate Italy for ages to come, destroy her commercial prosperity, stifle her literary and scientific culture, and extinguish every spark of her liberty." <sup>1</sup> Piero was expelled by the people of Florence in their rage at the troubles in which he had involved the city, and the power of the family of Medici was overthrown for eighteen years. Called back from Bologna, to which city he had been banished by Piero, Savonarola was made a member of an embassy deputed to visit the French king. He addressed him with the authority of a prophet, and yet persuasively. The king was strongly impressed. As the deputy of the citizens Savonarola visited the king twice again, and succeeded in persuading him to pass out of Florence peaceably after tarrying in it seven days.

Having thus protected the city from the French, Savonarola was regarded as its saviour. Under his advice free institutions were restored, but his political ideal was a theocratic democracy. The people were to rule, but Christ was to be King. If this was a mistake it was the same that Calvin made afterward in Geneva. Nothing of public importance was now done in Florence without Savonarola. He swayed the people from his pulpit of San Lorenzo; gratitude to him as a deliverer, and reverence for him as a priest and prophet, mingled in their hearts. He professed, however, aversion to political life; begged the people not to come to him for advice; but still they came. It is unnecessary to dwell at length on his government, for such in fact it was, of Florence. It was such as might be expected from a monk. He reformed morals, checked drunkenness and debauchery, filled the churches with penitents, and made such a change in the habits of the people that Tuscany felt the benefit of it for thirty years. The masqueraders were displaced by processions of men in white robes, marching through the streets and singing religious hymns. If one can imagine the spirit of a Methodist camp meeting under Roman Catholic forms carried into a gay city he will rightly conceive this achievement of

<sup>1</sup> *Life and Times of Savonarola*, vol. i, p. 196.

Savonarola. He formed the young into confraternities, whose members walked in processions through the city, visited private houses, and begged the householders to give up articles of luxury and to abandon idle diversions. Once a year a vast pile was gathered by the children and youth of objects of vanity, such as musical instruments, ruffles, collars, bad books, and sometimes, unfortunately, valuable works of art and manuscripts, which were all burned with an accompaniment of singing of hymns. It was called "the burning of the vanities." Such fantastic reformation could not last, and before long a reaction began.

But what was the Gospel that Savonarola preached? In some of its passages it comes very closely to the Gospel of the Reformation. Hear him: "I will endure all things for the sake of that redeeming love which makes all other things sweet and pleasant to me. This is sufficient for me, and fills up all my desires; this is my exceeding great reward. If I possess thee, O, my Saviour, and nothing else beside, I possess in thee everything, because thou art all in all." He is very clear on the mediation of Christ as sufficient without the intervention of the priest. Hear him again: "If you feel the burden of your sin, if you are sensible that you have offended God, betake yourselves to the medium of reconciliation to the mercy seat. Come to Jesus Christ with faith and humble confidence; you shall then receive the remission of your sins, and shall be reconciled to the Father through the mediation of the Son." He spoke slightly of the Church's ceremonial: "Our Church is not wanting in outward ceremonies. Its sacred rites are solemnized with splendid vestments, rich hangings, and candlesticks of gold and silver. Its members feed on these husks and are enchanted with these ceremonies." He cared little for the worship of the Virgin. "If he is asked," he says, "why he spoke so seldom of her, he asks in return why the Holy Spirit has made so little mention of her in the Scripture, and why the primitive saints preached so little about her. They who were wholly bent on faith in Christ preached nothing but Christ."



He reached the point reached by Huss and Wyclif, that no human law is valid if it be contrary to the will of God. This was a denial of the papal supremacy. His words, when threatened with destruction by Alexander VI, are very noble ; they were uttered in a sermon : " On which side wilt thou stand ? On the one hand, shall they be blessed whom the pope blesses, although their life is the curse of Christendom ; whose fruits are seen in avarice, drunkenness, and gluttony, in lying and whoredom ? Or, on the other hand, shall they be excommunicated whom he excommunicates, although all the fruits of the Spirit are displayed in their life ? Do you not answer me ? Well, then, Christ answers : ' I am the way, the truth, and the life.' I will stand by them that are cursed, and the devil shall stand by them that are blessed. They are not cast off from Christ who bear about his dying in their mortal life."

And yet this same fervid preacher of the true Gospel mingled with the truth strange fancies. In April, 1495, he delivered a sermon in which he rehearsed an interview with the Virgin Mary, who promised great things to Florence. It was listened to with rapt attention, and was received as a message direct from heaven. The report of this interview with the Virgin spread throughout Italy, and the people came from many cities to listen to the revealer of the mysteries of the other world. Of course the first misfortune that thereafter fell upon the city gave a shock to his credit as a prophet, and offered an advantage to his enemies which they were quick to seize. For this good man had enemies, and they were bitter, and while he was the object of the idolatrous love of the people they were biding their time. The priests, whose frightful immoralities he had exposed, hated him ; the Medici and their partisans, who were opposed to a democracy, hated him ; the Franciscans were jealous of him as a Dominican who had risen so high that he could not be rivalled, and they hated him ; the profane and licentious chafed under the restraints put upon them by his moral reforms, and they hated him.

Some of Savonarola's measures were extravagant and certain to be followed by a reaction. The citizens of a gay city began to be weary of the moral inspection exercised by a police force of youths and children. When the novelty wore away all this system of police became intolerable to the pleasure-loving Florentines. Still, his supporters overbore all opposition, and his influence was so great that he said without exaggeration, "All the world comes to our convent." In the spring of 1497 he preached from the prophet Ezekiel, and in the spirit of Ezekiel attacked the crimes of the pope. Nor did he spare the bishops. "The judgments which fell on Italy," he declared, "were owing to the evil life of the prelates and clergy." At first Rome tried to bribe him. A Dominican was sent to Florence conveying the offer of a cardinal's hat. He gave his answer from his pulpit: "I desire neither hats nor mitres, be they great or small; I desire naught save that which Thou hast given to thy saints; it is death, a crimson hat, a hat of blood, that I desire."<sup>1</sup>

A magistracy hostile to Savonarola was elected in 1497, and Pope Alexander VI seized this as the favorable juncture for pronouncing against him a sentence of excommunication. The sentence was disregarded, and a reaction in the city brought his friends again into power. He now advanced a step farther. He denied the supremacy of the pope, saying: "I take it for granted there be no man who is not liable to error. Thou art mad to say that a pope cannot err, when there have been so many wicked popes who have erred. Thou wouldst reply that a pope may err as a man, but not as a pope, but I tell thee a pope may err even in his judgments and sentences. Go! read how many decrees have been made by one pope and revoked by the next; and how many opinions held by some pontiffs are contradicted by those of other pontiffs."<sup>2</sup> In the spring of 1498 his moral processions through the city were larger and more enthusiastic than ever; but this was the last of his triumph. His ene-

<sup>1</sup> Villari, *Life and Times of Savonarola*, vol. ii, p. 49, note.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. ii, p. 252.

mies in March of that year again came into power; the pope commanded the magistrates to seize him and to send him to Rome.

While they were deliberating what might be called an accident brought on the catastrophe. The jealous Franciscans, secretly backed by the enemies of Savonarola now in power, proposed a test of the great friar's teaching by the ordeal of fire. A member of Savonarola's convent and his zealous disciple, Fra Domenico Buonvicini, took up the challenge with ardor. He was willing as a believer in the Dominican prophet to test the question whether the power of God was with him. Savonarola entered into the spirit of this contest, though at first with some hesitation. A great throng assembled in the public square of Florence. Parallel rows of fagots of wood were heaped together, through which the contestants, Fra Domenico and the chosen Franciscan monk, were to pass. The magistrates were present, and soldiers were stationed to keep the people from coming to blows. The Franciscans and Dominicans, headed by their priors, marched to the square in long procession. The Franciscan champion failed to appear, although said to be ready near by. The magistrates waited for a pretext to break up the trial. Fra Domenico was habited in the dress of his order; it might be charmed, it was said; he must take it off. He changed his dress, but he carried a cross; he must lay that aside. Savonarola then gave him a crystal vase containing the host. This proposed desecration of God, as it was called, roused popular fury. The day was far spent; rain fell, and the magistrates forbade further proceedings. The rabble turned against Savonarola; he had evaded the trial, and he had failed to work a miracle and was a false prophet. He and his monks were scarcely able to retire in safety to their convent.

The populace of Florence had never partaken of Savonarola's earnest moral spirit. They had wondered and wept under his sermons, but a long education would have been needed to lift them out of their superstition. They had expected Savonarola to work a miracle during the trial by ordeal, and

because he did not they were ready to set upon him and kill him. The convent was stormed, burst into; its inmates expelled or killed, and the prior and Fra Domenico, with another monk, were taken prisoners. The pope commended the magistrates for their zeal, and sent commissioners to assist in the trial. Torture was used to wring a confession from Savonarola, but failed; whatever he admitted he retracted when released from the rack. A false confession was fabricated, and on this he was convicted and sentenced to death. On May 23, 1498, being forty-five years of age, Savonarola was hung on a gibbet between his two followers, and his body, so hanging, was burned.

A great crowd witnessed the execution. The bishop whose duty it was to pronounce the separation of Savonarola and his companions from the Church showed trepidation and blundered. Savonarola corrected him. He met death with great calmness, and seemed, says his biographer, while awaiting his end, to no longer belong to this world.<sup>1</sup>

Villari, in his life of Savonarola, gives the following description of his personal appearance: "He was of middle height, of dark complexion, of a sanguineo-bilious temperament and a most highly strung nervous system. His dark gray eyes were very bright, and often flashed fire beneath his black brows; he had an aquiline nose and a large mouth. His thick lips were compressed in a manner denoting a stubborn firmness of purpose; his forehead, already marked with deep furrows, indicated a mind continually absorbed in meditation of serious things. But although his countenance had no beauty of line it expressed a severe nobility of character, while a certain melancholy smile endued his harsh features with so benevolent a charm as to inspire confidence at first sight. His manners were simple, if uncultured; his language rough and unadorned. But on occasion his homely words were animated by a potent fervor that convinced and subdued all his hearers."<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Villari, *Life and Times of Savonarola*, vol. ii, p. 406.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. i, pp. 19, 20.

## CHAPTER XLII.

## THE DECADENCE OF THE PAPACY.

As low as the papacy had sunk, it was yet to find a still lower depth. For a time made illustrious again by the taste and munificence of Nicholas V, it was to know the shameless iniquities of the Borgias. The reforming councils had accomplished very little. The struggle between Eugenius IV and the Council of Basle had, indeed, shaken the faith of Christendom in the efficacy of general councils as a means of Church reform. In the condition of weariness which was left it was easy for the popes to recover all the powers which had been lost. Nicholas V, the successor of Eugenius IV, by his zeal for literature and art lifted the papacy up once more. He is one of the few popes whom literature has carried to the chair of St. Peter. He founded the Vatican library, sent commissioners everywhere to collect ancient manuscripts, and was one of the promoters of the revival of Greek learning in Europe. He also selected the ground and traced the foundations for the Church of St. Peter. He even reached such a degree of virtue as to discourage simony, which had been for ages unblushingly practised by his predecessors, and made himself a good name by his charities. It is said of him that "he maintained the estates of the Church in peace and endeavored to compose the feuds of Italy. He was really a great pacificator in Italy."<sup>1</sup> In his pontificate Constantinople was captured by the Turks (1453). Crusades had been preached for the saving of the capital of the Eastern empire, and some ineffectual efforts had been made to prevent its downfall. The Turk, victorious here, next threatened Italy; and it became a leading feature of the policy of the popes to arouse and combine Christendom against him. An

<sup>1</sup> Milman, *History of Latin Christianity*, vol. viii, p. 106.

obscure monk, named Simonet, succeeded by his eloquence in awakening the martial enthusiasm of all Italy. But while preparations were making for the crusade Nicholas died (1455).

The first of the Borgian popes was his successor, Alphonso Borgia, a Spaniard, who took the name of Calixtus III. He enjoys the infamy of having established nepotism as a part of the papal system. Hitherto a certain grandeur of spirit had invested and almost palliated the avarice of the popes; what they did they did as princes of the Church and for its aggrandizement. The Borgias administered the papacy in the interest of their families; they expended the revenues gathered from all the Christian world in establishing their nephews and sometimes their sons as secular princes. The churchly feeling was subverted by family feeling, and the pride of the churchman by the pride of the secular prince.

On the death of Calixtus III (1458) Æneas Silvius Piccolomini was elected his successor and took the name of Pius II. A persuasive orator, a skillful writer, and a consummate diplomatist, Æneas Silvius is one of the great figures in the history of the papacy. At Basle he had been a champion of the council's rights; he had been secretary of the emperor Frederick and afterward nuncio of the holy see. As a writer of the history of his times he is one of the most valuable of the Roman Catholic authorities. In 1459 this pope called a council at Mantua, for the purpose of organizing a crusade against the Turks. The princes, roused at last by his eloquence, assembled a considerable army. Pius accompanied it, though so ill as to require to be carried in a litter; but before the expedition could set sail he died. This pontiff publicly retracted all of the opinions expressed by him in the Council of Basle. At Basle he had defended the rights of the council; when a pope he condemns himself as having then in the council infringed the authority of the holy see. No fact shows more clearly that the pretensions of the papacy and the claims of a general council to obedience were irreconcilable.



The successor of Pius, Paul II (1464–1471), was noted for his opposition to learning, his avarice, and his preference of a war against the Hussites to a war against the Mohammedans. Corvinus, who was checking the Turkish progress in Europe, was invited by him to turn his arms against the heretics of Bohemia. The war with the Hussites, renewed in this way, lasted for seven years. The hatred of this pope for learning led him to a cruel persecution of literary men in Rome; in his opinion a heretic and a student were one and the same.

Sixtus IV, whose pontificate lasted thirteen years, from 1471, held the papacy solely for the advantage of his family. He created offices for the purpose of selling them, and made his valet a cardinal. He lavished wealth on his nephews; one of them, Pietro Riario, held three archbishoprics at once, besides other benefices, and rivalled kings in the prodigality of his expenditures. The papacy had now sunk so low that it was bought and sold. When Sixtus died, in 1484, the price of every vote for his successor was agreed upon before the cardinals entered into the conclave. Strangely enough, the pope then elected took the name of Innocent VIII. Sixtus spent the treasures of the Church on his nephews, Innocent spent them on his children; seven of these were acknowledged by him. If Sixtus had made his servant a cardinal, Innocent went beyond him; he raised to the cardinalate a boy of thirteen years, the brother-in-law of his own illegitimate son. In the year 1492, the year of the discovery of America, the greatest monster that ever sat on the papal throne was chosen to be the vicar of Christendom. Of Roderick Borgia, Pope Alexander VI (1492–1503), it is said that the records of the Church for fifteen centuries contain “no name so loathsome, no crimes so foul as his.” He was a man of fine talents, advanced in years at the time of his election, and very rich, for he enjoyed at once the revenues of three Spanish archbishoprics. For the purchasing of votes he placed two mules loaded with gold at the disposition of one of his friends. He paid with

more than gold; palaces, bishoprics, churches, towns, were the rewards given to his supporters. He had, when elected, five illegitimate children; and soon after he became pope celebrated the marriage of his daughter, Lucretia Borgia, in the pontifical palace with great splendor. His son, Cæsar Borgia, who had been an ecclesiastic, but had returned to secular life, waged war in the Romagna, ostensibly for the defense of the Church, but really for the purpose of carving for himself a dukedom out of its estates. It was the intention of Alexander VI to alienate the temporal possessions of the papacy in order to set up his son as a prince. The story commonly told of his death is this: Cæsar being out of money, father and son plotted the death of a wealthy cardinal in order to secure his riches. The cardinal was invited by them to an entertainment; a flask of poisoned wine had been prepared for him; by mistake Alexander VI and his son drank of the flask; the pope died, the son with great difficulty recovered.

Julian della Rovere, who was elected in 1503, and took the name of Julius II, was a soldier wholly devoted to war, which he led in person. He lived in the field, subdued his Italian neighbors, and, had his reign lasted long enough, would have conquered all Italy. At the same time he was a person of great mental energy; he wielded the spiritual powers of the papacy with unusual skill, and was a liberal patron of the arts. He might be styled a secular prince with the papal crown on his head. One of his most important acts was to call the fifth Lateran Council, which he assembled. Notwithstanding his devotion to war he yet valued the arts of peace; the foundations of St. Peter's, having been traced by Nicholas V, were laid by him; and he failed not to encourage the men of genius who adorned the period of his reign.

It had for some time been the practice of the cardinals before electing a pope to bind him by a solemn oath to call a council; and the oath was uniformly disregarded. The cardinals of Julius, upon his failure to keep this engagement, resolved to

call a council themselves. It was opened at Pisa, November, 1511. Julius did his utmost to crush it; he excommunicated all its members and deprived the cardinals of office. The council retorted by suspending the pope; but this blow proved to be ineffectual, and it soon dissolved. Warned by the danger, Julius summoned the bishops and other heads of the Church to assemble at Rome, and opened in that city the fifth Lateran Council, May 10, 1512. The real object of its meeting was the abolition of the French Pragmatic Sanction, which asserted the liberties of the Gallican Church. Before much had been accomplished Pope Julius died, February 21, 1513, and was succeeded by Leo X, once a boy cardinal, and son of Lorenzo de Medici. Under the presidency of Leo some decrees were passed for the reformation of the Roman court, and the repression of concubinage, blasphemy, and simony among the inferior clergy. The members being all Italians, the pope had his own way; he dictated the decrees. December 19, 1516, the Pragmatic Sanction was annulled. Leo issued a bull in which he renewed and confirmed the famous bull *Unam Sanctam*, of Boniface VIII. This bull contains the passage: "There are two swords, the spiritual and the temporal; our Lord said not of these two swords, 'It is too much,' but, 'It is enough.' Both are in the power of the Church; the one, the spiritual, to be used by the Church; the other, the material, for the Church; the former that of the priests, the latter that of kings and soldiers, to be wielded at the command and at the sufferance of the priest. One sword must be under the other, the temporal under the spiritual. The spiritual instituted the temporal power, and judges whether that power is well exercised. We, therefore, assert, define, and pronounce that it is necessary to salvation to believe that every human being is subject to the Pontiff of Rome." Thus, on the eve of the Reformation, the most extreme assertion of the supremacy of the papacy over the world was reiterated, and by the pope who was to be a helpless witness of the great schism.

Decrees were passed to urge on the proceedings of the Inquisition against heretics and Jews, and forbidding the printing of any book at Rome without previous examination. All kings were prohibited from sequestrating ecclesiastical property without permission of the pope; the declaration of the councils of Bourges and Basle were censured; in short, reformation was not allowed to touch the papacy, and was permitted to touch the other members of the hierarchy only so far as to appease popular clamor. At the breaking up of the council in the spring of 1517 the bull of dissolution declared that the reformation of the Church had been sufficiently provided for. On the 31st of October, 1517, Luther nailed to the gates of the castle-church of Wittenberg his ninety-five propositions, calling them "a disputation for the purpose of explaining the power of indulgences." Scarcely had the Church complacently said, "I am reformed," when God's reformer appeared.

## NOTE TO CHAPTER XLII.

### THE MEDÆVAL PAPACY.

A survey of the history of the mediæval papacy from the point where we now stand will show how much it had fallen from the height it had reached under the reign of Hildebrand (1073-1085) and his successors to Innocent III (1198-1216). We have seen that the crowning of Charlemagne by Leo III (800) brought Germany and the papacy into the closest union. While Charlemagne lived the theory of the double headship, spiritual and secular, was well maintained. Charlemagne was independent of all control, yet none the less a devoted son of the Church. He had power enough to secure the insertion of the *filioque* in the Nicene Creed, much against the pope's inclination. The breaking up of his empire was the decay of all civilizations, and papacy and empire fell into corruption together. The control of the papacy by the infamous Theodora and her daughters (904-936) led to the assertion of the imperial supremacy over it by the Othos and Henrys of the Saxon and the Franconian lines (936-1056). Now the empire is master, but this could not last. The papacy with the clergy possessed the intelligence of the world, and they alone were competent to rule. Hildebrand grasped the conception of the papal headship in both the secular and the spiritual realms. To make this real he claimed divine authority over all sovereigns and all states. From his reign (1073) to that of Boniface VIII (1294-1303) these pretensions were made good. This is the culmination of papal power; whatever the errors of these popes they were swayed by a lofty idea.

With Clement V (1305-1314) the Babylonian captivity begins and lasts till 1377. The removal of the popes from Rome could not but impair the influence of the papacy itself as a divine institution. This, followed by the schism (1378-1417) and the consequent corruption of the Church, prepared the way for the deeper fall of the popes with which the mediæval period closed. The Renaissance, with all its glories, came in but only to find half or wholly paganized popes. Three councils did their best to reform the evils by which the Christian world was appalled, but in vain. Greed of power and greed of money undid the papacy. With the shining exceptions of Nicholas V and Pius II the last popes of the mediæval period were the worst—worst in their ambition to aggrandize their families, and worst in their personal characters. Europe had in secular affairs become independent of the papacy, and it only remained for the great Protestant revolt to shatter its spiritual power forever.





## Third Period.

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THE PROTESTANT REFORMATION TO THE RISE  
OF ARMINIANISM.

1517 A. D. TO 1618 A. D.



## CHAPTER XLIII.

## ERASMUS.

It seems strange that the study of heathen antiquity should have been necessary for the restoration of learning to the Christian world. But the necessity was one created by the Church. Christ had freed the human mind ; the Latin Church enslaved it again. Tradition had overlaid the New Testament and almost suppressed it as authority. The schoolmen had wasted their energies on subtleties which might be useful as dialectic exercises but were wholly barren of result. Philosophy was virtually imprisoned ; it could not go beyond the limits of the received theology. The monks were enemies of learning, for learning rebuked their ignorance and sloth. When, therefore, the works which were "produced in the youthtime of the race," works whose beauty has made them perpetual models, and whose wisdom shows the utmost to which uninspired human faculties can attain, were recovered, two results were produced ; one was the revival of paganism, the other the revival, through the spread of the knowledge of the Greek tongue, of pure Christianity. Leo X was an elegant pagan, and so were the educated men of the Italy of his time. The vices of the Church had made them skeptics, and Greek philosophy was, therefore, for them a welcome refuge. Erasmus and Luther found in the New Testament the elements of a pure faith. The one, timid and temporizing, remained in the old Church ; the other became the leader of the Reformation. Yet so closely were they related that it was popularly said in their time that Erasmus laid the egg which Luther hatched.

We may divide our treatment of the life of Erasmus into the following parts : First, his studies and successes as a scholar

to the time of the publication of his Greek Testament (1516); second, his services to the Reformation (*a*) By giving the Greek Testament to the world, and (*b*) By attacking both the monks and the scholastic philosophy; third, his wavering between reform and the Church; fourth, his controversy with Luther on free will; and lastly, the literary labors with which he closed his life.

Erasmus was born in Rotterdam, Holland, October 28, 1466. His father, whose name was Gerard, was a man of gaiety and wit, took orders after the birth of his son, and died while still young. Erasmus, the son, had no surname, having been born out of wedlock. His guardians, in order to get possession of his patrimony, tried to force him into monastic life, and in time succeeded. He took the monastic habit when he was eighteen years of age, and made his profession in 1486, being then nineteen. From boyhood he was a close student, and was remarkable as a student for his prodigious memory. The monastic life was so disagreeable to him that he was released from it, although he took orders, receiving ordination as priest in 1492. He spent some years in Paris, part of the time as a student in the College Montaigu, one of the strongholds of scholasticism. He says in his *Colloquies* that he carried nothing from the college but disease and vermin. His life in Paris was one of great poverty; his support, a precarious one, was gained by teaching and reading lectures.

By teaching he not only laid the foundation of his learning, but likewise of his fortunes. Among his pupils at Paris was Lord Mountjoy, who afterward gave him an annual pension of a hundred crowns. From Paris he went to London and Oxford (1497-1499), drinking in the spirit of the new learning. He had already formed for himself an attractive Latin style, easy and flexible, an apt vehicle for the expression of his wit and humor. In England he became acquainted with the chief scholars and statesmen of the times; with Wolsey, More, and Dean Colet he corresponded for many years. During the pe-

riod of wandering he was occupied with the study of Greek. He wrote to a friend in 1500 that "as soon as he could get any money he would purchase, first, Greek authors; and, secondly, clothes." His difficulties in learning the language were almost endless. He tried a Greek professor in Paris, and found him both unwilling and unable to teach. In another of his letters written about the same time he tells a friend that "his application to Greek had almost killed him, and that he had no money to buy books or to retain a master." It was through such incredible toils that he became the most copious illustrator of Greek literature of his age.

His fame as a scholar now began to spread through Europe; wherever he went he received the attention to which his enthusiasm for literature justly entitled him. During his long life he maintained a frequent correspondence with kings, cardinals, popes, the great of Church and state who were the natural patrons of learning. Pope Adrian VI was, when a boy, his school-fellow; Henry VIII offered him inducements to settle in England, and Charles V provided him a pension which was never punctually paid. For some years from 1499 to 1509 he led a wandering life, journeying through England, France, Holland, and Italy. In 1506 he was at Turin, where he took the degree of Doctor of Divinity; in 1507 at Bologna, in 1508 at Padua, in 1509 at Rome. While at Bologna he witnessed the triumphal entry into that city of Pope Julius II, who had laid siege to it. The spectacle made a deep impression on Erasmus. Julius, he wrote a friend, was "warring, conquering, triumphing, and openly acting the Cæsar." In the first public attack of Erasmus upon the monks, his little work *The Praise of Folly* (*Encomium Morie*), there is a stinging satire upon Julius. *Moria*, Folly, who is the queen of a kingdom, passes in review all ranks of her subjects, but gives special attention to the clergy. Under this cover Erasmus ridicules the scholastic theology, the ignorance and filthiness of the monks, the avarice of the bishops, and finally attacks the pope, who, he says,

takes all the pleasures of his station, and leaves its duties to St. Peter and St. Paul. Europe was prepared for this assault upon the hierarchy. *The Praise of Folly* passed through twenty-seven editions in the lifetime of its author, and was translated into all the languages of the Continent. It was written in England, while staying with his friend More, on his return from Italy in 1509. During this visit to England Erasmus was appointed professor of divinity at Queen's College, Cambridge, and gave the first lectures on Greek delivered at the university.

In 1516 Erasmus published at Basle his Greek Testament with a Latin version. This was the first edition of the Greek Testament ever printed from types. It was dedicated to Leo X. Erasmus had labored upon it so assiduously that he says its preparation had helped to destroy his health and spoil his constitution. It had a wide circulation, and was republished four times between 1519 and 1535. The critical value of the Greek Testament of Erasmus is not great. To begin with, he had few manuscripts, and these were not carefully collated. But it had the effect of displacing the Vulgate in the estimation of scholars. The new Latin version, printed alongside of the Greek text, made apparent the errors of the Vulgate. There were divines in England envious enough and ignorant enough to carp at this achievement; and there was a college in Cambridge which would not permit the book to enter its walls. The divines of Louvain, the seat of a Belgian university where Erasmus resided for some years, attacked the work, and Erasmus retorted sharply; an outcry of heresy was raised because he had said that New Testament Greek was devoid of classic elegance. To stop the calumniators he obtained a commendatory brief from Leo X, which he prefixed to the second edition. Through all his life Erasmus was solicitous to stand well with the spiritual and secular sovereigns of the age. He detested the monks and the scholastic theology, knew perfectly well that the study of the New Testament would overthrow the authority of the



doctors of the Church, longed for a reformation, but dreaded the turmoil which must be its price. "I hate tumults," he said in 1518, "and I am much mistaken or more is obtained by moderate counsels than by outrageous violence. It is the duty and the honor of good men so to serve the public as to offend and hurt few persons, and even no person, if that be possible." He censures Luther's zeal and all-subduing energy: "Luther hath given us good advice on many points; I wish he had done it with greater discretion and civility. More persons then would have favored and defended him, and more good would have accrued to the Christian cause. And yet it would be an impiety to leave him undefended where he hath the truth on his side; for who then will ever dare to stand up for the truth?"

The service rendered to the Reformation by Erasmus was twofold: First, by the publication of the New Testament he led the Christian world to the pure fountain of doctrine; second, by attacking the schoolmen with the weapons of wit and satire he brought the scholastic theology into discredit. Some specimens will show that in estimating both schoolmen and monks he places little restraint on his language. The preface to the *Christian Soldier's Manual* is devoted to this topic. "We are making preparations," he writes, "for a war against the Turks. If we should conquer them it is to be supposed that attempts will be made to bring them over to Christianity. Shall we put into their hands an Occam, a Durandus, a Scotus, a Gabriel, an Alvarus? What will they think when they hear of our intricate and perplexed subtleties concerning instants, formalities, quiddities, and relations? What, when they observe our quibbling professors, so little of a mind that they dispute together till they turn pale with fury, call names, spit in one another's face, and even come to blows? What must they think when they find it so very difficult a thing to know what expressions may be used when you speak of Jesus Christ, as if you had to do with a morose and malicious demon whom you

will call forth to your own destruction if you use a wrong word in the form of evocation, and not with a most merciful Saviour who requires nothing of you but purity and simplicity of manners?"

In his preface to the works of Jerome, published by him in 1516, he strikes a heavy blow at the prevalent superstition: "We kiss the old shoes and dirty handkerchiefs of the saints and neglect their books, which are the more holy and valuable relics. We lock up their shirts and clothes in cabinets adorned with jewels; but as to their writings, on which they spent so much pains, and which are still extant for our benefit, we abandon them to moldiness and vermin. It is not difficult to discover the causes of this conduct. As soon as the manners of princes degenerated into brutish tyranny, and the bishops were intent on acquiring profane dominion and wealth, instead of teaching the people their duty, the whole pastoral care fell to the share of those who are called friars. Then polite literature began to be disregarded; the knowledge of Greek was much despised; the knowledge of the Hebrew still more. Learning consisted in certain sophistical quibbles and subtleties, and all science was to be fetched from the collectors of *Sums*, that is, common-places of divinity and philosophy." The friars paid him back for his ill opinion of them with interest; Erasmus often complained of their attacks.

He removed in the end of 1520 from Belgium to Basle, in order to be out of the way of his enemies in the Church. Here he remained nine years, much honored by the citizens and enjoying his intimate association with his printer, Froben. Here, too, occurred his quarrel with the German humanist, Ulrich von Hutten, who came to Basle a sick and dying fugitive after the failure of the scheme of Franz von Sickingen for an uprising in Germany. When the Reformation was established in Basle Erasmus changed his residence to Freiburg in Baden in order to be out of the way of religious dissensions. He feared, too, that his attitude toward the Refor-

mation might provoke the hostility of the Protestants of that city. He returned to Basle in 1535, was received with great respect, and died there in 1536.

To complete our picture we must show the manner of life of this extraordinary man. "His person," says Ranke, "was small, with light hair, blue, half-closed eyes, full of acute observation, and with humor playing about the delicate mouth." He had a great aversion to fish—said of himself, "My heart is Catholic, but my stomach is Lutheran." He lived delicately, but not luxuriously, and was precise in his diet. "Though his voice was weak," says one of his contemporaries, "his enunciation was distinct, the expression of his face cheerful, his manner and conversation polished and even charming." He must have been constitutionally timid, for it is said "he trembled at the very name of death." He had the power of rapid execution, wrote with ease, and printed with little, if any, revision. The spontaneousness of his writing is its great charm. In his prefaces to his works he allowed himself the utmost latitude, and gave in them his opinion of the state of the Church with vivacity and a transparent freedom from all reservation. These qualities helped as much as his scholarship to give currency to his works. In study he was indefatigable; he issued from the press of Froben, in Basle, editions, in whole or in part, of Jerome, Augustine, Hilary, Plutarch, Seneca, St. Paul, in paraphrase, and many other ancient authors, never ceasing till his death at a good old age. In preparing these publications he had the assistance of various scholars. It does not appear that he derived much profit from his publications. He contemned pecuniary gain from bookmaking, as did the other scholars of his day. For subsistence he relied upon pensions and presents from the rich and great. A dedication of a new book or a new edition to some titled personage usually brought him a present of money. All the great world, one might say, contributed to keep Erasmus in comfort. When he was out of money he did not hesitate to ask for it; if a dedication did

not bring a good fee he noted the fact in his letters with tartness. There is something unmanly in this aspect of his life; he would not venture to go with the reformers lest he should lose his pensions. The noble and the mighty were not the first to receive the new faith, and Erasmus cast his lot with them. His wants were so well supplied that in his will he bequeathed for a scholar of that period a considerable sum of money.

Although Erasmus thus prepared the way for the Reformation by his New Testament and his attacks on the scholastic divinity, yet he shrank from the consequences of his own actions. He tried to occupy a middle position, and when the battle between the parties waxed warm leaned more and more to the old Church. He pretended to Wolsey that he knew nothing of Luther, and writes thus to the cardinal: "As to Luther, he is altogether unknown to me, and I have read nothing of his except two or three pages; not because I despise him, but because my own studies and occupations did not give me leisure, and yet I hear that there are persons who affirm that I have helped him." This was in 1519, nearly two years after Luther took issue with the Church in relation to indulgences. As long as he could Erasmus kept up the affectation of not knowing anything about Luther whenever he wrote to Catholic dignitaries. In a letter to Ecolampadius, however, he writes: "I think highly and have magnificent hopes of Melanchthon. He will obscure Erasmus." In 1519 Luther wrote a letter to Erasmus, supposing him to be favorable to the new doctrine. Erasmus in his reply says that he has not read Luther's works except the commentaries on the Psalms, which he commends. He urges Luther "not to attack the persons of popes and kings, but those evil councillors who imposed on them and made a bad use of their authority." He did his utmost to separate the cause of literature from the Reformation, and said repeatedly that they had no connection. But in fact every interest of life was involved in the reform of the Church, literature, philosophy, theology, and politics.

Next he is asked to refute Luther, but declines that task as above his abilities. Despite his timidity he now and then speaks plainly to the heads of the Church. He tells Cardinal Campeggio in one of his letters that Luther, in his opinion, has a genius very proper for explaining the Scriptures to the people; that his moral character is commended, and that "the Christian world has long been weary of these teachers who insist too rigidly upon trifling inventions and human constitutions, and begins to thirst after the pure and living water drawn from the sources of the evangelists and apostles." But he will, notwithstanding, adhere to the old Church. "What connection," he asks, "have I with Luther, or what recompense have I to expect from him, that I should join with him to oppose the Church of Rome?" His cowardice reaches its culmination when he says of himself: "I never taught any erroneous doctrines, that I know of, and never will. Nor will I be an associate or leader in any tumults. Let others affect martyrdom; for my part I hold myself unworthy of that honor." When, however, Frederick, the Elector of Saxony and Luther's friend, consulted Erasmus in relation to the Reformation, he said plainly, "Luther has committed two unpardonable crimes: he has touched the pope upon the crown and the monks upon the belly." He added that Luther's doctrine was unexceptionable. He showed true courage when Luther was, in 1521, condemned by the Diet of Worms as a heretic. Erasmus disapproved of this decision, and complained of it publicly to the world.

Still, Erasmus had no thought of being a martyr for the truth, and he says so very plainly: "Wherein could I have assisted Luther if I had declared myself for him and shared the danger along with him? Only thus far, that, instead of one man, two would have perished. It is true that he has given us many a wholesome doctrine and many a good counsel; but I wish he had not defeated the effect of them by his intolerable faults. But if he had written everything in the most unexceptionable manner I had no inclination to die for

the truth. Every man hath not the courage requisite to make a martyr, and I am afraid that if I were put to the trial I should imitate St. Peter."

But the neutral position of Erasmus did not satisfy his Roman Catholic friends; they importuned him to write against Luther. To one of them, Mountjoy, he answered: "Nothing is easier than to call Luther a blockhead; nothing is less easy than to prove him one." He was goaded at last into controversy with the man by whom he should have stood at all hazards. He could not with a good conscience oppose the leading doctrines of the Reformation; he selected Luther's predestinarianism, and wrote against him in 1524 an essay on free will. He was in this, as in all his writings, brilliant, but by no means masterly in his handling of the subject. Having done the deed, he began at once to apologize for it to the leaders of the Protestants, whose good opinions he wished to retain. He wrote to Melancthon "that the calumnies of ecclesiastics, who made him pass for a Lutheran, had constrained him." Before the appearance of the tract of Erasmus, Luther had written him a letter in which he shows that he understands the weakness of the great scholar: "I never wished that, forsaking or neglecting your own proper talents, you should enter into our camp. You might, indeed, have favored us not a little by your wit and by your eloquence; but forasmuch as you have not the courage which is requisite it is safer for you to serve the Lord in your own way. My dear Erasmus, if you duly reflect upon your own imbecility you will abstain from those sharp and spiteful figures of rhetoric, and if you cannot and will not defend our sentiments you will let them alone and treat of subjects which suit you better." "He will die like Moses," wrote Luther to Ecolampadius of Erasmus, "in the land of Moab." Luther was greatly exasperated by the attack of Erasmus, and replied in a treatise entitled *De Servo Arbitrio*. The reply is written with extraordinary vigor, and with as extraordinary severity. Erasmus rejoined in a second tract, and complained of Luther's



treatment of him to the Elector of Saxony. He wanted Luther to be reprimanded or muzzled by the elector.

While thus afraid to side openly with the reformers he as vigorously as ever attacks the monks. In 1522 he published his *Colloquies*, which had previously appeared in a smaller form, ostensibly as a book of instruction for the young, but really as a vehicle for the ridicule of the friars. This little book was caught up with avidity and read all over Europe. Thirty-four thousand copies were quickly sold. It roused the anger of the Catholic party. The University of Paris condemned it as wicked, forbade the young to read it, and demanded its suppression if that were possible. He also gave his old school-fellow, Pope Adrian VI, good advice in relation to the treatment of Lutherans, which was greatly disliked in Rome.

But as he advanced in years he inclined more to the Catholic side. In 1527, when he was sixty-one, he said: "What weight the authority of the Church may have with others I know not; but with me it weighs so much that I could be of the opinion of the Arians and Pelagians if the Church approved their doctrines." His bitterness against the Evangelicals increases: "We are tired," he writes to a friend, "of the cry, 'Gospel, Gospel;' we want Gospel manners." But despite this weakness he prosecuted with unabated industry the good work of publishing books. He issued in his last years an edition of Pliny and one of Chrysostom; the first edition of Irenæus printed was from his hand. At the ripe age of sixty-four he published an edition of St. Basil, and in 1533 an exposition of the Apostles' Creed. In the last year of his life, when he was sixty-nine, he issued a commentary on the Fourteenth Psalm. Even in his last sickness his wit did not desert him. Three of his friends coming in as he was dying, he compared them with the friends of Job, and asked them why they did not rend their clothes and put ashes on their heads. He died July 12, 1536, in Basle, a Protestant city, honored by the Protestant inhabitants, who forgave him his contemptuous treatment of the leaders of the Reforma-

tion. He left none of the usual money for masses or other clerical purposes, and was not attended by any priest or confessor in his dying moments. It was made clear by the life of Erasmus that literature could not effect the needed renovation of the Church. Only the faith that accepts the loss of all things for Christ could accomplish the task.

We may sum up Erasmus in the words of Sir James Stephen: "He belonged to that class of actors on the scene of life who have always appeared as the harbingers of great social changes; men gifted with the power to discern and the hardihood to proclaim truths of which they want the courage to encounter the infallible results; who outrun their generation in thought, but lag behind it in action; players at the sport of reform, so long as reform itself appears at an indefinite distance; more ostentatious of their mental superiority than anxious for the well-being of mankind; dreaming that the dark page of history may hereafter become a fairy tale in which enchantment will bring to pass a glorious catastrophe, unbought by intervening strife, and agony, and suffering; and therefore overwhelmed with alarm when the edifice begins to totter of which their own hands have sapped the foundation. He was a reformer until the Reformation became a fearful reality; a propagator of the Scriptures until men betook themselves to the study and application of them; depreciating the mere outward forms of religion until they had come to be estimated at their real value; in short, a learned, ingenious, benevolent, amiable, timid, irresolute man, who, compelled to bear the responsibility, resigned to others the glory of rescuing the human mind from the bondage of a thousand years."<sup>1</sup>

### NOTE TO CHAPTER XLIII.

#### HUMANISM AND THE REFORMATION.

The words "humanist" and "humanism" come from the term *literæ humaniores*, the more human letters, the literature that humanizes, it may be translated. The humanists were the students of the newly recovered

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<sup>1</sup> *Essays in Ecclesiastical Biography*, pp. 219, 220.

Greek and Latin classics in contradistinction to the students of scholastic theology. Mediæval theology had affirmed that every human passion is incompatible with the supreme love of God, that is, that the supreme love of God is an excluding, not a regulating, affection. Dissatisfaction, as time went on, with so one-sided a view of life was inevitable. The scholastics did not know that lying back of them were the achievements of other ages in which nature was allowed its rights. The Greek life was a life of joy in existence for its own sake. When, therefore, the knowledge of this life and of the literature produced by it was recovered a pagan reaction naturally followed. Italian humanism, the humanism most deeply imbued with paganism, opened brilliantly with Petrarch, but came to a miserable end through its own vices, through the sack of Rome by the troops of Charles V in 1527, and through the crushing of freedom of thought in Italy by the Catholic counter-Reformation. The humanism, however, which crossed the Alps and entered into the life of the Teutonic peoples assumed a different aspect from the start. We have seen how in Erasmus humanism opened the way for the Reformation. Other men as well as he aided in this preparation. Reuchlin, by his Hebrew lexicon, and by his sturdy defense of the rights of the Jews to their books and manuscripts, aroused an interest in the language of the Old Testament. Ulrich von Hutten and his associates by their *Letters of Obscure Men* (*Epistolæ Obscurorum Virorum*), which were apparently the familiar letters of monks to one another, defended Reuchlin and satirized the ignorance of his opponents. But the reformers themselves were humanists equally with their forerunners. When Luther entered the convent at Erfurt the only two books he took with him were Plautus and Virgil. Calvin's first publication was an annotated edition of Seneca *On Clemency*. In the outset of his career he only thought to bring himself into notice as a scholar and an author. Zwingli was as devoted to the classics as to the study of the Scriptures. Melancthon, the grandnephew of Reuchlin, was an accomplished classical Greek scholar. In England the blending of humanism with the Reformation, the combination of the reawakened human mind and religious fervour, is shown in the rhythmical English of the Anglican prayer book and in the sustained dignity of King James's Version of the Bible. As far as we can see, without humanism the Reformation would have been impossible. So closely are they allied that the Reformation may be called humanism with an aroused conscience.

## CHAPTER XLIV.

## LUTHER AND HIS THESES.

THUS far we have seen all attempts to reform the Church fail. Constitutional reformation by general councils had failed; the popes quickly recovered the power which councils wrested from them. Moreover, the constitutional reformers had not touched one of the Church's distinctive dogmas. Huss had failed for want of support; his followers, the Hussites, had appealed to the sword, and had perished by the sword. Savonarola had failed because he had staked his success as a reformer upon his credit as a prophet, and because he had directed his efforts to the political regeneration of Florence. Erasmus, the representative of humanism, offered no new truth to take the place of the scholastic theology. Erasmus was a critic, and criticism alone has never reformed the Church. Religious reformers have been men of simple but all-conquering faith. They have found truth which they wholly believed, and for which they were ready to risk their lives.

The reformation of the Church could only be effected by the recovery of evangelical doctrine, and the difficulties in the way of such recovery were almost insuperable. In the first place, the Bible was very little read. Luther was nearly twenty years of age and a Bachelor of Arts before he had seen a copy. All he knew of it was to be found in the Church liturgy. Yet he was at this time versed in Scotus and Aquinas and Occam. It was not till after he had entered the convent at Erfurt that he began the study of Greek; that is, he must have begun the study of Greek between his twenty-second and twenty-fifth years. It was a long time after he had seen a copy of the Bible that he became the owner of one, and then he received it as a present from his friend Staupitz.

With Luther all turned on his discovery of the Gospel method of justification. The difficulties he experienced in extricating himself from the meshes of the received theology which he had so zealously studied can only be appreciated by looking at that theology itself. The Church had changed the Gospel doctrine of repentance into a doctrine of penance. Regeneration, according to its system, was first obtained by baptism, which washed away the guilt of original sin. Penance was the remedy for sins committed after baptism, consisting of three parts, contrition, confession, and satisfaction. Confession was to be made to the priests, who have been left by Christ "his own vicars, as presidents and judges, unto whom all mortal crimes into which the faithful may have fallen should be carried, in order that in accordance with the power of the keys they may pronounce the sentence of the forgiveness or retention of sins." But according to this theology God never remits the whole punishment of sin by an instant act of pardon; satisfaction to his justice must be rendered in works of piety, either voluntarily assumed or imposed by the priest. The satisfactions demanded are not only disciplinary, to check the penitent from sinning again, but are likewise for the avenging and punishing of sins. Faith, therefore, without satisfaction cannot procure justification; for God never forgives sin and at the same time remits the whole punishment of it. We have then, in the Roman Catholic theology, a legal system of justification, which requires works in order to make the pardon of man complete.

This system found a support in the form of language used by the Latin Vulgate. This version of the New Testament renders the Greek, *μετανοεῖν*, which signifies primarily to change one's mind or purpose, by *pœnitentiam agere*, to do penance. Repentance in the original Greek of the gospels is an internal process; in the Vulgate, largely an external process. Luther himself confesses this difficulty; he says: "I believe the Church theologians to be misled by the Latin; since to perform penitence (*pœnitentiam agere*) rather expresses action than any change of

feeling, and by no means satisfies the meaning of the Greek, *μετανοεῖν*."

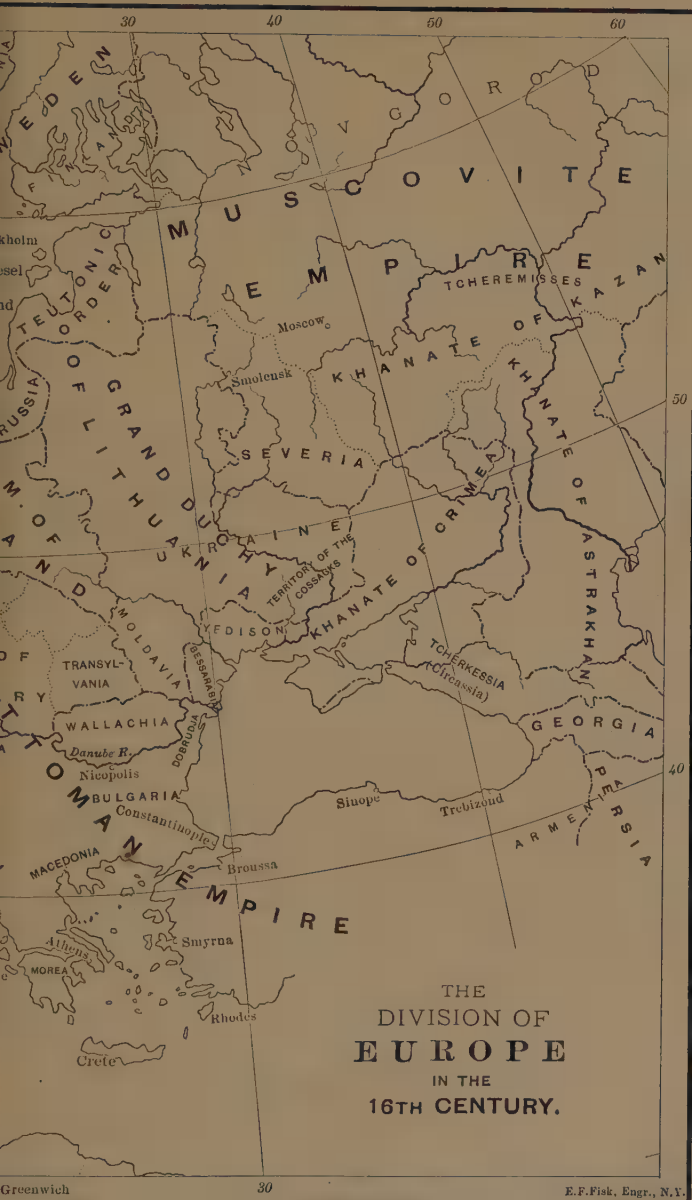
When the theory of satisfaction for sins had been once established the temptation to allow a commutation of the performance of good works by the payment of money was very great, and proved to be too strong for the Church. Clement VI, who was elected to the papacy in 1342, by the bull *Unigenitus* established the doctrine of indulgences, or commutations of penitential works, in these words: "As a single drop of Christ's blood would have sufficed for the redemption of the whole human race, the rest thereof was a treasure which he acquired in the militant Church, to be used for the benefit of his sons; which treasure he would not suffer to be hid in a napkin or buried in the ground, but committed it to be dispensed by St. Peter or his successors, his own vicars on earth, for proper and reasonable causes; for the total or partial remission of the temporal punishment due to sin; and for an augmentation of this treasure, the merits of the blessed mother of God, and of all the elect who are known to come in aid." When it is added that the satisfaction to be rendered to divine justice, if not complete in this life, must be completed in purgatory, we have the whole of the Church's doctrine. In attacking indulgences, therefore, Luther attacked the vital point of the Catholic system; the question of the justification of men before God was involved in it.

Luther had an advantage in the time of his appearance; the Christian world was ripe for a change. The failure of reform by councils had left a deep impression on the minds of sincere Catholics; the invention of printing was diffusing knowledge; the study of Greek literature was creating disgust with the barbarous scholastic theology; commerce and discovery were liberalizing the minds of the mercantile classes and making them restive under priestly yokes; the growth of national feeling was inciting to rebellion against the papal claim of political supremacy; republicanism was growing in Switzerland and in









THE  
DIVISION OF  
EUROPE  
IN THE  
16TH CENTURY.



the imperial cities; and, lastly, Germany was not under one absolute head; it was a confederacy, and offered larger opportunities of freedom than were possible in a compactly welded empire.

There are reformers into whose inner natures we never penetrate, who give us only occasional glimpses of their personality; such was Calvin; there are others who reveal to us their innermost being, their conflicts, doubts, fears, hopes. We see in their lives more than the completed work; we see also the process by which the work is wrought out. We know Luther as we know King David; he is so rich in his endowments, so many-sided, so frank in the communication of his experiences, that he comes very near to us all. Poet, musician, orator, theologian, he seems providentially chosen for the work to which God called him. He is an intense conservative summoned to achieve a radical reformation of doctrine. When he has won the victory for the people of God, on which he has set his heart, he stops; he will do no more. He will not break wholly with the past; affection and imagination have made much of the past beautiful to him; and he clings to it with the fondness of a loving heart. Hence his reformation is the conservative reformation, while that of Calvin is the radical reformation of the Church.

Luther was born at Eisleben, Saxony, November 10, 1483, of poor but honest parents. He said of himself: "I am the son of a peasant; my father, my grandfather, and my great-grandfather were peasants." John Luther, the father, was a miner. Luther says of his parents: "My father was a poor miner; my mother carried in all the wood upon her back; they worked the flesh off their bones to bring us up; no one nowadays would ever have such endurance." In time the father's condition improved, and in later life he was a local magistrate. Martin was sent to school away from home, but was about to be withdrawn for lack of means to support him, when he attracted the attention of the wife of Conrad Cotta, a citizen of

Eisenach. She opened her house to him, where he remained as a guest. In 1501 he entered the University of Erfurt, in which, said Luther in after years, "My father maintained me with much love and faithfulness, and supported me by the sweat of his brow." He applied himself closely to the scholastic philosophy, and soon became distinguished as a skillful disputant. In 1502 he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts, and in 1505 the degree of Doctor of Philosophy. It was while at Erfurt that he first met with the Bible. He was fascinated with its narratives, which were all novel to him. A serious illness and the death of a friend aroused his religious feeling, and determined him to adopt the monastic life. He entered the Augustinian convent at Erfurt in the summer of 1505. Luther became a monk from an earnest desire to work out his salvation. He devoted himself to monastic duty with all the ardor of his nature; closed the gates, wound the clock, swept and cleaned, and went through the streets begging for provisions. He was as thoroughly devoted to the spiritual exercises of the cloister; fasted and prayed more than anyone else of the brotherhood. He displayed the same zeal in study; and fortunately for him one of the monks was well versed in Hebrew and Greek, of which Luther was till this time ignorant. He devoted himself to the study of the Bible in its original languages; the fruit of the study appeared afterward. "If ever a monk," he said once, "obtained admission into heaven by his monkish merits I should have deserved that success." His unrest, his struggles with the sense of sin, his battle with the temptations which the gate of the convent could not shut out, are a familiar story to the world now. "From the time I studied," he tells us, "the epistles of St. Paul I was seized with a strong desire to ascertain his meaning in the Epistle to the Romans. One only expression arrested me, 'Therein is the righteousness of God revealed.'<sup>1</sup> I hated that expression, *justitia Dei*, because according to the interpretation of all the doctors I had learned to

<sup>1</sup> Rom. i, 17.



understand by it that active justice by which God is just and punishes the unjust and sinners. I who led the blameless life of a monk, and nevertheless had the restless conscience of a sinner, without being able to assure myself what satisfaction I could make to God, I did not love, no, let me say, I hated that just God, the avenger of sin. At length, as I meditated day and night on those words, God took compassion on me. I understood that the justice of God is that by which the just lives, through the gift of God, that is to say, faith, and that the passage signifies: the Gospel reveals the justice of God, that passive justice by which God justifies us through faith."

Staupitz, the vicar-general of the Augustinian order, in his visits to Erfurt saw Luther and became interested in him, and counselled him to depend on the divine mercy in Jesus Christ. The vicar-general was one of the few men holding high position in the Church at that time who had discerned the Gospel way of salvation. During a serious illness which seized him in the second year of his life in the convent Luther was ministered to by an aged monk to whom he opened his heart. He learned from this good man the efficacy of faith, and especially that faith brings us the assurance of forgiveness. He soon began to comprehend the words of St. Paul, "Therefore being justified by faith."<sup>1</sup> From this time Luther cast aside all the false glosses upon this passage of Scripture, and more and more proved its power in his experience. Through the influence of Staupitz he was appointed one of the professors in the University of Wittenberg, which Luther's sovereign, the Elector of Saxony, had founded. He was now, 1508, twenty-five years of age; his first duty as a professor was to lecture on the logic and physics of Aristotle. In this sphere he won great admiration; for he was a skillful dialectician, and could follow with ease the endless distinctions made by the scholastic philosophy. In March, 1509, he became Bachelor of Divinity, and had assigned to him the duty of lecturing on the Bible. Soon he was

<sup>1</sup> Rom. v, 1.

engaged in expounding the Epistle to the Romans. His deep soul-experience had shed light on the reasoning of the apostle, and he lectured as one inspired. He occupied also one of the Wittenberg pulpits, and here, too, he quickly found his way to the hearts of his countrymen. A famous scholar who heard his preaching in this period said, "That monk will throw all the doctors into confusion; for he is devoted to the study of the apostles and prophets, and rests on the word of Jesus Christ." A journey to Rome in the service of the Augustinian order did much to open his eyes; we get a glimpse of his habits as a monk when we learn that a great part of this journey was performed on foot. Paul's words, which had given him comfort, were continually in his thoughts. He was taken ill at Bologna; he found solace in repeating, "The just shall live by faith." Tradition says that as he climbed the sacred staircase in Rome these words rang in his ears: "The just shall live by faith." This one sentence seems to have been burned into him. Luther was shocked by the luxury, the sensuality, and the unbelief of the priests of Italy. He used to say in after years: "Not for a hundred thousand florins would I part with the remembrance of that journey. I might then have felt some apprehension that I had done injustice to the pope." In 1512 he became a Doctor of Divinity. He was now in a position where he could with all the authority of his office inculcate his favorite doctrine of the forgiveness of sins through the sole merits of Christ. No man could now question his right to speak. He had great success in impressing his convictions on the minds of the students who heard him. In May, 1517, he writes: "God is working among us. Our theology and St. Augustine proceed prosperously, and by the help of God are triumphant in our university. Aristotle is practically losing ground and will presently be consigned to irretrievable ruin. The lectures on the *Sentences* are ill frequented, while all the hearers are attracted to the schools of biblical theology." Let it not be forgotten that the doctrines of the sufficiency of faith alone for salvation, and the free

remission of sins by the merits of Christ, had their first triumph in a university. Up to this point the career of Luther had been wholly peaceful. In the quiet of the school and the convent he had found and been nourished by the truth. From this time his life becomes heroic, and he wrestles against "principalities and powers, against the rulers of the darkness of this world."

In the year 1515 Leo X granted to Albert, Archbishop of Mayence and Magdeburg, who was the primate of the German empire, a commission of indulgences. The grant was made to enable the archbishop to raise the amount of money required to pay for his pallium, the badge of his office as archbishop, just received from the pope. The sum demanded by the pope was thirty thousand gold florins. A bull was issued by the pope, and an address by the primate, giving instructions to the commissioners. They were directed to show the people the "immense and inestimable fruits of these indulgences," which were the remission of all sins, absolution from all ecclesiastical censures, from vows, from simoniacal offenses, and from the obligation, in certain cases, to return property dishonestly acquired. Leo and the primate shared the profits of this traffic; the pope needed money for the completion of St. Peter's church, and this pious object was much dwelt on by the commissioners. Albert put John Tetzel, a Dominican, in charge of the sale of indulgences, and he in turn employed assistants. The vender of indulgences approached the town wherein he purposed to offer his wares with great pomp. The papal bull was carried in full view of all on a cushion; a procession of priests and monks, with the city officers, nuns, and children followed. The church bells rang; music was played; the crowd moved to the church appointed for the purpose, where from the pulpit as an auction stand, decorated with the red cross, the preacher began to extol the merits of the papal grant to the faithful. The indulgences retailed by Tetzel not only absolved from past sins, but guaranteed future and eternal salvation. These are some of the words: "I absolve thee, first, from all ecclesiastical cen-

tures, howsoever incurred; next, from all sins, howsoever enormous; remitting by plenary indulgence all punishment due thee for the aforesaid in purgatory. Shouldst thou not presently die, let this grace remain in full force and avail thee at the point of death."

Luther at this time was not specially familiar with the doctrine of indulgences; he had never thoroughly investigated the subject. He first came into contact with Tetzel in the performance of his duties as a parish priest. In the confessional serious offenses, even heinous crimes, were acknowledged to him. Luther imposed penance as a condition of absolution. His parishioners pleaded the indulgences bought from Tetzel. The plea was not accepted; and the parishioners went back to Tetzel complaining that the indulgences were not recognized. Tetzel threatened with the Inquisition all who refused to honor the pope's bull, and heaped a pile of fagots where it could be seen of all as a reminder of what might come.

The seller of indulgences, Tetzel himself, was at this time in Juterbogk, a village not far from Wittenberg. Luther felt that the traffic was wrong, for it shocked his moral sense. Examining the question as fully as the time permitted, he framed ninety-five theses, which he affixed to the door of the castle-church of Wittenberg, on the last day of October, 1517. He was now thirty-four years of age, ardent, fearless, clear in his possession of a central principle of Gospel truth, but unaware of all the consequences which flowed from its acceptance. The theses are remarkable in two respects: (1) They admit to a certain extent the power of the pope to grant indulgences; and (2) They assert the Gospel doctrine of the remission of sins. Some of the propositions are as follows: "(1) The pope can only declare and confirm the remission of sins, which God himself has given. (2) The pope, when he speaks of the plenary remission of all penalties, means only those imposed by himself. (3) Those who fancy themselves sure of salvation by letters of pardon will be damned along with those who teach the doctrine.

(4) It is an anti-Christian doctrine that the buying of such letters will confer pardon without contrition. (5) The treasures whence the pope draws his indulgences are not the merits of Christ and of the saints, since these operate inwardly for the purification of the soul without the aid of the pope. (6) The true treasure of the Church is the holy Gospel of the glory and the grace of God. (7) The pope's indulgence cannot take away the least of our sins, so far as the blame or offense of it is concerned. (8) Indulgences are to be preached with caution. (9) People are to be taught that it is not the pope's intention to recommend the purchase of indulgences as in any way comparable with works of charity."

Here, then, is the germ of the Reformation. And yet in these theses Luther does not impugn the authority of the pope nor deny the existence of purgatory. Either he avoided making an issue upon these doctrines or he had not in his mind wholly rejected them. His advances toward the light were slow and gradual ; if he cast aside an old belief it was after much meditation and study of the New Testament. He held at this time beliefs which were logically incompatible with one another, but he had not carried the new truth which he had gained to its final consequences. The Reformation in his mind was a process of growth ; and this was the reason why he was immovably firm in the day of trial. The theses were put forth as topics of discussion ; and like a brave knight in the service of the truth Luther appeared in the university the next day to defend them ; but no one took up the challenge. They nevertheless spread rapidly throughout Germany ; they passed beyond Germany and very quickly reached all western Europe. By their publication Luther tested the readiness of the Catholic world for reform ; and the answer was unmistakable. But no reform is possible unless it finds a place in the hearts of the common people. Luther knew this well, and therefore gave the people two sermons on penance and indulgences, in which he taught them some of the rudiments of Gospel doctrine. He



denied that satisfactions, the third part of penance, are required of God, and affirmed that God demands no more than the conversion of the heart. These two sermons were spread broadcast over Germany.

And now came hot, bitter controversy. Tetzl replied, having a Dominican doctor of the University of Frankfort-on-the-Oder, Wimpina, to help him. The students of Wittenberg gathered up eight hundred copies of this reply and burned them in the market place of the town. Prierias, prior-general of the Dominican order and master of the papal palace, replied. He took these extreme positions: "That the authority of the Church and the pope is greater than that of Scripture; that the Church is infallible, not in word only, but in deed, in faith, and in morals; that the pope, through his indulgences, could remit any degree of sin." John Eck, the Vice-Chancellor of the University of Ingolstadt, replied, and argued in the scholastic fashion against Luther's theory of justification. Luther was so disgusted with Eck that he said, "I could almost swear that there is not a single scholastic divine who understands so much as a single chapter of the Old or New Testament." Another theologian, Jacob Hoogstraten, prior of the Dominican convent at Cologne and an inquisitor-general, replied. Hoogstraten had before this attacked with violence the first Hebrew scholar of Germany, the humanist Reuchlin. He worked himself into a great passion against Luther. "It is a treason," he said, "against the Church to allow so detestable a heretic to live an hour longer. Away with him to the scaffold."

The debate, once opened, takes a wide range. Reuchlin, who had fought with the monks a long and weary battle, rejoices, thanking God that they have now found a man who will give them full employment. A general assembly of the Augustinian order is held in the spring of 1518 at Heidelberg. Luther appears before it and defends there the doctrines of grace. He is true to his Pauline axiom, "The just shall live by faith." One of his paradoxes—so he names his theses—is, "He is not



justified who does many works, but he who without any works has much faith in Christ." He draws up a series of solutions of his theses and sends them to the pope. Leo cites him to Rome to be tried for heresy. This summons is waived, and Luther is commanded to appear before the papal legate, Cajetan, at Augsburg. Cajetan had secret instructions to seize the person of Luther and send him to Rome. Before consenting to appear Luther obtained the protection of the elector Frederick, and once in Augsburg secured a safe conduct from the emperor.

## NOTES TO CHAPTER XLIV.

### I. THE ROMAN CATHOLIC DOCTRINE OF JUSTIFICATION.

1. In the Roman Catholic Church justification is the same as regeneration. Justification is not merely the remission of sins, but also the infusion of grace; and we are not counted righteous, but are made just or righteous before God. After describing the preparation, consisting in a wholesome fear of God's displeasure and a hope of his mercy, the Council of Trent says: "This disposition or preparation is followed by justification itself, which is not remission of sins merely, but also the sanctification and renewal of the inward man, through the voluntary reception of the grace and of the gifts, whereby man of unjust becomes just, and of an enemy a friend, that so he be an heir according to the hope of life everlasting."<sup>1</sup>

2. Faith, in the work of justification, is only preparative; that is, it is a confidence in the means about to be employed for justification. The council says: "And whereas the apostle saith that man is justified by faith and freely, those words are to be understood in that sense which the perpetual consent of the Catholic Church hath held and expressed, to wit, that we are therefore said to be justified by faith, because faith is the beginning of human salvation; . . . but we are therefore said to be justified freely because that none of those things which precede justification, whether faith or works, merit the grace itself of justification."<sup>2</sup>

3. In Protestant theology the instrumental cause of justification is faith only, by which we are counted righteous before God; in the Roman Catholic theology the instrumental cause of justification is baptism, which is the sacrament of faith. Justification therefore is, in this view, the infusion of righteousness, by which we are made new creatures before God. The council says: "Of this justification the causes are these: the final cause indeed is the glory of God, and of Jesus Christ and life everlasting; while the efficient cause is a merciful God who washes and sanctifies; but the meritorious cause is his most beloved, only begotten, our Lord Jesus Christ, who, when we were enemies, for the exceeding charity wherewith he loved us,

<sup>1</sup> Waterworth, *Canons and Decrees of the Council of Trent*, Session vi, chapter vii, p. 34.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, Session vi, chapter viii, p. 36.

merited justification for us by his most holy passion on the wood of the cross, and made satisfaction for us unto God the Father ; the instrumental cause is the sacrament of baptism, which is the sacrament of faith, without which (faith) no man was ever justified." <sup>1</sup>

4. The assurance of forgiveness as an accompaniment of justification is not recognized by Roman Catholic theology. <sup>2</sup>

5. According to Roman Catholic theology justification may be increased by the merit of good works. <sup>3</sup>

## II. INDULGENCES FOR THE DEAD.

The prayers of the Church had long been held to be efficacious to deliver souls from purgatory. For this purpose bequests were made by the dying in their wills, and friends of deceased persons were in the habit of paying for masses to be said by priests for the deliverance of those for whom they were interested from purgatorial torment. These payments were a considerable part of the revenue of priests. Sixtus IV was the first pope to extend the benefits of plenary indulgences to the dead. In 1476 he issued a bull declaring that an indulgence operated in the same manner as prayer for the release of the dead (*per modum suffragii*). It was a bold step to make a papal indulgence equivalent to the prayers of the faithful, and there were murmurs of discontent heard. Sixtus therefore issued a second bull in 1477, in which he reaffirmed the papal power. The profitableness of indulgences, so extended, made a temptation the popes could not resist.

<sup>1</sup> Waterworth, *Canons and Decrees of the Council of Trent*, Session vi, chapter vii, p. 84.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, see Session vi, chapter ix, pp. 36, 37.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, see Session vi, chapter x, p. 37.

## CHAPTER XLV.

## LUTHER'S CONTROVERSIES—THE DIET OF WORMS.

AUGSBURG, an ancient city of southern Germany, has had memorable associations with the Reformation. Here in June, 1530, the confession of the reformers was read before the diet of the empire at the command of Charles V. Here, too, in the autumn of 1518 Luther appeared before the papal legate, Cajetan, to answer the charge of heresy. Luther reasoned with the legate in a masterly manner, but would not retract. Suspecting that he was to be made a prisoner, he fled from Augsburg by night. Miltitz was now sent, a German and a high officer of the papal court. He was a smooth and dexterous negotiator, but his private orders were, like Cajetan's, to seize Luther, or at least to put him to silence. He first rebuked Tetzels for his extravagance, and with such severity that the seller of indulgences died soon after of vexation. In the interim Luther was flattered, and the fearful schism of the Church which he was creating pressed on his attention. Luther promised to do anything but retract his doctrinal opinions. It was agreed that he should be silent about indulgences, provided silence was imposed on his opponents, and that he should make a full promise of obedience to the pope. It was all in vain; the word came from Cajetan, the legate, "Retract." The stipulation to keep silence was soon broken by the papal party.

Believing that a full discussion of his principles would help their spread, Luther had accepted a challenge to a public disputation with Eck, Vice-Chancellor of the University of Ingolstadt. The time fixed was the summer of 1519, and the place Leipsic. Luther and Melancthon and Carlstadt, with two hundred of the students of Wittenberg, some of them armed, entered

the city in long procession on the 24th of June. On the 27th mass was said in the Church of St. Thomas, and after the service the procession returned to the hall of the castle, the scene of the disputation. Two pulpits were prepared for the debaters; the noblemen had select seats and the great audience was placed on benches. A preliminary discussion between Eck and Carlstadt was soon disposed of, and on the 4th of July, a strange coincidence, Luther and Eck occupied the pulpits. Eck was tall, handsome, with a strong voice and animated manner; Luther, so thin that his bones seemed ready to pierce the skin; his voice, not so strong as Eck's, was more musical; his eyes were full of earnest expression, and when he was in deep excitement shot out a fire of inspiration. The primacy of the pope was debated five days; after the primacy was disposed of came repentance, purgatory, and indulgences. On the 14th of July the disputation closed. Luther must have been at times during its progress surpassingly eloquent. One of his sentences is this golden one: "The theologian, if he would not err, must place the whole of Scripture before his eyes and compare contraries with contraries; and the seeming contraries, like the faces of the cherubim, turning from one another, yet meeting over the centre of the mercy-seat, would all be found to meet in Christ." Both parties claimed the victory, but the popular feeling ran with Luther. Erasmus punned on Eck's name: Don't call him Eck, but call him *Geck* (fool). Ulrich von Hutten, the knight, called him *Eck* (the planed-off corner), and, says one of Luther's biographers, "The painters caricatured him, the poets satirized him, and the ballad singers sang his defeat on the street corners."

The effects produced by this discussion upon Luther were very great. In the first place, he admitted that some of the doctrines of Huss, condemned by the Council of Constance, were plainly evangelical. He had questioned the papal authority; he now questioned the authority of a council as against Scripture. In the second place, the debate led to close

intercourse between Luther and the followers of Huss in Bohemia. The Bohemians sent Luther some of Huss's books. Luther read them, and they opened his eyes. "St. Paul, Augustine, John Staupitz, all of us," he said, "are Hussites." He found that Huss denied purgatory, and encouraged by this example to study the Church's doctrine he soon rejected it. Huss brought him to the conviction that the cup should be given to the laity in the Lord's Supper. He now took stronger ground in regard to confession, and declared the conviction that "auricular confession is the appointment, not of God, but of the pope." From this time he grows rapidly. In a tract issued shortly after the disputation he asks, "What is the utility of canonizing saints?" And not least of the results, the debate with Eck inspired Melanchthon, who from this time forward devoted himself to theology. He began soon to lecture on St. Paul with such sagacity of interpretation that Luther said with joy, "This little Greek will beat me too in theology." It was not long before Melanchthon published a tract in which he proclaimed Scripture to be the only standard of appeal in matters of faith.

And now appears upon the scene a man whose great military skill made him the most powerful prince of the age, the emperor Charles V. A devoted Catholic, Charles would, had he followed his own impulses, have crushed Luther at once; but being at the same time a most politic ruler he deferred to the aroused feelings of Germany. He was elected emperor at Aix-la-Chapelle, June 28, 1519; and Frederick of Saxony, who had refused the throne, was appointed regent in the emperor's absence. Luther at once addressed Charles, and begged his favor for the cause of the Reformation. The storm of controversy was now raging with the utmost violence. Luther was attacked on every side, and replied with energy to all assailants. He was reproved by his friends for intemperance of language in controversy. "You cannot," he answered, "make a sword into a feather, or war into peace; and the word of God

is war." The news came to him that a bull of excommunication was about to be issued against him by Leo X. He was resolved to be beforehand, and issued, June, 1520, one of his most memorable tracts, the *Address to the Christian Nobility of the German Nation*. In this stirring appeal Luther described the ruin of Germany wrought by the Church, the impoverishment of the people by annates, indulgences, and commendams. "All," he said, "goes into the Roman sack, which has no bottom. Talk of war against the Turk; the Roman Turk is the fellest Turk in the world. Talk of hanging thieves and decapitating robbers; Roman avarice is the greatest thief and robber that has ever bestrode the earth. Hearest thou, O pope, not all holy, but all sinful! Who gave thee power to lift thyself above God, and break his laws? What is popery but leading souls to hell under thy name?"

Eck, Luther's Leipsic antagonist, and Aleander, an Italian prelate, came from Rome with the papal bull. Eck had inspired it, had helped to draft it, and now as nuncio was appointed to publish it throughout Germany. He found all Germany in arms; in some dioceses the publication of the bull was refused; in Leipsic, at the time of the disputation Catholic, he was hooted in the streets; at Erfurt the students seized the copy of the bull and tore it into pieces; at Wittenberg he did not venture to show himself. Luther issued a reply to the bull, in which he reaffirmed the opinions condemned by the pope as errors, and ended with these words: "As they have excommunicated me according to their sacrilegious heresy, so do I excommunicate them, according to God's holy truth. Christ, the Judge, will see which excommunication will avail with him." As his books had been burned by the papal party Luther determined on burning the works of his enemies. Public notice was posted in Wittenberg that on December 10, 1520, at a designated place outside one of the gates the bull would be committed to the flames. The townspeople crowded to the spot, and among them six hundred university students.



A great pile of fagots was fired, and Luther threw in the Isidorian decretals, one of the greatest forgeries the world has known, the canon law, sundry other articles, and finally the bull of excommunication. The procession then marched triumphantly back to Wittenberg. To us cooler moderns this appears a theatrical display ; but, like a picture, it had its effect on the popular mind, and explained Luther's position in such a way that it could not be misunderstood.

Luther's opinions were now rapidly maturing. If in the *Address to the Christian Nobility* he had given his view of the relations of the Church and Germany, in the *Babylonian Captivity of the Church* he presented a summary of evangelical doctrine. He now retracted some of his old opinions. At Leipsic he had conceded the human right of the papacy ; this he now denied. He acknowledged three sacraments only—baptism, penance, and the Lord's Supper. He argued that the Church had no more right to divide the Lord's Supper so as to withhold the cup from the laity than it had to divide baptism or penance. He defined the Lord's Supper to be "a promise of forgiveness of sins, given by God and sealed in the death of his Son." He insisted that there is no occult virtue in the nature of baptism, but that faith only makes it a saving ordinance. As to confession, he declares that "the true office of a priest is to preach the Gospel and take care of the poor, not to hear confessions. The true satisfaction is not whippings with scourges, but the faith of a contrite heart and an amended life." Finally he reached the position which brings the doctrines of the Reformation to their legitimate conclusion. He denied that ordination imprints an indelible character on the priest. A priest differs from a layman in nothing but the functions of the ministry ; all Christians are therefore priests. Thus did Luther at last come wholly out of the house of bondage, and thus did he begin to lead forth God's people. He was now in great peril. Excommunicated, it was the duty of the secular power to deliver him up to the pope. The Church had never failed to crush opposition ; could he with-

stand its hostility? Yet he was calm and prepared for all consequences. "If they kill me," he said, "after three days the truth will rise again. My life will be the bane of the papacy, my death will be its ruin."

Charles V was not in Germany when he was elected emperor, but he had appointed a meeting of the states to be held at Worms in 1521. Originally it was not his intention to permit Luther to appear there. Early in this year he had made a bargain with the pope to surrender the reformer to the papal vengeance; and in the latter part of January he assembled the princes of the empire, and read them an edict drawn up in accordance with the papal request. It was the privilege of the states to demand that they should be consulted, and the demand was made. The papal party were unwilling that Luther should appear at the diet of the states; they knew his power, and they knew, too, the effect produced by his *Address*. On the other hand, there were Catholic princes who did not hold with Luther, but were willing enough to hear the Church arraigned. The politic emperor took a middle course and decided to summon Luther, not to defend his doctrines before the diet, but to answer two questions: (1) Whether the books circulating under his name were in fact his, and (2) Whether he would retract the errors contained in them. On March 6, 1521, he was summoned to appear before the diet within twenty-one days. An imperial herald carried the summons and a safe conduct to Wittenberg.

There have been triumphal processions in this world in which mankind have elaborately displayed their loyalty, their enthusiasm, their joy, but never was there one so hearty, so spontaneous as that which attended Luther to Worms. The town council of Wittenberg provided a wagon for him and his fellow-travellers. The imperial herald rode on horseback before the party. As he left Naumburg, it is said, a priest sent after him as a present a portrait of Savonarola, and exhorted him to be manful for the truth, to stand by God, and that God would stand by him. Luther took the picture, gazed on it intently,

and kissed it. As they passed through Weimar they saw the town officers posting an imperial edict commanding all of the people who had the reformer's writings to carry them to the magistrates. "Well, doctor," said the herald, "will you go on?" "Yes," answered Luther; "though they should kindle a fire between Wittenberg and Worms to reach to heaven I will go on. I will confess Christ in Behemoth's mouth, between his great teeth." At Erfurt, where he was educated, a cavalcade met him and escorted him into the town. Here he rested on Sunday and preached the reformed doctrine to a great congregation. Many associations endeared Erfurt to him; and while he tarried he lived over again his life as a student and as a monk. The story runs that he passed through the town graveyard and noticed a little cross on the grave of a brother monk whom he had intimately known. "How calmly he sleeps," said Luther to one of his companions, "and I—." He could not finish the sentence, but sat down on the gravestone and was buried in meditation for a long time.

His journey took him through Eisenach, his school town; here he was seized with a sickness which clung to him all the way to Worms. At Frankfort the people crowded about him to get a look at his face. At the inn where he rested he was regaled with music and the drinking of healths; and, says Cochläus, one of the Catholic party who saw him there, "Luther himself played on his lute, and like another Orpheus; but an Orpheus shorn and wearing a cowl drew all eyes upon him." By this time the Catholic party were alarmed; they knew that they had nothing to gain by Luther's appearance at Worms. Glapio, the confessor of Charles V, sent messengers to the reformer proposing an accommodation, to be settled in a private interview at the castle of a prince. Luther's companions urged the acceptance of the proposal. "Your life," they said, "will be forfeited at Worms." "No," answered Luther; "if Glapio has aught to communicate to me he will find me at Worms. I obey the emperor's command." Another messenger came from

Spalatin, the chaplain of the elector and the reformer's devoted friend, expressing his gloomy forebodings in case the journey was continued. Luther sent him word, "I shall go to Worms though there were as many devils there as tiles on the roofs."

When very near to Worms he lay down by the wayside and slept. The peasants of the country gathered about him and waited for his waking. He preached a short discourse to them; after it was over they pressed on his consideration the danger he was about to incur. He replied in his usual strain, that if his enemies were to burn him to ashes at least they would be unable to burn the truth with him. On the 16th of April he reached the city. Luther's great hymn, "A strong tower is our God," belongs to a later period; but it is full of the feeling of the courage which found such frequent expression during this memorable journey. A company of knights and courtiers waited for him outside the walls and escorted him. The watchman on the church tower, as soon as he recognized the herald, blew his trumpet, and the whole population rushed from the town to see Luther. Says an historian: "Germans, Spaniards, and Italians, peasants, nobles, princes, and mechanics mingled in the throng to witness the entrance of the monk of Wittenberg." Thus ended this wonderful journey; it may be said that during its progress all Germany counted the reformer's steps.

Had Luther been a prince he could not have been more honored the first night he spent at Worms. His room was for hours filled with the great and noble, who streamed in to gratify their curiosity with a sight of the daring monk. A herald notified him on Wednesday, April 17, that he must appear before the emperor at four o'clock on that afternoon. When the hour came and Luther followed the herald into the street the windows were filled, and in some places the housetops covered with spectators. The multitude was so great that he had to be taken at last by a private way to the place of meeting. As he reached the door a veteran soldier said, putting his hand

on Luther's shoulder : "My good monk, you are going a path such as I and our captains in our hardest fight have never trodden. But if you are sure of your cause go on in God's name. He will not leave you." The door was thrown open, and Luther was in the presence of the diet. Before him, in brilliant array, were the assembled princes, nobles, bishops, and deputies, two hundred in all, and in the centre was the emperor, a Catholic both from conviction and from policy, who was ready at any moment to deliver up Luther to the Church. There was nothing between the solitary monk and destruction save the aroused feeling of Germany. He was almost dazed by the scene; in answer to the questions put to him he spoke in a faltering voice. His words, however, were very discreet. "Are these your books?" asked an episcopal chancellor. "Let the titles be read," said one of Luther's friends. Luther acknowledged them to be his own. "Do you retract them and their contents?" was the second question. "I implore his imperial majesty to grant me time for deliberation, that I may answer the inquiry without wrong to the divine word and hazard to my own soul." He was given to the same hour of the next day.

This asking for delay by Luther was not fear; it was the highest wisdom. It was well understood that deliberation would give weight to his words, when at last they were uttered. That night in a letter to a friend, which reviewed the events of the day, he wrote: "I shall not retract an iota by the grace of Christ." Feeling ran high outside of the diet; and the partisans of Luther and of the Church frequently came to blows in the streets. The night and the next day were spent by him in preparing for the trial with prayer and the study of the Bible. At four o'clock the herald called for him; when they reached the door of the hall the diet was engaged in debate, and two long hours of waiting had to be endured. Admitted within, Luther was placed before the throne. The same striking scene met his eyes as before. He was now wholly unembarrassed; he gave the reasons why he could not retract in German, and,

being requested to do so, translated his apology into Latin instantly for the benefit of the emperor ; the two addresses occupied two hours.

When he was done the chancellor said sharply : " You have not spoken to the point. Give a simple and direct answer ; will you retract, or will you not ? " Luther replied : " Since your most serene majesty and your lordships require a simple and direct answer I will give you one as simple as language can express. Unless I am convinced by Scripture or plain reason, unless I am convicted by the texts I have adduced, I cannot retract, nor will I retract anything, for to act against my conscience is neither safe nor honest." The chancellor spoke again : " If you do not retract the emperor and the states will know how to deal with you as an unreclaimable heretic." Said Luther, " Here I stand ; I cannot do otherwise ; God help me, Amen." His address had made a profound impression. The elector Frederick was filled with joy ; the Catholic party were full of wrath. On the 19th a message of the emperor was read to the diet, in which, after giving his guarantee that Luther should be reconducted home, he said, " I am determined to proceed against him as a manifest heretic." The Elector of Brandenburg revived the claim that faith was not to be kept with heretics, but was quickly told that if Luther's blood was spilled there should be blood for blood. Very soon Germany was heard from, and the word of Germany was that if Luther was harmed there would be a convulsion which would overturn all authority.

## NOTES TO CHAPTER XLV.

### I. THE BARONS' AND THE PEASANTS' WARS.

Two outbreaks in Germany for a time injured the cause of the Reformation : (a) The Barons' War. Franz von Sickingen, the chief of the independent knights of the Rhine, who held their lands directly from the emperor, and his friend Ulrich von Hutten, planned to overthrow the power of the temporal and spiritual princes and form a united Germany directly subject to the emperor. Counting upon the sympathy of the friends of the Reformation, von Sickingen attacked the Bishop of Treves in 1522, was



defeated, and finally besieged in one of his own castles, Landstuhl, where he was mortally wounded and forced to surrender in 1523. (b) The Peasants' War. The peasants were led by Thomas Münzer, an Anabaptist. They brought forward twelve articles. Among them were the free toleration of evangelical preaching; the right to appoint their own pastors; the doing away of small tithes; the distribution of the great tithes among the poor, the clergy, and the state; and relief from various oppressions. Luther wrote an answer to the twelve articles under the title of *An Exhortation to Peace*. In 1524 war broke out in the greater part of central and southern Germany. The demands of the peasants increased; so much violence was committed by them that even Luther urged the severest measures. They were totally defeated in 1525 at Frankenhausen. Their leader, Münzer, was captured and executed.

## II. DIETS: 1521-1541.

### 1. The Diet of Worms, 1521.

2. The Diet of Nuremberg, 1522, met in the spring and sat but a short time, owing to the progress of Sultan Solymán, who had captured Belgrade. It adjourned and met again in the autumn, Adrian VI now being pope. The diet decided that the execution of the edict of Worms was an impossibility. It demanded the abolition of the annates, the carrying out of the concordats, and the removal of grievances, the calling of a council of clergy and laity. As to teaching and preaching the diet declared that nothing should be taught except the true and holy Gospel according to the doctrine and exposition of writings approved and received by the Christian Church. The total result of this diet was a great victory for the Reformation.

3. Second Diet of Nuremberg, 1524. (1) Clement VII, cousin of Leo X, had become pope. He resumed Leo's worldly policy. (2) The diet was stormy, but the Protestant princes held their ground. It enacted that "the edict of Worms should be carried out as far as possible;" that a council should be speedily summoned; that a meeting of the states should be held November, 1524, in the city of Spire, and that meanwhile the Gospel and the word of God should be preached according to the interpretation of writings approved by the Church.

4. The first Diet of Spire, 1526. (1) Preceded by the Ratisbon conference of Catholic princes, 1524. The principal members of the conference were the Archduke Ferdinand of Austria, the Duke of Bavaria, and the Archbishop of Salzburg and Trent. The princes resolved to suppress heresy in their dominions, and obtained an edict from Charles V enforcing the decree of the Diet of Worms and forbidding the assembling of the Diet of Spire in November, 1524, under penalty of high treason. This league of Ratisbon is the beginning of the division of Germany; it was followed by a counteraction on the part of the Protestants. (2) The diet opened at Spire June 25, 1526. The elector Frederick had died and had been succeeded by his brother John the Constant. The Landgrave, Philip of Hesse, and the Duke of Brandenburg, Albert, Grand Master of the Teutonic Knights, had become Protestants. Owing to the political difficulties which had arisen the choice of religion was left by the diet, for the time being, to the several states.

5. The second Diet of Spire, 1529, is treated in the succeeding chapter.

6. The Diet of Augsburg, 1530, forbade the teaching of Protestant opinions and prohibited further innovations upon established usages. All who would not assist in carrying out the decree were refused permission to appear as parties before the imperial chamber. A promise was made to call a general council with the pope's assent.

7. The League of Smalcald, formed by the Protestant princes in 1531, was stimulated by the effort of Charles V to secure the succession to the empire for his brother Ferdinand of Austria. Ferdinand was crowned King of the Romans at Aix-la-Chapelle, 1531. This had the appearance of an effort to make the imperial power hereditary. The political situation became complicated. The Protestant league made a secret treaty with France. Solyman was on the point of invading Hungary with a large army. The emperor sought to conciliate the Protestant princes, and at the Diet of Nuremberg in 1532 agreed to a universal peace in matters of religion and on the calling of a council in six months. The Protestants on their part agreed to assist in repelling the Turks.

8. The Conference and Diet at Ratisbon in 1541 came nearer to an agreement than any other held, but entire harmony was impossible. The emperor was himself present. The theologians on the Catholic side were Eck, Gropper, and Pflug; on the Protestant side Melancthon, Bucer, and Pistorius. It was decreed that the articles concerning which the divines had agreed should be held as decided, and that the other articles should be referred to a general council or to a national synod.

### III. INTERIMS AND TREATIES.

#### 1. The Augsburg Interim, 1548.

(1) It retained all the doctrines of the Roman Catholic Church and all the usages which the Protestants had discarded. (2) It made two concessions: those priests who had married should not be expelled from their office; in the provinces where the cup was given to the laity they should still have the privilege of communion in both kinds. (3) The interim was to continue in force only till a free general council could be called.

#### 2. The Leipsic Interim, 1548.

(1) It affirmed that, in points which were purely indifferent, obedience was due to the commands of lawful superiors. (2) It retained justification by faith, but enforced the Catholic ritual even to the mass.

#### 3. The Treaty of Passau, 1552, declared:

(1) That the confederates were to lay down their arms. (2) That the Landgrave of Hesse and the Duke of Saxony should be set at liberty. (3) That no violence should be offered to the adherents of the Augsburg Confession. (4) That Protestants should not molest Catholics in the exercise of their religion. (5) That Protestants should be admitted to sit as judges in the imperial chamber. (6) That if the coming diet should fail to establish a religious peace, then the treaty should continue in force.

#### 4. The Peace of Augsburg, 1555, determined:

(1) That the Protestants should have the free exercise of their religion and Catholics should have the same freedom. (2) That the Catholic ecclesiastics should have no jurisdiction in the states which had received the Augsburg Confession. (3) That the civil power in each state should have the

right to determine the form of religion in such state. (4) That if any prelate or ecclesiastic should thereafter abandon the Catholic religion he should instantly relinquish his diocese or benefice, and that it should be lawful for those in whom the right of nomination vested to proceed immediately to an election as if the office were vacant by death or translation, and to appoint a successor of undoubted attachment to the ancient system. This peace did not include the Zwinglians and Calvinists. The Reformed Churches were without explicit toleration in Germany till the treaty of Westphalia (1648). The ecclesiastical reservation conserved the Catholic dioceses and provinces which were ruled by Catholic ecclesiastics.

## CHAPTER XLVI.

## LUTHER AND LUTHERANISM.

As we have followed Luther's career thus far it has been a career of heroism, wherein step after step is taken with unhesitating confidence. In that part of it which we are now to trace, his conservative instincts begin to assert their power; he is not only the reformer of the Roman Catholic Church, but also the head of a body of Protestants; he is driven back by radicalism toward the forms of the old Church; in a word, we begin to see his limitations; but despite of them he still remains the hero of the faith.

We need only to mention his capture by friendly hands on his way from the city of Worms and his confinement in the castle of Wartburg, a scheme to insure his safety devised by the elector Frederick; his prodigious literary activity while there; especially his translation of the New Testament, which was completed in three months. This was the first translation of the New Testament from the Greek into a modern language. During his absence the reforming work went on at Wittenberg. The monks deserted the convents, and some of them married. Luther at first hesitated to approve their marriage, but carefully studied monasticism in the light of Scripture. The conclusion he reached was that the whole system is a fabric of lies. As usual, he embodied his conclusions in a tract, entitled *On Monastic Vows*. A few years later, in 1525, Luther himself married, his wife being Catharine von Bora, a poor maiden of noble birth, who had been a nun. The marriage at the time excited much bitter comment, but Luther had resolved to show in a conclusive way his disapproval of the celibacy of the clergy. It was for him, personally, a wise step. His home life was a happy one. His letters to his wife and children are full of

affection and humor, and in them are exhibited some of the reformer's finest qualities.

But while he was in his place of refuge the new wine of religious liberty was turning the heads of some of his followers. Fanatics appeared in Zwickau, who claimed a direct inspiration from God, and declared the Bible and learning to be unnecessary. They believed that the civil power would be overthrown and a reign of the saints established on earth. Faith, they asserted, is essential to baptism, and they therefore required that all who had been baptized in infancy should, on coming to them, be baptized again. From this fact they derived their name of Anabaptists. They found some support from Carlstadt, one of Luther's friends, who put aside his books and went for religious knowledge to half-crazed mechanics. Melancthon confessed that he could not repress this outbreak; that he could not answer the objections to infant baptism. It was plain to Luther that he must leave the Wartburg, and in his knight's costume—for he had passed for a knight in his concealment—he rode to his home. It was time; the fanaticism had spread to Wittenberg; churches had been despoiled of images and ornaments, and reformation was turning into revolution. He preached for an entire week in the church to great multitudes, taking this ground in regard to the mass, monastic life, images, and confession, that while asserting the Scripture doctrine we must let the word produce its effect in a gradual change, and not mar God's work by violence. His position is that of Lutheranism, namely, that every usage forbidden by Scripture should be abolished; but in all other cases each conscience must decide on the retention or discontinuance of a custom. The effect of this preaching was to restore peace in Wittenberg; the conservative spirit of Luther gained a complete triumph. He next made a tour of the country, addressing the people in villages and market towns and bringing them back to Christian sobriety. Luther now undertook (1522) the translation of the Old Testament from the Hebrew,

and gathered about him a company of scholars to assist in this work.

In 1523 he began to organize Protestant worship and to adopt forms representative of the new faith. He published a formula of the mass in which the superstitious parts were rejected and the sacrament administered in both kinds. The reading of the Old and the New Testament and an exposition by the minister in German were provided for. Hymns in the German language were required; Luther composed some himself, and called on others to assist. Very soon there was an adequate Protestant hymn book.

In 1526, at the Diet of Spires, the new faith obtained the first legal recognition. A change occurred during the session of the diet which appeared to be a special interposition of Providence. Charles had sent a message to his representative, Ferdinand of Austria, which indicated his purpose to suppress the Lutherans. The majority of the diet, who were friendly to Luther, were about to quit Spires, when it became known that a league had been entered into against the emperor by the Duke of Milan, Florence, Venice, Piedmont, England, and France, and that Pope Clement VII had joined the confederation. To attempt to suppress the reformers was now out of the question, and the majority of the diet were able to act without encountering imperial resistance. The diet, therefore, declared "that until a general or national assembly of the Church should be convened each state should live, govern, and bear itself in such a way as it could best answer to God and the emperor." But in 1529, at a second Diet of Spires, the decision of 1526 was reversed. Charles V had in the intervening years defeated the coalition formed against him and had come to terms with the pope. The decree of 1529 ordained that "wherever the edict of Worms had hitherto been obeyed it should still be obeyed, and that wherever innovations in religion had taken place and the old ritual could not be restored without disturbances such innovations might be retained till the



meeting of a general or national council; but that no further innovations must be made." This ordinance condemned the reformers to inaction and at the same time permitted the Catholics to go on with the suppression of reform.

The evangelical princes determined not to submit to such injustice. The Elector of Saxony asked Luther to give his opinion whether the majority of the diet had any such power as they claimed. He answered that the revival of religion had saved the nation from destruction, and "that if the old state of things had been suffered to reach its natural termination the world must have fallen to pieces and Christianity turned into atheism." The majority of the diet had, in his opinion, no power to arrest the regeneration of Germany. On Sunday, April 25, 1529, the princes met and signed a protest against the decree of the diet. The signers were John, Elector of Saxony; George, Margrave of Brandenburg; Ernest and Francis, Dukes of Brunswick-Lüneburg; Philip, Landgrave of Hesse; Wolfgang, Prince of Anhalt; and fourteen imperial cities. This was the first company of persons of the reformed faith called Protestants. "Protestant," says a Roman Catholic author of that age, "signifies traitor to the pope or emperor." The signers of the protest bound themselves to mutual defense. It should be said, however, that Luther, while approving of the protest, steadfastly opposed an appeal to the sword in behalf of the Gospel. "We cannot," he said, "in our conscience approve or counsel it; but had rather die ten times over than that the Gospel should be a cause of blood or hurt by any act of ours. Our Lord Christ is mighty enough, and can and will find ways and means to rescue us from danger and bring the thoughts of the ungodly princes to nothing." The counsels of Luther prevailed, and instead of taking up arms against Charles V the princes agreed that an Apology for the reformed faith should be offered to the diet to meet in 1530 at Augsburg. Thus we owe it to Luther that instead of an appeal to arms there was an appeal to reason. Articles which had been prepared at a

conference held at Torgau were taken as a basis, and Melancthon was deputed to draft the Confession.

The Diet of Augsburg takes rank with the Diet of Worms as marking an important epoch in the progress of the reformed faith. Nine years before one man stood alone in defence of the Gospel in the presence of the nobles of the empire. "Those nine years," says one of Luther's biographers, "have no parallel since the apostolic age. The one man had grown into a nation." Besides Germany the evangelical faith had spread through Denmark, Sweden, Norway, Prussia, Switzerland, and had made an entrance into England, Spain, Italy, and France. Luther, being proscribed by the edict of Worms, was placed in the castle of Coburg, where he was in easy communication with his friends in the diet. When Charles entered Augsburg, on June 15, he ordered the evangelical princes to stop the sermons of their preachers, which were listened to by thousands of hearers, and to join in the Corpus Christi procession the next day. They courteously but firmly refused. Charles was greatly agitated by their opposition to his authority, but preserved his habitual self-restraint. On the 22d of June he requested the Elector of Saxony to give him a statement of the opinions held by the evangelical princes. On the 24th the princes stood before him and asked him to hear the articles of their faith. The fact that the emperor was not willing to have the Apology read to the diet shows the sensitiveness of the Catholic party. It was finally decided that it should be presented in the chapel of the episcopal palace. On the afternoon of the 25th it was read in German in a voice so clear and distinct that the reader could be heard as far as the lower gate of the courtyard. During the reading the emperor, who was no theologian, took a nap. He was very courteous, however, and carried away with him a copy of the Confession.

The Confession was so moderate that it received the commendations of many of the Catholic deputies. Even the bitter

Bishop of Salzburg found little in it to condemn: "It is right enough; the mass ought to be reformed; liberty as to feast days ought to be conceded and the yoke of human ordinances to be removed; but that a miserable monk should be the reformer—that is intolerable." During Luther's struggle this sneer was repeated a hundred times: "Only a contemptible monk; kill the fellow." It happened again that the weak things of the world were chosen to confound the things which are mighty. It was determined that a confutation should be prepared. Twenty doctors, among whom was Eck, undertook to write it; but their production was far inferior to the Confession. Melancthon replied in an Apology for the Confession, which the diet refused to receive. On the 22d of September the emperor announced that violent measures would be used against the Protestants if they did not come back to the Catholic faith by the 15th of April of the following year.

The Augsburg Confession is the venerated symbol of the Lutheran Churches. Both it and the Apology for it show the masterly hand of Melancthon; the latter is one of the noblest defenses of the reformed faith ever written.<sup>1</sup> Protestantism has been since the sixteenth century divided into three great families, the Lutheran, the Reformed, and the Anglican. But the Anglican family is, as to its doctrinal confession, a branch of the Reformed; the founders of the English Church were in close correspondence with Calvin during the progress of the English Reformation; and in the seventeenth century this Church was represented in the Synod of Dort. The difference in doctrine between Lutheranism and the Reformed Churches is expressed in two points, to wit: The presence of Christ in the eucharist, and the exercise of God's sovereignty in predestination. The Lutheran Confession, says Schaff, starts "from the wants of sinful man and the personal experience of justification by faith alone. The Reformed Churches start from the absolute sovereignty of God and the supreme authority of his Holy

<sup>1</sup> See Note I, at the end of the chapter.

Word, and endeavor to reconstruct the whole Church on this basis. The one proceeds from anthropology to theology; the other, from theology to anthropology. Luther teaches the real presence of Christ's body in, with, and under the elements, the oral manducation by unworthy as well as by worthy communicants, and the ubiquity of Christ's body."<sup>1</sup> Zwingli teaches that the Lord's Supper is only a commemorative symbol; Calvin, a spiritual presence of Christ in the Lord's Supper for believers alone. In the doctrine of the sacrament the Anglican Church follows Calvin.

There is a further difference between the Lutheran and the Reformed Churches. In Lutheranism the lay power was absorbed by the secular princes, so that although doctrine was freed the Church was not set free. The princes were in externals vested with the powers of bishops. Calvin and Knox endeavored to make the Church self-governing and independent, and to reorganize the state on the basis of the Gospel. The Calvinistic Churches became, therefore, the sources of civil and political liberty for Europe and America. Calvin pushed the doctrine of the priesthood of all believers to the legitimate consequence in civil and political life. To Luther we owe the reorganization of doctrine; to Calvin the reorganization of ecclesiastical and civil government.

The Lutheran Church has, as at present constituted, nine symbolical statements: The Apostles' Creed; the Nicene Creed; the Athanasian Creed; the Augsburg Confession (1530), the Apology of the Confession (1530), both drawn up by Melancthon; the Articles of Smalcald (1537), prepared by Luther; Luther's two Catechisms (1529); and the Formula of Concord (1577), prepared by six Lutheran divines. Of the last six the Augsburg Confession and the Shorter Catechism of Luther are of the highest authority. They all form, taken together, the *Book of Concord*, which was published in 1580 by order of the elector Augustus of Saxony. The Augsburg Confession is divided

<sup>1</sup> *Creeeds of Christendom*, vol. i, pp. 216, 217.

into two parts, the first entitled "Chief Articles of Faith ;" the second, "Articles in which are recounted the abuses which have been corrected." The first part is positive and didactic; the second, negative and polemic. One of the distinctive Protestant articles in the first part is Article IV, Of Justification. It is in these words: "They teach that men cannot be justified before God by their own powers, merits, or works; but are justified freely for Christ's sake through faith, when they believe that they are received into favor and their sins forgiven for Christ's sake, who by his death hath satisfied for our sins. This faith doth God impute for righteousness before him." Also Article VI, which in part is as follows: "Also they teach that this faith should bring forth good fruits, and that men ought to do the good works commanded of God, because it is God's will, and not on any condition of meriting justification before God by their works."

The Lutheran doctrine of the sacrament is contained in Article X, which reads: "Of the Supper of the Lord they teach that the body and blood of Christ are truly present and are communicated to those that eat in the Lord's Supper. And they disapprove of those that teach otherwise."<sup>1</sup> By Article XI private confession is retained, though without the enumeration of all offenses. In place of the Catholic doctrine of penance, consisting of three parts, contrition, confession, and satisfaction, Article XII speaks thus: "Now repentance consisteth properly of these two parts: One is contrition or terrors stricken into the conscience through the acknowledgment of sin; the other is faith, which is conceived by the Gospel, or absolution, and doth believe that for Christ's sake sins be forgiven, and comforteth the conscience and freeth it from terrors. Then should follow good works which are fruits of repentance."

The second or polemic part is directed against the errors of the Roman Catholic Church in this order: (1) The withdrawal of the cup from the laity; (2) The celibacy of the clergy;

<sup>1</sup> See Note II, at the end of the chapter.



(3) The sacrifice of the mass ; (4) Obligatory auricular confession ; (5) Ceremonial feasts and fasts ; (6) Monastic vows ; (7) The secular power of the bishops. The language of the third of these is to be carefully noted. It begins thus : "Our Churches are wrongfully accused to have abolished the mass. For the mass is retained still among us, and celebrated with great reverence ; yea, and almost all the ceremonies that are in use, saving that with the things sung in Latin we mingle certain things sung in German, which are added for the people's instruction." But it is clear that the word "mass" is not used in this article in the Roman sense, for the doctrine that the mass is a satisfaction for sins is strongly condemned. It goes on to say : "There was added an opinion, which increased private masses infinitely ; to wit, that Christ by his passion did satisfy for original sin, and appointed the mass, wherein an oblation should be made for daily sins, both mortal and venial. Our preachers have admonished concerning these opinions that they do depart from the Holy Scriptures, and diminish the glory of the passion of Christ. For the passion of Christ was an oblation and satisfaction, not only for original sin, but also for all other sins." It is the glory of Protestantism that its first symbol was so conciliatory in its spirit and at the same time so thoroughly evangelical. It was written with the hope of restoring the unity of the Church, and with unity peace. It was an overture to the Catholics to accept reformed principles. It is needless to say that the overture was rejected and that in the Council of Trent the Latin Church reaffirmed its mediæval theology.

It was inevitable that the article on the Lord's Supper should awaken controversy. Melancthon in his later life receded from it, and adopted Calvin's view. The objection to it is that it implies the ubiquity of Christ's body, which is an entirely new doctrine in the Church. Luther felt this, and to meet it used the scholastic distinction of three kinds of presence : (1) Local, as of water in a cup. (2) Definitive, as of the soul in the body. (3) Repletive, as the divine omnipresence. He



ascribed all these to Christ at one and the same time, so that in the Last Supper he was in his body at the table locally, in the bread and wine definitively, and in heaven and earth repletively. Luther was logically compelled to deny the literal sense of Christ's ascension to the right hand of God, and did so; he made the New Testament to mean that Christ ascended to God's omnipresent power. But his doctrine was liable to other objections which were urged during the eucharistic controversy; for example, it takes all literal meaning from the passages of the New Testament which describe Christ as passing from place to place, and indeed makes his humanity phantasmal.

In this view he has been followed by all Lutherans. It is expressed in the Formula of Concord, which says: "We believe that the right hand of God is everywhere, and that Christ in respect of his humanity is seated thereat."<sup>1</sup> So also the Formula says: "We reject and condemn the doctrine that Christ's body is so confined in heaven that it can in no mode whatever be likewise at one and the same time in many places, or in all the places where the Lord's Supper is celebrated."<sup>2</sup> In order to be consistent the Lutherans claim that there is an interchange of attributes (*communicatio idiomatum*) between the divine and the human nature in Christ. The mediæval theologians "derived the eucharistic multipresence from the miracle of transubstantiation, and not from an inherent specific quality of the body."<sup>3</sup> The article relative to free will in the Augsburg Confession is the eighteenth. Its principal statement is this: "Concerning free will, they teach that man's will hath some liberty to work a civil righteousness, and to choose such things as reason can reach unto; but that it hath no power to work the righteousness of God, or a spiritual righteousness without the Spirit of God; because that the natural man receiveth not the things of the Spirit of God." This doctrine of

<sup>1</sup> Article vii, affirmative; par. v.

<sup>2</sup> Article vii, negative; par.

<sup>3</sup> Schaff, *Creeds of Christendom*, vol. i, p. 286.

will became a subject of contention among Lutherans, as we shall see farther on.<sup>1</sup>

The Apology of the Augsburg Confession was prepared in reply to the Roman Catholic confutation. "It is written," says Schaff, "with solid learning, clearness, and moderation, though not without errors in exegesis and patristic quotations. It is seven times as large as the Confession itself. It is the most learned of the Lutheran symbols. It greatly strengthened the confidence of scholars in the cause of Protestantism."<sup>2</sup> Luther's Smaller Catechism is one of his greatest works. The praises of it by Lutheran theologians sound extravagant to our ears. One says: "It is the juice and the blood, the sum and the substance, of the Bible;" another: "I have received more consolation and a firmer foundation for my salvation from it than from all the huge volumes of the Latin and Greek fathers together." It is one of the best examples of Luther's power of putting the profoundest thoughts into the homely language of the common people. It gives great prominence to confession and absolution. "Confession," it says, "comprehends two parts: one, that we confess our sins; the other, that we receive absolution or forgiveness from the father confessor, as from God himself; in no wise doubting, but firmly believing that our sins are thereby forgiven before God in heaven." The Articles of Smalcald were prepared for the general council, called by Pope Paul III to meet May 23, 1537, and to which the Lutherans were invited. At the request of the Elector of Saxony Luther drew up the Smalcald Articles as a creed, but he could never have meant them as a basis of negotiations. The second part, which contains the substance of the Articles, is directed against the mass, purgatory, the invocation of saints, monasticism, and popery. The mass is called the greatest and most horrible abomination, purgatory a Satanic device, and the pope anti-Christ.

<sup>1</sup> See Note III, at the end of the chapter.

<sup>2</sup> *Creeeds of Christendom*, vol. i, p. 244.

The Formula of Concord belongs to the second generation of Lutheranism. It grew out of an effort to compose the controversies which arose in relation to the human will and the Lord's Supper. Luther held to the slavery of the will and its inability to turn to God; Melancthon held that conversion is brought about by the Spirit with the free consent of man. "The Spirit of God," he said, "is the primary, the word of God the secondary or instrumental agent of conversion, and the human will allows this action and freely yields to it." Melancthon's theory obtained the name of synergism. Melancthon, as already stated, also inclined in his later years to Calvin's theory of the Lord's Supper. These differences divided Lutherans into two hostile parties. An effort was made by Augustus, Elector of Saxony, to effect a reconciliation. He selected the famous theologians Jacob Andreae, Professor in Tübingen, Martin Chemnitz, a pupil of Melancthon, Nicholas Selnecker, and three other divines. Their work was completed in 1577, and ratified June 25, 1580, the fiftieth anniversary of the presentation of the Augsburg Confession.

The Lutheran and the Swiss reformers started with the Augustinian doctrine of the slavery of the will and absolute predestination. Luther laid stress on the *servum arbitrium*, Calvin on the absolute sovereignty of God. But the Lutherans gradually gave up predestination, though they still adhered to the slavery of the human will. The Formula of Concord contains these two contradictory positions without attempting to reconcile them. Article II denies all cooperation of the will in conversion. It says: "We repudiate the teaching that although unregenerate man in respect of free will is, antecedently to his regeneration, too infirm to make a beginning of his own conversion, yet if the Holy Spirit, by the preaching of the word, shall have made a beginning, and offered his grace in the word, man, that then man, by his own proper and natural powers, as it were, give some assistance and cooperation, though it be but slight, infirm, and languid, toward his conversion, and

apply and prepare himself unto grace, apprehend it, embrace it, and believe the Gospel." This makes salvation wholly a divine act, and requires a special election of those who are to be saved. But Article XI says: "Christ calls all sinners to him and promises to give them rest, and he earnestly wishes that all men may come to him and suffer themselves to be cared for and succored." "The Lutheran system," says Schaff, "to be consistent, must rectify itself, and develop either from Article II in the direction of Augustinianism and Calvinism, or from Article XI in the direction of synergism and Arminianism. The former would be simply returning to Luther's original doctrine, which he never recalled, though he may have modified it a little; the latter is the path pointed out by Melanchthon and adopted more or less by some of the ablest modern Lutherans."<sup>1</sup> The Formula of Concord has never been universally received by Lutherans.<sup>2</sup>

Between 1530 and 1546, the year of Luther's death, the great reformer had the satisfaction of seeing the continued spread of evangelical doctrine. By 1546 nearly all Germany had become Lutheran; in 1535 the royal supremacy over the Church was established in England by law; Denmark was ruled by a Lutheran prince; Melanchthon had been invited to the French court. In 1537 the Smalcald Articles were signed by the Protestant princes, deputies, and theologians. In his later years Luther was troubled with stone and an affection of his head, which at times gave him great distress. "I have overworked and overlived," he said three years before his death, "and am good for nothing; God send me a happy hour." While at Eisleben, the place of his birth, he was suddenly taken ill, and on February 18, 1546, he died, surrounded by friends and the faith of the Gospel which he had proclaimed.

Of Luther's literary activity the following facts are given Ranke: His publications in 1518 were 20; 1519, 50; 1520,

<sup>1</sup> *Creeds of Christendom*, vol. i, p. 315.

<sup>2</sup> See Note IV, at the end of the chapter.

133; 1521, 40; 1522, 130; 1523, 183. Part of these were reprints, but with this deduction made the number is almost incredible, and to it must be added the publications of his later years.

## NOTES TO CHAPTER XLVI.

### I. SOURCES OF THE AUGSBURG CONFESSION.

Although the Confession is rightly ascribed to the pen of Melancthon, it is in its substance the work of Luther. On this point Krauth says: "To Luther belongs the doctrinal power of the Confession, its inmost life and spirit, and to Melancthon its matchless form. Both are in some sense its authors, but the most essential elements of it are due to Luther, who is by preeminence its author as Melancthon is its composer. All the earliest and purest theology of Melancthon is largely but a repetition in his own graceful way of Luther's thoughts; and the Augsburg Confession is in its inmost texture the theology of the New Testament as Luther believed it."<sup>1</sup> Inasmuch as the Augsburg Confession is the original of the greater part of the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England these facts have an importance for us who are the children of that Church.

The sources of the Augsburg Confession are the following articles, mainly from Luther's pen:

1. The Fifteen Marburg Articles, framed at the time of the Conference between Luther and Zwingli in 1529.

2. On the basis of these the Seventeen Articles of Schwabach. The Schwabach Articles are also called the Seventeen Articles of Smalcald, they having been presented at both these places during the year 1529.

3. The Seventeen Schwabach Articles were revised and presented at Torgau, March 20, 1530. In addition to these, a second writing, chiefly by Luther, was also presented at Torgau.

4. The Seventeen Articles of Schwabach formed the doctrinal basis of the Augsburg Confession; the second writing sent to Torgau is the basis of that part of the Confession which treats of abuses.<sup>2</sup>

### II. LUTHERAN DOCTRINE OF THE LORD'S SUPPER.

The question arises, How much does Article X of the Augsburg Confession mean? Krauth, the most recent expositor among us of Lutheranism, analyzes it thus:

"1. The true body and blood of Christ are the sacramental objects.

"2. The sacramental objects are truly present in the Lord's Supper.

"3. This true presence is under the form or species of bread and wine.

"4. Under this form or species they are communicated.

"5. Thus communicated, they are received by all communicants."<sup>3</sup>

But what is meant by Christ's "true body"? Krauth answers: "By *ti* body we mean that body in which our Saviour was actually incarnate as *i* posed to his mystical body, which is his Church, or any ideal or imagin body." Again: "Christ's true body, his natural body and his glor

<sup>1</sup> *The Conservative Reformation and its Theology*, pp. 220, 221.

<sup>2</sup> See *ibid.*, pp. 218, 219.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 599.



body, are one and the same body in identity. The words true and natural refer to its essence; the word glorified refers to its condition."<sup>1</sup> This theory stands in opposition to the Zwinglian, which affirms that the presence of the sacramental objects is a presence to our memory or contemplation, and the Calvinian, which affirms that the body and blood are efficaciously present, through the working of the Holy Spirit, to the believing partaker.

Still further, what is the nature of the presence of the true body of Christ in the sacramental elements? Is it permanent or transient? Is it actualized in the partaking, or without and beyond the partaking? On this point Dr. Krauth affirms: "The presence of Christ, which is distinctive of the sacrament, is sacramental only; that is to say, we reach Christ there as we reach Him nowhere else."<sup>2</sup> And: "In limiting the presence of the body and blood first to the communicants, and secondly to them in the Lord's Supper, the Confession implies that nothing has a sacramental character apart from its sacramental use; that the presence of the body and blood of Christ is such that only the communicants can actualize it; it is not a presence for mice and worms, but for man; and that this presence is limited to the Supper."<sup>3</sup> This scheme made a very shadowy presence of Christ in the sacrament.

To constitute a presence of Christ in the Lord's Supper the Lutheran Church affirms the ubiquity of Christ's body. There is not, however, agreement among Lutheran theologians in regard to the localization of the glorified body of our Lord. All affirm the ubiquity of his body, but some along with this affirm also a local presence of Christ in heaven. Thus Krauth says: "Our Church never has denied that the ascension of Christ was real, literal, and local; never has denied that his body has a determinate presence in heaven; never has maintained that it has a local presence on earth. Neither does she impute to him two bodies—one present and one absent, one natural and the other glorified—but she maintains that one body, forever a natural and true body as to its essence, but no longer in its natural or earthly condition, but glorified, is absent, indeed, in one mode, but present in another."<sup>4</sup> According to Schaff, Luther "denied the literal meaning of Christ's ascension to heaven, and understood the right hand of God, at which he sits, to be only a figurative term for the omnipresent power of God."<sup>5</sup>

### III. THE FORMULA OF CONCORD ON FREE WILL.

The Formula of Concord puts the relation of man to the work of the Spirit in regeneration still more sharply. It says, in Article II, Of Free Will: (1) "Therefore, before the conversion of man, there are only two efficient causes, namely, the Holy Ghost and the word of God as the instrument of the Holy Ghost whereby he works conversion. To this word man ought to listen; nevertheless, it is not from his own powers, but only through the voice and working of the Holy Ghost, that he can believe and accept it."<sup>6</sup> "Also what Dr. Luther has written, that man's will is in his conversion wholly passive, that is, it does nothing whatever, is to be understood in respect of divine grace in kindling new motions; that is, when God's Spirit,

<sup>1</sup> *The Conservative Reformation and its Theology*, p. 600.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 622.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 622.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 650.

<sup>5</sup> *Creeds of Christendom*, vol. i, p. 287.

<sup>6</sup> Jacobs, *The Book of Concord*, vol. i, p. 500.



through the heard word or the use of the holy sacrament, lays hold upon man's will, and works [in man] the new birth and conversion. For if [after] the Holy Ghost has wrought and accomplished this, and man's will has been changed, and renewed alone by his divine power and working, then the new will of man is an instrument and organ of God, the Holy Ghost, so that he not only accepts grace, but also, in the works which follow, cooperates with the Holy Ghost."<sup>1</sup> From this it appears that (1) Man's will can do nothing toward his conversion, and (2) That his will can after conversion cooperate with the Holy Ghost.

#### IV. SUMMARY.

Summarizing this account of the Augsburg Symbols, we obtain the following results: (1) Article IV, on justification, and Article VI, on good works, are most distinct in affirming that our faith is imputed for righteousness before God, and that good works, which should follow faith, have no power to merit justification. (2) Article X, on the Lord's Supper, declares that the body and blood of Christ are truly present in the sacrament and are communicated to all who eat. (3) According to the exposition of Krauth, this presence is transient and is realized in the act of partaking only. It is such a presence as can be actualized by the communicants and none others. (4) In order to constitute a presence of Christ's humanity in the Lord's Supper the Lutheran theology affirms the ubiquity of Christ's body. (5) To establish the doctrine of the ubiquity of Christ's body this theology declares that there is a communication of properties between the human and the divine natures in Christ, in such sense that his body receives divine powers. Article VIII of the Formula of Concord affirms (a) the communion of the two natures in Christ with each other, and (b) from this communion the interchange of properties. The Formula of Concord divides the communication of properties into three kinds, but we have here to do with one only. Says the Formula: "The human nature in Christ over and beyond its natural and permanent properties has received special, supernatural, heavenly prerogatives and excellences in majesty, glory, power, and might, above everything that can be named."<sup>2</sup> "This majesty he always had, and yet in the state of his humiliation he abstained from it, but after his resurrection he entirely laid aside the form of a servant, so that now as man he can do all things and is present with all creatures," etc.<sup>3</sup> (6) The Article on Free Will of the Augsburg Confession denies the power of man to do anything toward effecting his conversion, not even so much as freely to accept grace when it has been wrought in him by the Spirit. (7) The Formula of Concord expresses this view still more decidedly by saying that there are but two causes of man's conversion: (a) The Spirit, (b) The word, through which the Spirit works. "In these words [John xv, 5] Christ," it says, "denies to free will all power whatever, and ascribes all to divine grace."<sup>4</sup> It admits a free cooperation of man with grace after conversion. (8) Article XI of the Formula of Concord affirms the predestination of the elect to salvation, saying, "Upon this predestination our salvatio

<sup>1</sup> Jacobs, *The Book of Concord*, vol. I, pp. 499, 500.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. I, p. 633.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. I, p. 518.

<sup>4</sup> See Schaff, *Creeds of Christendom*, vol. III, p. 109.

founded," and also, "God provides as well as disposes what belongs thereto."<sup>1</sup> But this same Article declares: "Christ calls to himself all sinners, and is anxious that all men should come to him."<sup>2</sup> The Lutheran theology in respect of free will and the calling of men to salvation is therefore inconsistent with itself. In drawing up the Formula of Concord the leaders of the company of divines were at first in favor of synergism. The Formula is the most disputed of the Lutheran Confessions. It was accepted by the majority of the Lutheran principalities and state Churches of Germany, but was rejected by others. Some of the states which at first received it afterward adopted the Reformed faith.

<sup>1</sup> Jacobs, *The Book of Concord*, vol. i, p. 525.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. i, p. 526.

## CHAPTER XLVII.

## ZWINGLI AND THE SWISS REFORMATION.

IF in Erasmus the love of letters suppressed the zeal for religious reform, and if in Luther the zeal for reform repressed the taste for elegant culture, in Zwingli the two passions were blended. He was equally a humanist and a reformer, equally a lover of the ancient classics and a lover of the New Testament. Fisher calls attention to the fact that he was overshadowed in Germany by Luther, and in Switzerland by his successor, Calvin; but his work none the less bears the stamp of a great and independent mind. Ulrich Zwingli was born at Wildhaus, in the county of Toggenburg, Switzerland, January 1, 1484. At ten years of age he was sent to school in Basle, and from thence to Berne, where he made great progress in the ancient classics. His talents were in his youth considered extraordinary. From Berne he was sent to Vienna to study the scholastic philosophy. Returning to Basle, he became a schoolmaster, and pursuing his studies while teaching was soon distinguished for his proficiency both in the classics and in music. Here too he entered upon the study of theology under the direction of Thomas Wytttenbach, who founded his system on the Bible. In 1506, having been admitted to the priesthood, Zwingli was settled in the parish of Glarus. His industry as a student in the early years of his ministry was so great that he committed several Latin and Greek authors wholly to memory, as well as the entire New Testament. He transcribed the epistles of Paul with his own hand, writing on the margin the comments of the fathers and Erasmus. In 1516 he was transferred to the parish of Einsiedeln; from this year also dates his preaching of the Gospel, which produced great effect on his parishioners. In 1518 he opposed Samson, a seller of

indulgences, put an end to the traffic in the Canton of Schwyz, and forced Samson to leave Switzerland. Near the end of this year he was made preacher of the Cathedral of Zurich. Here he began a course of lectures on the New Testament, taking the gospel of Matthew, and then the Acts of the Apostles and the epistles in regular order. On the week days he gave expositions of the Psalms, which were frequented by the people of the country who came to Zurich to attend the markets. This innovation in the method of preaching was adopted by *Æcolampadius* at Basle, and *Capito* at Strasburg, and other preachers, and greatly aided the spread of evangelical truth. Zwingli's homiletic discourses laid solid foundations for the Swiss Reformation. Of his person it is said at this period of his life that he "possessed a fine figure, a florid complexion, and was of more than medium height. His voice was not very powerful, but it went straight to the heart." It will be seen that in his work as a reformer Zwingli was independent of Luther. He never saw the writings of the German reformer till 1519; even then he did not read them carefully, preferring to form his opinions from the study of the Bible. He says at one time of himself: "In the year 1516, before a man of our neighborhood knew of Luther's name, I began to preach the Gospel of Christ. I was ignorant of Luther's name for two years after I had made the Bible my sole treasury. If they say, 'You must be a Lutheran, for you preach as Luther writes,' my answer is, 'I preach also as Paul writes; why not rather call me a Paulist? Nay, I preach the word of Christ; why not call me a Christian?' No man can esteem Luther more highly than I. Nevertheless, I testify before God and all mankind that I never in all my days wrote a syllable to him, nor he to me, nor have I caused any other to write for me. I have avoided doing so, not because I was afraid, but because I desired to show to all men the uniformity of the Spirit of God, as manifested in the fact that we who are so far apart are in unison one with the other, yet without collusion, and without my deriving what I preach from him; for

every man does according as he has received from God." This is a fine illustration of Zwingli's independence of spirit.

The year 1523 was a decisive one in the life of Zwingli. Complaint had been made of his heretical preaching, and the government of Zurich summoned all the clergy in its jurisdiction to meet at the council house, that the learned among them might arrive at the truth by discussion. Preparatory to the disputation, Zwingli drew up sixty-seven articles containing his doctrinal views. On the 29th of January, 1523, he appeared in the town hall, in the presence of six hundred persons, and with his Hebrew and Greek Testaments awaited his assailants. He won an easy victory. The council, therefore, issued this decree: "Since no one has been able from Holy Scripture to convict Master Ulrich Zwingli of heresy he shall continue as heretofore to proclaim the holy Gospel and the genuine divine Scriptures in accordance with the Spirit of God, and to the best of his belief and ability." All the other pastors were directed to do the same. After a second disputation, held in October of this year, he obtained a decree of the council against the use of images and the observance of the mass. In 1524 the city of Zurich separated itself from the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Constance and organized the Reformed Church, at the head of which were the magistrates. After Zurich, Basle received the Reformation under *Æcolampadius*; its triumph there dates from 1529. In Berne the Reformation was established in 1528.

Zwingli cannot be understood unless it is borne in mind that he had in view a political as well as a religious reformation of Switzerland. He desired through the Gospel to renew the civil and secular life of his country; he was a patriot as well as a preacher. In this regard he differs wholly from Luther. Luther opposed the use of arms even for the defense of the Gospel, and preferred suffering to resistance. Zwingli believed that only an open war between the Swiss cantons would settle their religious and political disputes. This difference between

the reformers was largely due to the difference of their temperaments. Luther was poetical and mystic; Zwingli rational and practical; the one looked to coming events through the medium of faith, the other through the medium of the practical understanding. The two reformers differed also in their opinion of the value of ancient Church usages. The Catholic system had taken a deeper hold on Luther than on Zwingli, and it cost him a great effort to cast it off; it was easy for Zwingli to discard the authority of the Church. Luther had much reverence for the old usages, Zwingli little or none. Luther retained such of them as the Bible did not forbid; Zwingli rejected such as the Bible did not command. It naturally followed that the destruction of the old Church usages made under the direction of Zwingli was radical.

Hagenbach, in his *History of the Reformation*, calls attention to the fact that the very ordinance designed to be the bond of union for Christians has proved to be a cause of division, and even of persecution. The dispute as to the use of leavened or unleavened bread in the Lord's Supper was one of the reasons for the separation of the Latin and Greek Churches;<sup>1</sup> the Hussite war centred around the denial of the cup to the laity; the hostility to the doctrine of the mass was one of the animating impulses of the Lutheran Reformation; and on the question of the Lord's Supper Luther and Zwingli divided and carried their adherents with them. Luther's greatest contribution to this controversy is his *Confession on the Lord's Supper* (1528). It is written with great power, but also with great feeling. Landgrave Philip, in the hope of a settlement of these differences, brought the reformers together at Marburg, October 1, 1529. Among the Zwinglians were, besides Zwingli, Ecolampadius and Bucer; Luther was accompanied, among others, by Melanchthon and Justus Jonas. When the Swiss reached the borders of Hesse they were met by an escort of armed horse-

<sup>1</sup> The Greeks retained the leavened bread; the Latins, the unleavened bread.



men, and all were royally entertained by the landgrave. The great discussion was held October 2, in the presence of from fifty to sixty princes, counts, and ambassadors. Luther wrote the word *ἔστί* (is) on the table before him, and demanded unconditional submission to it. No progress could be made in a debate conducted in such manner. Says Hagenbach: "The conference having closed on the third of October, private interviews took place on the following day. In vain had Zwingli, with tears in his eyes, declared that there were no people on earth with whom he would more gladly be at peace than the Wittenbergers. Luther could not understand this. The idea that it is possible to cherish a brotherly love for persons whose creed is different from our own seemed to him utterly preposterous. It was in vain that Zwingli offered Luther his hand. The Saxon reformer put it from him, with the words, 'You have another spirit.'"<sup>1</sup> And yet an agreement was reached which ought to have prevented a violent outbreak of controversy. Fifteen articles were drawn up, the fifteenth of which was: "(1) The eucharist should be received in both kinds. (2) The sacrifice of the mass is inadmissible. (3) The sacrament of the altar is a sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, and the partaking of it is salutary. And although we are not at this time agreed as to whether the true body and blood of Christ are physically present in the bread and wine, we recommend that either party manifest a Christian love to the other, and that both parties intreat God Almighty to confirm us by his Spirit in the right doctrine."<sup>2</sup>

With the establishment of the Gospel doctrine in Zurich, Berne, and Basle, the work of the Swiss Reformation was complete. But trouble with the cantons that remained Catholic was inevitable. The chief cities of the Confederation had become Protestant; the mountaineers adhered to the old faith. In the five Catholic cantons Protestant preachers, if they were

<sup>1</sup> *History of the Reformation*, vol. ii, p. 106.

<sup>2</sup> See Note I, at the end of the chapter.

found, were ill-treated or put to death. Zurich for a time forced the cantons to concede toleration, but the trouble was not cured. The Catholic cantons sought an alliance with Austria, the Zurichers with the Landgrave of Hesse. Zwingli desired to effect a change in the constitution of the Swiss Confederacy by which the preponderance of power would be given to the cities. But he opposed the harsh method adopted for keeping the Catholic cantons in check, which was that of cutting off the supplies of food for which they were dependent on their Protestant neighbors. War, he said, was preferable to such a course. Hostilities broke out, and on the 11th of October, 1531, the battle of Cappel was fought between the forces of Zurich and the Catholic army; the Protestants were defeated. Zwingli, who served as chaplain, made no use of his weapons, but was active in encouraging the troops. He was struck by a stone while bending over a dying soldier, received several wounds, and was finally killed. His body fell into the hands of the Catholics, was dismembered and burned. He was only forty-seven years of age when he died.

Thus did this noble leader of men come to an untimely end. In estimating his personal character we can unqualifiedly pronounce him a devout Christian. His religious experience rested on scriptural foundations. He is especially scriptural in his faith. "Sayest thou," he writes, "'Where shall I find him?' Seek him in thy closet, and pray unto him there in secret, for he seeth thee, that he will give thee understanding of his truth. Devoutly invoke God's grace upon thyself; pray that he will give thee his Spirit and mind, to the end that thou mayest be filled, not with thine own thoughts, but with his, and rest assured that he will instruct thee in the true understanding (of the Scriptures), for all wisdom is of God the Lord."<sup>1</sup> Zwingli has sometimes been contrasted with Luther to his disadvantage, but he had eminent qualities of his own in which Luther was deficient. "Luther," says Hagenbach, "had

<sup>1</sup> Hagenbach, *History of the Reformation*, vol. i, pp. 318, 319.

not more sensibility, but more imagination, more buoyancy of mind, than Zwingli. Zwingli, on the other hand, excelled Luther in firmness and security of judgment in individual cases. He always abides within the bounds of moderation. The prevalent quality of the one was a mystical intuition; that of the other, strong practical sense. Luther was a monk in the sense in which we understand the term to denote a man of a predominantly contemplative habit of mind. Zwingli was a secular cleric, who had early learned to grasp the earthly relations of life by their natural, practical side, and to turn his own experience to practical account. Luther was more the profound investigator, whose attention is directed chiefly to the inner world and its mysteries. Zwingli was more the sober thinker who scans all things with the utmost consideration and applies all things to life in the civil and domestic community.”<sup>1</sup>

The subsequent progress of the Swiss Reformation will appear in the life of Calvin. A brief notice of the Helvetic Confessions will close this history. The theses of Zwingli prepared for the Conference in Zurich in 1523 have been called the first creed of the Reformed Churches; they are seven years older than the Augsburg Confession, are sixty-seven in number, as already stated, and cover the points in dispute with Romanism. The first Confession of the city of Basle, where Oecolampadius laid the foundations of the Reformation, is still the confession of the Protestantism of that city. It was prepared in a first draft by him, and reduced to its present shape by his successor, Oswald Myconius, and was first published in 1534. It is extremely moderate, but wholly evangelical; the practice of reading it annually before the congregation obtained for many years. The Helvetic Confessions are two; the first grew out of an effort to reconcile the Lutherans and the Swiss, and when read by Luther was satisfactory to him. This was, however, at a moment when his feelings toward the Swiss were kindlier than they afterward became. The Confession contains twenty-seven

<sup>1</sup> *History of the Reformation*, vol. i, pp. 355, 356.

articles, and in its doctrine of the sacraments is essentially Zwinglian; yet, says Schaff, "it emphasizes the significance of the sacramental signs, and the real spiritual presence of Christ." It was adopted in 1536. The Second Helvetic Confession is the work of Henry Bullinger, the successor of Zwingli at Zurich, and a man of great influence and power during the second period of the Reformation. It was written by him as a private confession of his faith and added to his will with directions to be handed to the magistrates of the city after his death. But having sent it to Frederick III, the Elector of the Palatinate, who desired its publication, it was submitted to a conference of pastors, and was finally adopted by the magistrates in 1566. This is the most widely accepted of the continental Reformed symbols, except the Heidelberg Catechism. It was approved and adopted by the Reformed Churches of France, Hungary, and Poland; it was held in high esteem in Scotland and in the Church of England. It has been translated into German, French, English, Dutch, and many other languages.

The chapters are thirty in number; the view taken of the will is that in the sphere of morals it is enslaved, but in the sphere of worldly life free. The language of Chapter IX is: "After the fall man's understanding was darkened, and his will became a slave to sin. But he was not turned into a 'stone or stock;' nor is his will a non-will. He serves sin willingly, not unwillingly. In external and worldly matters man retains his freedom even after the fall, under the general providence of God. In the regenerate state the will is changed by the Spirit, and endowed with the power freely to will and to do what is good." Chapter X, on predestination, is in these words: "God has from eternity predestinated or freely chosen, of his mere grace, without any respect of men, the saints whom he will save in Christ. God elected us in Christ and for Christ's sake, so that those who are already implanted in Christ by faith are chosen, but those out of Christ are rejected."<sup>1</sup> On the sacrament it

<sup>1</sup> Schaff, *Creeds of Christendom*, vol. i, pp. 400, 401.

is very clear. Its language is: "The signs are not changed into the things signified; for then they would cease to be sacramental signs representing the things signified; but they are sacred and efficacious signs and seals."<sup>1</sup> One great excellence of this creed is its affirmation of the priesthood of all believers. Chapter XVIII says: "A minister of the New Testament is not a priest, as in the Jewish dispensation, offering sacrifices for the living and the dead. Christ is our eternal High Priest, who fulfilled and abolished typical sacrifices by his one perfect sacrifice on the cross; and all believers are priests offering spiritual sacrifices, namely, thanksgiving and praise to God."<sup>2</sup>

"Zwingli had," says Von Müller, "a patriotic and republican soul, of which he gave evidence in civil no less than in religious labors. He was not satisfied with leading his Church into the way of truth, without laying down for his country all those moral principles and precepts which he conceived to be conducive to liberty. His zeal for civil order and household virtue, and for the policy of a perpetual peace, was as great as that which he displayed in religious controversies."<sup>3</sup>

## NOTES TO CHAPTER XLVII.

### I. ZWINGLI'S DOCTRINE OF THE LORD'S SUPPER.

But what was Zwingli's doctrine of the Lord's Supper? Schaff sums it up in the following statement: "Concerning the Lord's Supper Zwingli teaches, in opposition to the Romish mass, (a) that it is a commemoration, not a repetition, of the atoning sacrifice of Christ, who offered himself once for all time and cannot be offered by any other; (b) that bread and wine signify or represent, but are not really, the broken body and shed blood of our Lord; (c) that he is present only according to his divine nature and by his Spirit to the eye of faith, but not according to his human nature, which is in heaven and at the right hand of God, and cannot be present everywhere or in many places at the same time; (d) that to eat his flesh and to drink his blood is a spiritual manducation, or the same as to believe in him (John vi), and no physical manducation by mouth and teeth, which, even if it were possible, would be useless and unworthy, and would establish two

<sup>1</sup> Schaff, *Creeds of Christendom*, vol. i, pp. 413, 414. See also Note II, at the end of the chapter.

<sup>2</sup> Schaff, *Creeds of Christendom*, vol. i, p. 412.

<sup>3</sup> Hagenbach, *History of the Reformation*, vol. i, p. 235.



ways of salvation, one by faith, the other by literal eating in the sacrament ; (e) that the blessing of the ordinance consists in a renewed application of the benefits of the atonement by the worthy or believing communicants, while the unworthy receive only the outward signs to their own judgment.”<sup>1</sup>

In defending this view as against the Lutheran real presence the Zwinglians displayed a sound exegetical tact. Thus Œcolampadius, in showing that the original words of institution are figurative, says : “ It is not difficult to cite instances in point from the Scriptures, such as, ‘ That rock was Christ ; ’ ‘ John was Elijah ; ’ ‘ Woman, behold thy son. ’ Moreover, the figure is a suitable one to denote the thing intended. As the bread that serves to nourish man’s body is broken, so Christ’s body is broken in order to the feeding of the soul with heavenly food. Had Christ meant that we should eat his body in the bread he would have expressed himself more clearly to that effect, saying, ‘ In this bread is my body ; ’ whilst as it is, he simply says, ‘ This is my body. ’ Of a bodily presence of Christ since his exaltation to heaven the Scriptures say nothing ; in fact, the contrary is affirmed. Till he appears at the last day in the body we must think of him as in heaven. Our faith is thus directed to Christ and his reconciling passion, and not to a participation in his body in the Lord’s Supper.”<sup>2</sup>

## II. THE SECOND HELVETIC CONFESSION ON THE LORD’S SUPPER.

In its exposition of the Lord’s Supper the Second Helvetic Confession approaches Calvin. Thus Chapter XXI says : “ The Lord’s Supper or eucharist is a grateful commemoration of the benefits of redemption and a spiritual feast of believers instituted by Christ, wherein he nourishes us with his own flesh and blood by true faith unto eternal life. In it we eat his flesh, which is meat indeed, and drink his blood, which is drink indeed (Matt. xxvi, 20, *sqq.* ; Luke xxii, 19 ; 1 Cor. xi, 21, *sqq.* ; John vi, 51, *sqq.*). This eating is not corporeal, by the mouth and the stomach, but spiritual, by the Holy Ghost through faith. Besides the spiritual eating in the daily communion of the soul with Christ, there is also a sacramental eating whereby the believer not only inwardly partakes of Christ, but also receives the visible signs and seals of his body and blood at the Lord’s table. And with the signs he receives the thing itself. He is nourished and strengthened by spiritual food.”<sup>3</sup>

This Confession also uses one of Calvin’s illustrations of his peculiar view of the Lord’s Supper. It says : “ Christ is not absent from his people when they celebrate his communion. For as the sun in heaven is efficaciously present with us, so much more is Christ the Sun of Righteousness with us, not indeed corporeally, but spiritually, by his enlivening and vivifying operation, even as he in the Last Supper explained that he himself would be present with us (John xiv-xvi).”<sup>4</sup> Thus the Second Helvetic Confession affirms that the Lord’s Supper is for the believer a spiritual partaking of Christ, in the presence of the memorials of his broken body and shed blood.

<sup>1</sup> *Creeks of Christendom*, vol. 1, p. 374.

<sup>2</sup> Hagenbach, *History of the Reformation*, vol. 1, p. 367.

<sup>3</sup> See Schaff’s *Creeks of Christendom*, vol. 1, pp. 414, 415.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 416.



## CHAPTER XLVIII.

## JOHN CALVIN.

IN considering the life of Calvin we need to be reminded of two facts: (1) That the Reformation was followed by the Counter-Reformation, a desperate and crafty struggle of the Latin Church to recover all it had lost. (2) That the first period of fervor was followed by a period of controversy, in which much of the moral and spiritual force of the earlier years of the Reformation was dissipated. It was important that the prophet of the new era should be followed by its legislator. Some one was needed to compact the Reformation by giving it a rigorous dogmatic system and the energy which always accrues from a well-defined method of discipline. This need was supplied by Calvin, the organizer of Protestantism. Though the field in which he wrought was narrow, yet his church in Geneva became the model of the Reformed Churches of France, Holland, Scotland, and was for a time during the Commonwealth adopted as a model in England. He is still the master mind and disciplinarian of Protestant Churches throughout a large part of Christendom. Luther is remembered with enthusiasm; Calvin is felt in the daily life of men.

Calvin differed from Luther in an important particular—he was above a peasant by birth, and had no experience of poverty in his early life. His father, Gerard Cauvin, or Calvin, was secretary of the diocese of Noyon in Picardy and a man of prominence. Here in Noyon John Calvin was born on the 10th of July, 1509, a quarter of a century after the birth of Luther. He had two great worldly advantages during his childhood and youth. He was, if not formally, yet substantially, adopted by the De Mommor family, and educated with its sons. In addi-

tion, through his father's influence, he obtained a church living by his eighteenth year, when he had only received the tonsure. This method of using church benefices for the worldly advantage of families was common in that age. His studies were first pursued at Paris, in the College de la Marche, and afterward, when for a time he meditated becoming a lawyer, at the University of Orleans. In the College Montaigu, which he also attended when in Paris, he was followed after an interval of a few years by Ignatius Loyola; both had the same instructor in the scholastic philosophy. He was always a prodigious student. At Orleans he spent half of each night in study and the morning in meditation on what he had learned. His talents were so well recognized that in the absence of some of the university professors he was asked to fill their places. Two young friends, Francis Daniel, an advocate, and Nicholas Du Chemin, a schoolmaster of Orleans, led him while at Orleans to examine the Reformation opinions. At Bourges, where he next went to prosecute the study of law, he began his acquaintance with Greek. His teacher in Greek, Melchior Wolmar, led him still farther into the Gospel truth. In 1529, when he was twenty years of age, he had not forsaken the Latin Church, though he made steady progress toward Protestantism.

The date of his conversion is not exactly known, but his biographers place it in the year 1532. If so it was soon after the death of Zwingli; he himself calls it a sudden change (*subita conversio*). His allusions to this great event are very few; one of them occurs in the preface to his commentary on the Psalms. He immediately became active in propagating the newly found truth. From the very first his position as a leader of the Protestants of France was conceded; in a short time he was accepted as their chief. In 1533 Calvin was in Paris, where his fame as a scholar had preceded him. Nicholas Cop, the rector of the Sorbonne, delivered on All Saints' Day an inaugural sermon, said to have been composed by Calvin, which boldly affirmed the reformed doctrine. Catholic intolerance

was roused, and both Cop and Calvin were compelled to seek safety in flight. For two years after Calvin led a wandering life under assumed names and preaching as he could. There is a tradition that at Poitiers, in 1534, during these wanderings, he celebrated the Lord's Supper for the first time according to the evangelical form, in a cave still known as Calvin's Cave. In the last part of 1534 he was again in Paris, where he met Michael Servetus, whom he encountered in later years with disaster to his own good name. We next find him in Strasburg, a chosen retreat of persecuted Protestants. From Strasburg he wandered to Basle, where he studied Hebrew with Capito and Grynæus. In 1536 he was for a brief time in Ferrara, Italy, at the court of Renée, the daughter of Louis XII, a Protestant and a protectress of Protestants. Calvin had another princess among his friends, Queen Margaret of Navarre, the sister of King Francis I; with both these ladies he kept up a frequent correspondence. The court of France was during these years vibrating between the old faith and the new; it was not till the latter part of 1534 that the king decided finally against the Protestants. He made known his decision to the world by burning twenty-four of them at the stake, between November, 1534, and May, 1535. From Ferrara Calvin returned for a short time to Noyon, his birthplace.

As Germany had its Erasmus and Luther, so had the French Reformation its Lefèvre d'Étaples (Faber Stapulensis) and its Farel. To Lefèvre belongs the honor in large measure of restoring learning to France. Says Baird: "He confined his attention to no single branch of knowledge. He was equally proficient in mathematics, in astronomy, and in biblical literature and criticism. Brilliant attainments in so many departments were commended yet more to the admiration of beholders by a modest and unassuming deportment and by morals above reproach."<sup>1</sup> His position in the University of Paris enabled him to draw about him the aspiring youth, among whom was Farel, his disciple

<sup>1</sup> *The Rise of the Huguenots of France*, vol. i, p. 68.

and friend. In 1512 Lefèvre published a commentary on St. Paul's epistles, in which he found and from which he set forth the doctrine of justification by faith. But this French Erasmus was as timid as his brother scholar of Rotterdam. In a moment of enthusiasm he could say to Farel, "The world is going to be renewed, and you will see it;" and yet he could refuse and did refuse to break with the Latin Church. He, however, gave to the people the priceless boon of the Scriptures translated from the Vulgate into their own tongue. Both he and the Bishop of Meaux failed in the day of trial, and persuaded themselves that the convenient hour for the spread of the Gospel had not come. But if Lefèvre lacked courage Farel abounded in courage. He threw himself into the conflict with a reckless disregard of consequences. Farel was born in 1489, six years after Luther; and as Luther had challenged the Catholic world by his theses at Wittenberg in 1517, so did Farel challenge it by his theses at Basle in 1524.

It is a remarkable fact that Calvin's settlement at Geneva was the result of an unimportant incident in a journey. Having determined to go to Basle and spend his days there in study, he was compelled to make a detour through Savoy and Geneva. The emperor, Charles V, had invaded France, and the direct road was closed. Calvin arrived at Geneva, intending to stay there one night only. Farel, the apostle of the Reformation in Romanic Switzerland, was in Geneva; he heard of Calvin's arrival, and insisted on his remaining in that city, where Protestantism had been established but was still feeble. The history of the first preaching of the Reformation in Geneva is important to the full understanding of Calvin's life from this point. Geneva was a fief of the German empire, but was governed for many years by the bishop as a temporal prince. If the priests of Italy were voluptuous the priests of the Canton of Geneva were ruffians. In the time of which we now treat they habitually went armed. The bishop who succeeded to the diocese in 1522, Peter de la Baume, among other outrages

openly abducted a young lady of good family from Geneva and detained her in his palace till compelled by the mob to give her up. The conduct of the bishop and priests disposed the Genevese to rebel against the ecclesiastical government under which they had long lived. In 1532 Farel appeared in the city, the first Protestant preacher. He is described by Dyer as "a little man of mean appearance, with a vulgar face, a narrow forehead, a pale but sunburned complexion, and a chin on which appeared two or three tufts of a red and ill-combed beard, but whose fiery eye and expressive mouth announced to the close observer a more remarkable character than his general appearance seemed to indicate."

Whatever his defects of mind or person, Farel had the redeeming quality of undaunted courage. He was brave to rashness, headlong and impetuous in his attacks on the mediæval Church. Never was a man better fitted for the rough work of a Gospel pioneer. Soon after his arrival the priests tried to kill him at a disputation, and succeeded in driving him out of the city. Before long he was back again and engaged in a public disputation with a Catholic champion, whom he defeated. On Sunday, March 1, 1534, he preached the first Protestant sermon in a Genevese church; the new faith had grown in favor, and he had a large company of eager listeners. The Protestants, having gained one church, soon secured others; the convents were demolished, and on the 8th of August, 1535, the people went in a body to the Cathedral of St. Peter's and compelled Farel to come there and preach a sermon. On the 10th of August he appeared before the Council of Two Hundred and with commanding eloquence urged them to abolish papal worship. The appeal succeeded, and from that day Geneva became Protestant. The victory was not gained without severe conflicts. On one occasion the priests rushed out armed at the head of their adherents and made an indiscriminate assault on the Protestants; they were defeated, and their leader, who carried a two-handed sword, was killed. The constitution of

Geneva was now recast; for the authority of the bishop was substituted a popular government of syndics, councils, and the burgesses of the city.

Farel had no talent for organization, and needed some one as a coadjutor; he knew that Calvin was such a man as he required. He finally silenced Calvin's objections to remaining in Geneva by declaring that the curse of God would rest upon him if the divine call to that city were not obeyed. Calvin could object no more. "It was," he said, "as if God had seized me by his awful hand from heaven." He gave up his journey to Basle and cast his lot with the Genevese. The first office given him was that of teacher of theology, although there was no school and no faculty. His first sermon so delighted the people that many followed him home to express their satisfaction. A confession of faith in twenty-one articles was drawn up by Calvin and Farel, submitted to the Council of Two Hundred, adopted and declared to be binding on the body of citizens. The nineteenth article of the series gave the right of excommunication to the consistory of ministers. This article was the cause of early trouble with the Genevese; of one of the most terrible struggles of Calvin's life; of his banishment for three years from the city. Its triumphant establishment insured Calvin's undisputed sway in Geneva. Not only were the twenty-one articles adopted by the council, but on a Sunday in 1537, and the day following, the people were brought before the town secretary and ministers in the Church of St. Peter's in companies of ten, and sworn to their observance. Such an act was without a shadow of justification, but was exactly expressive of Calvin's purpose to establish a theocratic system. Many of the leading citizens refused to take the oath, and became his bitter enemies.

Still, the reform effected in the dissolute town was extraordinary. "A gay and pleasure-loving people," says Tulloch, "devoted to music and dancing, the evening wine shop, and card playing, found themselves suddenly arrested in their usual pastimes. Not only were the darker vices of debauchery,



which greatly prevailed, punished by severe penalties, but the lighter follies and amusements of society were laid under imperious ban; all holidays were abolished except Sunday; the innocent gaieties of weddings and the fashionable caprices of dress were made subjects of legislation.”<sup>1</sup> Says Dyer: “Marriage was ordered to be solemnized with as little show as possible. If the bride or her companions adorned themselves in a fashion contrary to what was evangelized they were punished with imprisonment. The citizens were strictly enjoined to attend the sermons and to be at home at nine o’clock in the evening; and tavern keepers were ordered to see that their customers observed these regulations.”<sup>2</sup>

But this severity was disagreeable to the people. Calvin especially objected to an indiscriminate administration of the sacrament. He and Farel, therefore, on Easter Sunday of 1538, which was communion day, preached without the administration of the ordinance. For this, and for refusing to conform to the wishes of the magistrates on several minor points, they were banished from the city. Calvin retired to Strasburg, where he spent three years. But without Calvin Geneva was a prey to anarchy. His opponents, the Libertines, could not restrain the license, which they both in theory and practice favored. Magistrates and people united in urging Calvin to return; and in September, 1541, he entered Geneva with all the demonstrations of a triumph. He was provided with a house and garden, broadcloth for a coat, an annual salary of five hundred florins, twelve measures of wheat, and two tubs of wine. Here he remained, living in great simplicity, for twenty-three years, maintaining a high moral discipline, utterly indifferent to money, regardless of popularity and fame, but concentrating all his immense energy on the consolidation of Protestantism and the establishment of the autonomy of the Church.

<sup>1</sup> *Leaders of the Reformation*, p. 163.

<sup>2</sup> *The Life of John Calvin*, pp. 73, 74.

Calvin's scheme of government was theocratic. The Church was to prescribe the laws of a spiritual discipline, and the state was to secure their enforcement. Toleration was, in that age, not understood, and the theory of the limited functions of the state which is now received was not then promulgated. He therefore demanded the punishment by the state of those persons who were adjudged guilty of breaches of moral law. In 1568 a child was beheaded for striking its father and mother. In 1565 a woman was publicly beaten for singing secular songs to psalm tunes. A child of sixteen years, for attempting to strike its mother, was publicly whipped. The consistory, in its energetic searching for breaches of moral law, became inquisitorial. The Gospel was administered in the Old Testament spirit. Calvin himself said, "The spirit of the Old Testament is revealed in the New, as that of the New in the Old." The state he sought to make a true kingdom of God. Despite his unreasonable severities, the excesses of a fervent zeal, Calvin made Geneva a well-disciplined and orderly city. During the long years of his second residence his sway was absolute. Henry, Calvin's chief biographer, says: "So far was the city from being avoided that people flocked to it from all parts, and many sent their children to receive their education there. This severity, instead of crippling the energy of the mind, promoted it, being directed solely against vice."<sup>1</sup> Calvin claimed for his system a divine sanction. In a conflict with his opposers he said: "If they were not content to submit to us here, under the yoke of Christ, they must build another city for themselves, for that, so long as they remained in Geneva, they would strive in vain to elude the laws."

In the German Reformation, and also in the English, the lay power was absorbed by the secular sovereigns. Calvin's system rests, (1) On the equality of all ministers, and (2) On the principle of lay representation by elders. Or, to state it more broadly, in the language of Guizot, it consisted in three essential principles:

<sup>1</sup> Henry, *Life of Calvin*, vol. i, p. 364.

"1. The union and united action of ecclesiastics and laymen within the Church, and in its internal government; no human theocracy and no ecclesiastical tyranny.

"2. The mutual independence and limited alliance of Church and state. The Church perfectly free in her spiritual rule, but at the same time acknowledging and supporting the temporal rule of the state.

"3. The spiritual and moral authority of the Church over the moral and religious life of its members to be maintained, if necessary, by the power of the state."<sup>1</sup>

The first of these principles secured the autonomy of the Church; and yet not as a hierarchy, but as a divine kingdom composed of ministers and people. The second secured to the Church the support of the state, and was a source both of good and evil. The third secured the independence of the Church in the administration of spiritual discipline.

It was a vital principle with Calvin that the Church only can exclude from the communion. The ministers of the city together formed a body known as the Venerable Company of Pastors, whose duty it was to teach, preach, and administer the sacraments. The pastors and lay elders, in the proportion of two elders to each minister, formed the consistory, which was a moral and spiritual court, charged with the punishment of ecclesiastical offenses. Thus the Church of Geneva, independent, and with the old distinction between clergy and laity obliterated through the participation of both in its government, became the model of the Reformed Churches over all the world. The Protestants of France, Holland, Scotland, and the Presbyterians of the New World have adopted this system, and owe to it their ecclesiastical vigor. It is a system which at once conserves authority and liberty. The representation of the people in the Church carries with it, as a natural sequence, the representation of the people in the state. Knox, of Scotland, added to Calvin's theory an opinion of his own—the right of

<sup>1</sup> Guizot, *St. Louis and Calvin*, pp. 335, 336.

subjects to resist the unrighteous commands of their rulers. This was inwrought into the texture of Scotch Presbyterianism, and prepared the way for the overthrow of the English throne by the Presbyterians of the time of Charles I.<sup>1</sup>

The difficulties of Calvin's position are disclosed by a single fact. The city council claimed the right to determine who should and who should not be admitted to the Lord's Supper. Clear as it seems to us that the sacraments are in charge of the Church only, the point was not clear to the Genevans. Calvin's firmness was soon brought to a test. A man named Berthelier, notoriously immoral, presented himself for the Lord's Supper, and was excluded by the pastors. He complained to the council, which decided that if "Berthelier had no impediment in his own conscience which hindered him from approaching the table of the Lord the council authorized him to do so." Calvin replied that he would rather die than suffer such a profanation of the ordinance. On Sunday, September 3, 1553, a great crowd, highly excited, and determined to carry their point against the ministers, filled St. Peter's Church. Calvin preached calmly, it is said, on the qualifications for the reception of the Lord's Supper. He concluded by saying, "We are now about to receive the holy sacrament, and if anyone who has been excommunicated by the consistory tries to approach that table, at the risk of my life I am prepared to do my duty." He then stood by the table and offered the prayers. The Libertines, as his opposers were called, thronged to it, and several made a movement as if to seize the bread and wine. Calvin spread his hands over the elements and said, in a loud voice, "You may break these limbs, you may cut off my arms, you may take my life, shed my blood if you will—it is yours! But never shall anyone compel me to give things that are sacred to the profane, and to dishonor the table of my God." The Libertines were intimidated, a murmur of anger ran through the congregation, and they retired from the struggle. The

<sup>1</sup> See Henry, *Life of Calvin*, vol. ii, pp. 333, 334.

council soon after conceded the right of excommunication to the consistory, and its authority was never after challenged. There is no scene of Calvin's life in which he appears to better advantage as a man of courage, ready to die for his convictions.

Calvin now assumed the guidance of the Reformation in France, supplied preachers, cheered the Protestants by his letters, and gave advice to Protestant rulers. He wrote to Edward VI of England, and was in frequent communication with Cranmer. Among his friends—one might almost say disciples—was the fiery Knox, of Scotland. When Knox was banished from home he always turned his steps towards Geneva. Four years together (1555 to 1559) were thus spent in the society of Calvin. Knox was four years the elder, was a man of great originality and power, but faithfully copied Calvin's Church system, and established it in his native country. In fact, the life of Calvin is interwoven, in its later years, with the history of all Europe; his voice is heard throughout the Continent, cheering the allies of the Reformation and rebuking its foes. Says Henry, very eloquently: "Luther dies, and the storm which he had foreseen immediately breaks out. Catholicism endeavors to strengthen itself in the Council of Trent by an inward unity of doctrine, while Protestantism is torn by dissensions. Calvin now feels more deeply than ever the need of a firm foundation for the evangelical Church, and shoots his darts on all sides. A series of works followed fast upon each other, directed to the princes assembled at Spires, against the Tridentine decrees, and against the Interim. A great number of exegetical works also appeared at this time and opened the way for a right system of interpretation. Calvin was, in fact, like a lion, turning on all sides to defend his young. We everywhere, in short, see the man who felt in the most definite manner the command of God to restore union to the distracted Church."<sup>1</sup> In him, as is well said by Tulloch, the Reforma-

<sup>1</sup> *Life of Calvin*, vol. i, p. 476.



tion found its genius of order; through his legislative skill Protestantism was compacted so that it presented a solid front against the revived and reorganized Latin Church.

## NOTE TO CHAPTER XLVIII.

### THE CATHOLIC REACTION.

It was but natural that the rise of Protestantism should be followed by a Catholic reaction, especially in the countries in which the principles of Protestantism had not secured a firm footing. The success of the Counter-Reformation was largely due to the forming of the Society of the Jesuits, the convoking of the Council of Trent, and the enlargement and increased severity of the Inquisition.

1. The "Company of Jesus" was founded by Ignatius Loyola, a Spanish nobleman and soldier, who, wounded at Pampeluna in 1521, resolved to devote himself to a religious life. Loyola was at the time thirty years of age. His society received its charter from the pope in 1540. In its organization it differs from the other monastic orders of the Latin Church, and to these differences of constitution are owing in large measure both its successes and its defeats. The Jesuits exerted great influence in the Council of Trent, brought about the revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685, and secured the total overthrow of the French Jansenists of Port Royal, made famous by Arnauld and Pascal, in 1710. The Jansenists had adopted the opinions of Cornelius Jansen, a learned Roman Catholic scholar of Holland, born in 1585, who wrote in opposition to the semi-Pelagian views of the Jesuits a work on the doctrines of St. Augustine. About the middle of the eighteenth century the remaining French Jansenists retired to Holland, where a Jansenist church still exists. The Jesuits, notwithstanding their growth in numbers and power, have frequently been expelled from Catholic countries.

2. The Council of Trent, held with two intermissions from 1545 to 1563, recovered for the papacy the power over the Latin Church, which had been threatened by the Councils of Basle and Constance. The reactionary party in the council completely carried the day against the more liberal Catholics. The council unified and settled Roman Catholic doctrine, affirmed the equal authority of tradition with Scripture, asserted transubstantiation and the doctrine of the mass, and confirmed the ecclesiastical supremacy of the pope.

3. The Inquisition has been treated in another chapter. Its reorganization and increased severity in Italy, dating from 1542, were brought about by the determination of the papacy to crush the beginnings of the Protestant faith in that country. The final result of the Catholic reaction was the terrible Thirty Years' War, by which Germany was desolated and its inhabitants plunged into misery. The Peace of Westphalia closed the war in 1648. The Catholic party gained from the struggle large territorial possessions, including Bohemia; the only gain to the Protestants was religious toleration.



## CHAPTER XLIX.

## CALVIN AS A THEOLOGIAN AND CONTROVERSIALIST.

CALVIN is preeminently the theologian of the Reformation. Dorner calls him an architectonic genius in theological science. The only work of the early reformers comparable with his *Institutes of the Christian Religion* is Melancthon's *Loci Communes* (*Theological Commonplaces*), and the *Institutes* are unquestionably superior. Some of Calvin's followers rank him with Augustine and Thomas Aquinas, the chiefs of Western theology in the pre-Reformation period. Be this as it may, Calvin's great work is a masterpiece of close, compact reasoning. It was intended as an apology for the Protestant faith, and was written in a few months, and published with a dedication to Francis I, the French king. The dedication is a powerful appeal to the king to do justice to the Protestants, but it had no perceptible effect upon his mind. With every republication of the *Institutes*, from 1536, the year of the appearance of the first edition, Calvin revised and enlarged the treatment of its various topics. It was speedily reproduced in English, French, Italian, Spanish, German, and Dutch; and there are versions of it in still other languages. In his method Calvin follows the order of the Apostles' Creed, and treats: 1. Of God our Creator, or Theology. 2. Of God our Redeemer, or Soteriology. 3. Of God our Sanctifier, or the application of redemption. 4. Of the external economy of salvation, the Church and Civil Society.

The reformers were no doubt led to predestinarian views by their desire to avoid the Pelagianism into which the Latin Church had fallen, and by their preference for Augustine, the great theologian of the West. In the conflict with the Catholics his name was a tower of strength to the Protestant theologians.

The old Church by its doctrines of satisfaction and indulgences had represented salvation as attainable, in a large degree, by human merit; the reformers very naturally went to the other extreme and asserted it as all of grace. The Lutheran Formula of Concord inconsistently holds predestination in connection with the doctrine of the salvability of all men; and Melancthon receded in his later life from Luther's *servum arbitrium* and inclined more and more to synergism. Calvin, as Schaff admits, made the predestination of the elect to salvation the article of the standing or falling Church; with Luther the central idea of Christianity was justification by faith alone. Calvin's predestinarianism is also distinguished by the energy with which he asserts the reprobation of the non-elect; while Augustine speaks of the non-elect as passed by or omitted from the divine provision of redeeming grace. Calvin's system differs from Augustine's in another important particular. Augustine held to baptismal regeneration, and could not deny that all baptized persons are in a state of salvation. He asserted, however, that non-elect persons who have been baptized are incapable of perseverance, and must fall from grace. Calvin holds that the baptism of the non-elect is an empty form, and that all who are in a gracious state must persevere to the end.

Two schools of theology have proceeded from the *Institutes*, the supralapsarian and the sublapsarian predestinarians. Calvin's logic is supralapsarian, but his moral feeling made him recoil from the conclusion that God is first the author of sin, and then the punisher of it in human beings, with the penalty of eternal damnation. It is easy, however, to gather passages from the *Institutes* which are supralapsarian, and can have no other meaning. And as the showing of this is important, let us note a few: (1) He affirms that God's will is the cause of all that exists. He says: "In the first place they inquire by what right the Lord is angry with his creatures, who had not provoked him by any previous offense; for, that to devote to destruction whom he pleases is more like the caprice

of a tyrant than the lawful sentence of a judge; that men have reason to expostulate with God, if they are predestinated to eternal death, without any demerit of their own, merely by his sovereign will. If such thoughts ever enter the minds of pious men they will be sufficiently enabled to break their violence by this one consideration, how exceedingly presumptuous it is to inquire into the causes of the divine will, which is in fact, and is justly entitled to be, the cause of all that exists. For if it [the divine will] has any cause, then there must be something antecedent on which it depends, which it is impious to suppose."<sup>1</sup>

(2) He holds that man fell by the divine will. He says: "I confess that all the descendants of Adam fell by the divine will into that miserable condition in which they are now involved; and this is what I asserted from the beginning, that we must always return at last to the sovereign determination of God's will, the cause of which is hidden in himself."<sup>2</sup> (3) He affirms a second time a divine determination of man's fall, and denies that man fell by God's permissive decree: "For the first man fell because the Lord had determined it should so happen. The reason of this determination is unknown to us. Yet it is certain that he determined thus, only because he foresaw it would tend to the just illustration of the glory of his name."<sup>3</sup> It is true that Calvin adds: "Man falls, therefore, according to the appointment of divine Providence; but he falls by his own fault."<sup>4</sup>

But our nature rebels against such a conclusion. If God determined man's fall for his own glory, man's fall cannot be man's fault; the responsibility for the catastrophe must rest with God. Even Schaff, who is a very moderate Calvinist, admits that the distinction between supralapsarianism and sublapsarianism is more speculative than practical. "God," he says, "decreed sin not efficiently but permissively; not as an actual fact but as a mere possibility."<sup>5</sup> But this contradicts

<sup>1</sup> *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, book iii, chap. xxiii, par. 2.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, book iii, chap. xxiii, par. 4.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, book iii, chap. xxiii, par. 8.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, book iii, chap. xxiii, par. 8.

<sup>5</sup> *Creeds of Christendom*, vol. i, p. 454, note.

the fundamental Calvinian axiom that God is the efficient cause of all that exists. The weakness of sublapsarian predestinarianism consists in this: that in order to escape charging God with being the author of sin it abandons the divine determination of events immediately prior to the fall, and then assumes it as active immediately after the fall; whereas God is consistent with himself, and if he is the efficient cause of all events he is so without intermission from eternity to eternity. Calvinism, to be logically consistent, must be supralapsarian, and must make God the author of sin. Its avoidance of this consequence of its fundamental principle is an evasion. It should be said, however, that supralapsarianism, though advocated by individuals, has never been embodied in a Calvinistic Confession. Among its expositors were Beza, Calvin's successor in Geneva, Gomarus in Holland, the antagonist of Arminius, Twisse, a distinguished member of the Westminster Assembly (prolocutor), and Emmons of New England. The Synod of Dort and the Westminster Assembly ascribed the fall to a permissive decree of God. It is one of the fatal defects of Calvin's scheme that in order to explain such passages as John iii, 16, he was compelled to assume a secret will of God, which as to the non-elect is contradictory of his declared will. Amyraldus of France and Baxter of England tried to reconcile these passages with predestinarianism by assuming that salvation is provided for all, but that only the elect have given them the necessary grace of repentance and faith.

Calvin's doctrine of the Lord's Supper was the fruit of a profound study of the New Testament and a desire to restore the unity of Protestantism. Zwingli's lowering of the Lord's Supper to the level of a bare memorial of Christ's death, and Luther's passionate adherence to the idea of the corporeal presence of Christ in the bread and wine, were alike repugnant to him. The breach between the Zwinglians and the Lutherans was continually widening. Calvin presented to Bullinger in 1548 a paper which contained in twenty-four brief propositions a

harmonizing statement. This statement was the basis of the *Consensus Tigurinus*, or Zurich agreement, adopted in 1549. The agreement was accepted by the moderate Lutherans, and notably by Melanchthon, and would have pacified the Protestant Churches but for the violence of Westphal and the controversy which he opened. The three views of Zwingli, Luther, and Calvin are:

1. Zwingli held that the Lord's Supper is a sign or token of the sacrificial death of Christ, and no more. This opinion Calvin described as "profane."

2. "According to Luther's opinion the body of Christ descends miraculously during the sacrament, and is brought into such connection with the outward symbols of bread and wine that it is not only present with them, but in them, and under them, and can thus be received through the mouth by anybody who partakes of the symbols, and even therefore by a man without faith.

3. "According to Calvin the body of Christ does not descend into the sacrament, but the soul of the recipient ascends into heaven through faith, and being thus brought into contact with Christ's body receives a power of holy life."<sup>1</sup>

We will now fortify this account of Calvin's doctrine from his own words. In his *Institutes* he shows: (1) That the presence of Christ in the Supper is not material, but spiritual: "Others, to show their wisdom, have added to the simplicity of Scripture and pretend that Christ is actually and really present. Others have gone still further, and assert that he is there in exactly the same dimensions as when he hung upon the cross. But let us believe that the sacrament is spiritual, a something whereby God will feed our souls, not our stomachs; and let us seek Christ, not as to be seen or apprehended by the bodily senses, but to be recognized by his presence in the soul." (2) He next shows that the presence of the body of Christ is a dynamic presence; that is, an impartation of the benefits which we derive from

<sup>1</sup> Planck, as quoted in Dyer's *Life of John Calvin*, p. 210.



his body. Thus he says: "He is ever with his people; he lives in them; he upholds, strengthens, and defends them, and this no less manifestly than were he present in the body. In this way it is that the body and blood of Christ are offered us in the sacrament. For the sake of clearness, I say that his body is truly and really, but not naturally, offered us. And this I say to indicate that it is not the actual body that is given us, but all the benefits which Christ by his body has procured us."<sup>1</sup>

(3) In a letter to Bullinger he also explains his meaning: "We neither turn the symbol into a reality nor confound them both together, nor include the body of Christ in the bread, nor suppose it to be infinite, nor dream of a carnal transfusion of Christ into us, nor set up any other such invention. What, then, is the sum of our opinion? That when we behold the bread and wine here on earth our souls must be elevated to heaven to partake of Christ, and that he is then present to us when we seek him beyond the elements of this world. We are thereby made partakers of Christ's body and blood, so that he dwells in us and we in him."<sup>2</sup>

The disposition of the Protestants to harmonize upon this middle ground was disturbed in 1552 by a Lutheran polemic, Joachim Westphal, of Hamburg, who published a violent attack on the Zurich Consensus. After ridiculing the propositions of the Zwinglians and Calvinists he declared that "their blasphemies deserved to be refuted by the rod of the magistrate rather than by the pen." As this was not noticed he put forward the next year another attack upon the Consensus. Calvin replied with some warmth, and in his reply gave the following beautiful illustration of his doctrine: "Christ, therefore, is absent from us in the body; but dwelling spiritually within us so lifts us up toward heaven as to transfuse into us the vivifying power of his flesh, just as we are nourished by the vital heat of the sun

<sup>1</sup> See Henry, *Life of Calvin*, vol. i, pp. 83, 84.

<sup>2</sup> Dyer, *Life of John Calvin*, pp. 210, 211. See also Note I, at the end of the chapter.



by means of its rays." Westphal published a rejoinder, and Calvin followed with a second defense. It was not the manner of the early reformers to treat each other courteously when in controversy, and soon the Protestant world was aflame with passion. Calvin considered that he glorified God by calling Westphal a "beast," and Westphal was not a whit behind him in bitterness. Melancthon might have settled the dispute by declaring himself, for he was of Calvin's opinion; but he would not for fear of offending his patrons, the princes. For want of gentleness and moderation the breach between the Lutheran and Reformed Churches became irreparable. For a time they were more bitter against each other than against their common enemy, Rome. A shipload of fugitives of the Reformed Church, driven from England by persecution, tried to find a refuge in several ports of the North Sea, and were forbidden to land by Lutheran magistrates. Thus divided, how could Protestantism fail to lose on every hand?

On the Sabbath Calvin wholly rejected the idea of its sanctity. He says: "I do not lay so much stress on the septenary number that I would oblige the Church to an invariable adherence to it." He condemns as false prophets those who affirm that only "the appointment of the seventh day has been abrogated, but that the moral part of it, that is, the observance of one day in seven, still remains."<sup>1</sup> The Presbyterians of the United States consider that Calvin greatly erred in his view of the Sabbath; they also consider his expressions in relation to reprobation as "too unqualified" and "indorse them no further than they are incorporated in the Presbyterian confession of faith."

To understand Calvin as a controversialist we must appreciate his estimate of the doctrine of predestination in the Gospel system. In his treatise *De Scandalis* (*On Stumbling-Blocks*) he calls this its "fundamental article." He declares that "the honor of God and the salvation of the world depended on this

<sup>1</sup> *Institutes*, book ii, chap. viii, par. 34.

doctrine, and that they who opposed it assailed God; that unity on this subject must be established, cost what it would.”<sup>1</sup> He was anxious for the unity of Protestants, and corresponded on this subject with Cranmer; but the unity must be on the basis of the acceptance of predestination. In his mind salvation by grace, as opposed to the Catholic theory of salvation by human merit, was bound up with this dogma; when, therefore, it was assailed, he defended it with his utmost energy. In 1551 occurred his controversy with Bolsec, who had once been a Carmelite monk, but becoming a Protestant had settled in Geneva. There was a curious custom prevailing in the city, which permitted any one of the hearers of the Friday’s sermon in the cathedral to rise up and dispute with the preacher. On the 16th of October of this year Bolsec used his privilege, and vehemently assailed the predestinarian assertions of the preacher of that day. While he was speaking Calvin entered the church, and as soon as he could be heard poured out a torrent of impassioned argument in reply to Bolsec’s criticism. Bolsec was arrested as a disturber of the peace and hurried off to prison. His opinions were precisely those afterward defended by Arminius. He held that faith does not come from election, but that election proceeds upon the ground of a foreseen faith. Seventeen questions were proposed to him by the consistory; the advice of the churches of Basle and Berne was also asked, and was given in favor of gentle treatment of the prisoner. The Council of Geneva, however, banished Bolsec from the city, because, as they said, he had resisted the judgment of the Church.

In conducting this controversy Calvin resented the disposition of the Bernese to treat gently the deniers of predestination. He writes to the magistrates of Berne: “If people will indiscreetly abuse this doctrine, and attempt to correct the Holy Spirit, we must strike out of the Scriptures what is openly revealed to us in their pages. I therefore adjure you, according to the precept of our Lord Jesus Christ, that you show no

<sup>1</sup> Henry, *Life of Calvin*, vol. ii, pp. 135, 136.

respect for persons, since, though my name and books should perish, what the prophets and apostles have said would endure forever ; and it is from them that I have derived the doctrine which man condemns.”<sup>1</sup> Thus Calvin would not tolerate dissent from the established creed of the Church of Geneva. Something must be conceded to the period in which he lived. It was a time of transition from the old age to the new ; the old spirit had not wholly passed away ; the new was not perfectly established. Moreover, as Geneva had fixed its system of faith by law, any dissent was an offense against the state. Calvin thoroughly believed in the protection of the faith and the suppression of error by force. These considerations will help us to appreciate his fatal conflict with Servetus.

Servetus was an anomaly, a compound of prodigious talent with pitiable weakness. He was master of all the learning in natural science which the age possessed ; was a university lecturer on astronomy, a physician of high repute, and almost made the discovery of the circulation of the blood. Yet, notwithstanding his knowledge of science, he could be captivated by fantastic day dreams. For instance, he was a firm believer in astrology ; he attempted New Testament exegesis, but instead of expounding its sober histories he began with the Book of Revelation, of which he pretended to have found the key. He conceived himself to be divinely appointed to effect another and more perfect reformation of the Church, which should embrace both Protestants and Catholics. In Catholic France he was a Catholic ; in Protestant Geneva, a Protestant. In short, he was consumed by the vanity of figuring in the world as a great reformer, and especially desired to cope with and discredit Calvin. His style of attack upon the doctrine of the Trinity was scurrilous. He called the three gods of the orthodox a satanic device. He thus ridicules the doctrine of the incarnation : “If the Word had become flesh as woman, then they would have called the Word itself the Son of God, and the woman

<sup>1</sup> Henry, *Life of Calvin*, vol. ii, pp. 147, 148.

herself the daughter of man. Hence the Son of God would have been of two sexes." And again: "If the angels in like manner were to take asses' bodies you must allow that then they would be asses, and they would die in their asses' skins; they would be four-footed animals, and would have long ears. So, too, you must allow that were you right God himself might be an ass, the Holy Spirit a mule, and that he would die if the mule died. O, the wondrously altered animal! Can we be surprised if the Turks think us more ridiculous than asses and mules?"<sup>1</sup> A man of such an unclean mind as Servetus has no claim on our sympathy, however much we may deplore his fate.

Michael Servetus was born either at Villanueva, a city of Aragon, in Spain, in 1509, the year of the birth of Calvin, or at Tudela, in Spanish Navarre, in 1511, both towns being named by him at different times as his birthplace. His father was a jurist; when a youth he was in the service of Quintana, the confessor of Charles V, and in that service saw much of court life. He studied law in the University of Toulouse; at Paris he studied natural philosophy and medicine. While yet a student he conceived the idea of a further reformation of the Church, and read, for this purpose, the ante-Nicene fathers with care.

In his twenty-second year (1531) he published his work *De Trinitatis Erroribus* (*On the Errors of the Trinity*). In this he avows Sabellianism. His theory is that the divine essence is incommunicable, and that therefore "the modifications in God can only be variations of form, and not persons. To make himself known he has sent forth two forms or modifications—the Son and the Spirit." The book alarmed the theologians and aroused popular clamor. Melancthon was especially troubled by it. "Good God," he wrote to a friend, "what tragedies will not the questions whether the Logos and the Holy Spirit be persons create for future times?" Zwingli was alarmed.

<sup>1</sup> Henry, *Life of Calvin*, vol. ii, p. 162.

He bade Œcolampadius to take heed lest the false and evil doctrine of the rash Spaniard should ruin the Protestant religion. He added, "This must not be endured in the Church of God; therefore do what you can to prevent the blasphemy from getting abroad." Bucer's indignation went beyond all bounds; he declared from the pulpit, "Servetus deserves to have his entrails torn from his body."

Servetus travelled much and talked much with the leading reformers. Catholics and Protestants were alike inflamed against him, and it became necessary for him to escape detection by changing his name as he passed from place to place. His occupations were various; at Lyons he was a corrector of the press; at Paris a lecturer on astronomy and mathematics; at Vienne, in Dauphiny, whither he removed about 1541, he was a physician. In this latter city he spent twelve quiet years. In 1546 he completed his work entitled *Christianismi Restitutio* (*The Restoration of Christianity*), and sent a manuscript copy to Calvin for his criticism. The manuscript was the occasion of long correspondence between Calvin and Servetus; evidently the latter wished to convert the Genevan reformer to his opinions, for he found him to be the chief obstacle to the second reformation of the Church. Among the topics discussed in their letters was infant baptism, the validity of which Servetus denied. This denial created for him the odium of being an Anabaptist, and Anabaptists were regarded then as the revolutionary socialists are regarded by us to-day. February 13, 1546, Calvin wrote thus to his friend Farel: "Servetus wrote to me a short time ago, and sent a huge volume of his dreamings and pompous triflings with his letter. I was to find among them wonderful things, and such as I had never seen before, and if I wished he would himself come. But I am by no means inclined to be responsible for him; and if he come I will never allow him, supposing my influence worth anything, to depart alive."<sup>1</sup> Calvin's mind

<sup>1</sup> Henry, *Life of Calvin*, vol. ii, p. 181.



was already made up; it cannot be said that in compassing the death of Servetus he was hurried away by sudden passion.

The *Restitutio* was published in Vienne, January, 1553; as the license of the Catholic clergy could not be obtained the printing was done secretly. Copies were sent to Lyons, Frankfurt, and Geneva. One of them reached Calvin; having had the manuscript in his possession he knew the author. A zealous Protestant in Geneva, named William Trie, wrote to a Catholic relation in Vienne, named Arneys, disclosing the fact of the publication of the *Restitutio*. But how prove it to be the work of Servetus? Neither printer nor author was named on the title-page. Trie obtained from Calvin several autograph letters of Servetus, some pages of the *Institutes*, annotated by him, and further informed his cousin at Vienne that a manuscript of the *Restitutio* had been in the possession of Calvin, but was now loaned to a friend at Lausanne. Who does not wish that Calvin had refused to permit his knowledge of Servetus to be used in an inquisitorial prosecution? Calvin playing the part of an informer is not an edifying spectacle.

Trie professed that he had great trouble in obtaining the documents from Calvin; it should have been impossible. Servetus was arrested, tried by the magistrates at Vienne, and condemned. He pretended when on his trial that he was not the Servetus who wrote the *Restitutio*. Placed in easy confinement, for he had a friend in the archbishop, whose physician he had been, he had no difficulty in escaping from his prison. After his escape he was sentenced to be burned to death, and was burned in effigy by the Catholic authorities. After wandering for three months some infatuation took him to Geneva. Here he rested quietly for several weeks, but just as he was about to depart for Zurich he was recognized and seized by order of the council. Calvin had no hesitation in saying that Servetus had been arrested through information given to the magistrates by himself. He was anxious that the Spaniard should recant, but in failure of recantation insisted on his punishment.



Formal charges against Servetus were made by Nicholas de la Fontaine, Calvin's secretary, but before long Calvin himself became the prosecutor. The examination ranged over all the mysteries of theology. As to the relation of God to the creation, Servetus showed himself to be pantheistic, and in this was inconsistent with himself. When questioned on the Trinity he resolutely asserted Sabellianism. Infant baptism he declared to be an invention of the devil. He avowed his belief that some of the Messianic prophecies of the Old Testament have a twofold reference, the first to some other person than the Messiah. This reasonable opinion was condemned as a terrible heresy. The consistory tried in vain to induce him to recant his errors. Servetus may have hoped for aid from the Libertines. The papers in the case, with a copy of the *Restitutio*, were now sent to the churches of Zurich, Berne, Basle, and Schaffhausen, with a request for their judgment. Zurich advised Geneva to exercise severity. Schaffhausen expressed confidence that the Genevans would frustrate the wicked designs of Servetus with something stronger than argument; Basle replied that if he did not recant he must be chastised according to the power given to Geneva by the Lord. The Bernese advised carefulness, but prayed that this pest might be driven from the Church. Whether these letters meant death is an open question, but they certainly pointed that way. Calvin thus interpreted them: "All with one mouth declared that Servetus has renewed those impious errors by which Satan in early times disturbed the Church, and that he is a monster not to be endured."

Death could be inflicted only by the Council of Sixty; after three days' debate this body declared for death by fire. Calvin did his best to obtain a change of the mode of execution, but his efforts were of no avail. Farel was the companion of the last hours of Servetus; and it speaks well for the latter that he received without objection the visits of this intimate friend of Calvin. He sent for Calvin and asked forgiveness for the harsh language he had used in their many debates with each

other. To every effort made in these last days to convert him to the Trinitarian faith he opposed the resistance of firm conviction. On the 27th of October, 1553, he was burned outside the city. His printed book and the fatal manuscript sent to Calvin were tied to his body and burned with him. The execution of Servetus was a shock to the Christian world. The enemies of Calvin quickly made use of it in their attacks upon him, and many of his friends were averse to the severity of the sentence, but his course, at the time, was supported by some of the leading Protestant theologians. The condemnation of Servetus was a denial of the fundamental principle of the Reformation, the right of every man to judge for himself of the contents and meaning of the Holy Scriptures. Calvin's excess of zeal for what he believed to be the honor of God hurried him into the commission of a crime which has left an ineffaceable stain upon his memory.

Eleven years after the burning of Servetus Calvin died a most peaceful death. The iron will which had subjugated the wills of other men was in his last days as remorseless in its triumph over his own bodily infirmities. During his last ten years he scarcely ate enough food to sustain life; still, though strength was failing, he worked on at the same tremendous pace. When he could no longer walk to church he was carried thither in a chair, and from his chair preached to the people. His commentary on John was finished while on his deathbed. When too feeble to preach he would still be carried to church and speak a few words. No remonstrances of friends could induce him to suspend his labors. "What!" said he to Beza, "would you have the Lord find me idle?" The city council sent him money wherewith to meet his increasing expenses. He declined, saying "that he was not now in a condition to perform his duties, and could not in conscience receive wages." At his request the counsellors and the ministers visited him; and to each body he addressed his last charge, asking their pardon for all the faults of his administration. On May 27, 1564, he quietly fell asleep.

## NOTES TO CHAPTER XLIX.

### I. CALVIN ON THE LORD'S SUPPER.

Perhaps, in order to reconcile the Lutherans to the Reformed, Calvin in his theory of the Lord's Supper advances a step beyond the Second Helvetic Confession, the chief Reformed standard. This confession in relation to the presence of Christ in the Supper affirms the following positions as stated by Hodge :

"1. It is not local or corporeal. It is not material or of the matter.

"2. It is not to the senses.

"3. It is not peculiar to this sacrament. Christ and his benefits, his body and blood, and all their influences on the believer, are said to be accessible to him, and as truly received by him out of the Supper as in it."<sup>1</sup>

Even Calvin himself is quoted by Hodge in support of this view. Thus : "The verity which is figured in the sacraments believers receive outside of the use of them."<sup>2</sup>

But Calvin certainly went beyond this. Hodge admits that at times he teaches "that what believers receive is specifically an influence from the glorified body of Christ in heaven." Thus Calvin says : "We admit without circumlocution that the flesh of Christ is lifegiving, not only because in it once our salvation was obtained, but because now, we being united to him in sacred union, it breathes life into us. Or, to use fewer words, because, being by the secret power of the Spirit ingrafted into the body of Christ, we have a common life with him ; for from the hidden fountain of divinity life is, in a wonderful manner, infused into the flesh of Christ, and thence flows out to us." On this Hodge says : "Unless we are willing to accuse the illustrious Calvin of inconsistency his meaning must be made to harmonize with what he says elsewhere."<sup>3</sup> But this would be a suppression of Calvin's idea, which he expressed, as we have seen, in several forms.

### II. THE HEIDELBERG CATECHISM.

The Heidelberg Catechism, so called from the principal city of the Palatinate of the Rhine, was prepared at the instance of the elector Frederick III (1515-1576), the first German prince to adopt the Reformed as distinguished from the Lutheran faith. He invited to Heidelberg Zacharias Ursinus and Caspar Olevianus, to whom he submitted the task of preparing it for his people. It was published in 1563, under the name of *Catechism or Christian Instruction, as conducted in the Churches and Schools of the Electoral Palatinate*. In its doctrinal position it is moderately Calvinistic ; it asserts election, but without mention of reprobation or a limited atonement.<sup>4</sup> The feature which most distinguishes it is its glow of piety. It is a catechism of the heart as well as of the head ; religious feeling speaks through it as well as dogmatic theology. Its first question and answer have been greatly admired as striking the right keynote for an exposition of Christianity :

Question 1. "What is thy only comfort in life and in death ?" Answer :

<sup>1</sup> Hodge, *Systematic Theology*, vol. iii, p. 639.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. iii, p. 640.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. iii, p. 646.

<sup>4</sup> See Questions 1, 31, 53, 54.

“That I with body and soul, both in life and in death, am not my own, but belong to my faithful Saviour Jesus Christ, who, with his precious blood, has fully satisfied for all my sins, and redeemed me from all the power of the devil; and so preserves me that without the will of my Father in heaven not a hair can fall from my head; yea, that all things must work together for my salvation. Wherefore, by his Holy Spirit he also assures me of eternal life and makes me heartily willing and ready henceforth to live unto him.”

This Catechism is used in the German Reformed churches universally, and in the Dutch Reformed churches of Holland and the United States, and since 1870 has held an equal rank with the Westminster Catechism in the Presbyterian Church of our country. Schaff says of it with pardonable enthusiasm: “Altogether, the Heidelberg Catechism is more than a book, it is an institution, and will live as long as the Reformed Church.” It was, nevertheless, one of the subjects of contention between the Arminians and Calvinists of Holland. Into the details of the long conflict we cannot now enter.

## CHAPTER L.

**THE REFORMATION IN ENGLAND—REIGN OF HENRY VIII.**

THE Reformation in England has no heroes among the titled and the great who were its political and ecclesiastical leaders. Its starting point is the scruple of a willful and lustful king in relation to the lawfulness of his marriage ; his chief coadjutors were a time-serving bishop, a dexterous and unprincipled lord chancellor, and a Parliament ready at all times to gratify the wishes of the sovereign. Greed for money mingled in the work with the sentiment of national independence and religious conviction. And yet heroes were not wanting ; Tyndale, Latimer, and Ridley died martyrs to the truth ; and despite the vacillation of politicians the English people carried the Reformation forward to its triumph, until England became what it has ever since been, the bulwark of Protestantism.

Two facts distinguish the Reformation in England : 1. It exhibited the essential conservatism of the English character, for it required for its consummation the entire period from the reign of Henry VIII to the middle of the reign of Elizabeth. 2. It was in the beginning a revolt against the papacy and not a reform of doctrine.

The English people had always been restive under the papal yoke, and when King Henry VIII threw off the papal supremacy they were in full accord with him. There was, however, a constant moving forward and backward ; the nation advanced toward Protestantism and receded again ; the old religion was restored under Queen Mary ; and not till Philip II undertook to conquer England for the Latin Church did the English people become passionately Protestant. Even before the Reformation the sentiment of independence of the papacy was strongly asserted in important statutes. The statutes of

mortmain were enacted to restrain the alienation of lands to the Church without the king's license; by the statute against provisors it was enacted that the pope should not present to any livings in England, and that whoever should cite the king or any of his subjects to answer at the court of Rome should be fined and imprisoned; by the statute of præmunire it was declared that whoever should procure at Rome any bull or excommunication against the crown or realm should be punished by arrest and confiscation of goods. Blackstone says that "the usurped civil power of the Bishop of Rome was broken down by these statutes, as his usurped religious power was in about a century afterward."<sup>1</sup> As to the condition of the Church itself there was a unanimous testimony to its corruption. The knowledge of Latin had almost disappeared; the preaching friars who had done so much to save the Church in the preceding two centuries had become corrupt and contemptible; the principal secular offices of the state were held by bishops. Cardinal Wolsey was lord chancellor, that is, the highest law officer of the kingdom; Fox, Bishop of Winchester, was treasurer of the state; Tunstall of London, master of the rolls. Wolsey held at the same time the sees of Tournai, in France, and Durham and York, in England, was Abbot of St. Albans, *in commendam*, and received in part the revenues of the sees of Bath, Worcester, and Hereford, whose incumbents were foreigners. His great income enabled him to maintain a royal state. And yet Wolsey was in some particulars one of the best of the prelates of his age, for he was a lover of learning and averse to religious persecution.

We can best understand the English Reformation if we bear in mind that the king aimed at a transfer of the papal supremacy to himself; the great prelates aimed at a reformation in the Church by the revival of learning, but without a change of doctrine; a third party, who were a minority of the common people and very obscure, aimed at scriptural reform. At the

<sup>1</sup> *Commentaries*, vol. iv, p. 112.



head of the Reformation by scholarship was Wolsey. Wolsey's personal interest, it should be said, was more in the scholastic learning than in the revival of Greek. But the college he founded at Oxford, now Christ Church, is one of England's most splendid seats of learning. Associated with him were Warham, Archbishop of Canterbury, the friend and patron of Erasmus, and a zealous promoter of the new classical studies; Fox, Bishop of Winchester, the founder of Corpus Christi College, Oxford; Dean Colet, the founder of St. Paul's School in London; Sir Thomas More, and Erasmus, who, though a Dutchman, spent a large part of his life in England. Colet, More, and Erasmus were warm friends; Erasmus aided Colet in drawing up the plan of his school; its first master was a companion of More. Froude speaks of the third party as "poor cobblers, weavers, trade apprentices, humble artisans, men of low birth and low estate." They were the inheritors of the opinions of Wyclif. We find nowhere any such ecclesiastical leaders as Luther or Calvin or Knox; had there been such a one the English Church would have been more thoroughly reformed. Says Perry: "Scarce any of the actors in the English Reformation had altogether clean hands. Scarce any of the proceedings were without some stain or alloy."<sup>1</sup>

King Henry VIII first appears in this revolution as the antagonist of Luther. The German reformer's tract on the *Babylonian Captivity of the Church* had deeply stirred not only Germany but all Europe. In 1521 Henry issued his reply to Luther, entitled *The Assertion of the Seven Sacraments against Martin Luther, by the Invincible King of England and of France, and Lord of Ireland*, etc. For this exhibition of zeal he earned from the pope the title of "Defender of the Faith," and received the present of a vellum manuscript written in gold letters upon a purple background. Wolsey began his reforming work about 1523 by the founding of his noble college at Oxford; he incorporated in the original

<sup>1</sup> *History of the Church of England*, p. 12.

organization several men known to be inclined to Lutheranism. In 1525 William Tyndale issued from his press at Worms the first edition of his English Testament. Thus at the very beginning the three forces concerned in the English Reformation appear in appropriate character. The king contributes a defense of the seven sacraments, Wolsey a college, and Tyndale, the representative of the poor, the English Testament. We will trace, 1. The change of the supremacy over the Church from the pope to the king, and its consequences. 2. The growth of reformed opinions among the people. 3. The reaction against the reformed opinions. 4. The doctrinal position of the Church of England at the close of the reign of Henry VIII.

1. The change of the supremacy began with the disgraceful proceedings which the king instituted for procuring a divorce from his wife, but it was carried forward with a legal skill that would excite admiration if we could only have any respect for the moral principles of the chief actors. Henry had, when a young man, married Catharine, the aunt of the emperor, Charles V, and widow of his own brother, Arthur. The canonists of the Church considered such a marriage within the prohibited degrees mentioned in Leviticus. But Pope Julius II had at the time of the wedding of Henry and Catharine granted a dispensation. In 1527 the king, having become attached to Anne Boleyn, began to express doubts of the validity of his marriage; indeed, the royal conscience was troubled. Appeal was made to the pope for a divorce; the pope temporized, for as a point of policy he dared not offend Charles V. Wolsey and Campeggio were commissioned to try the case in England. Catharine refused the trial, and in a manner which makes one of the most beautiful passages of English history appealed to the pope. This result was what the pope intended, and the king, suspecting the fact, was furious. He deposed Wolsey from his office of chancellor, fined him, imprisoned him, hunted him to death. Under the advice of Cranmer he referred the question of the

divorce for decision to the universities of Europe. He sent his ecclesiastical chiefs, with bribes in their hands, to secure the opinion he wished. By threats and flattery he obtained favorable judgment from the universities of Cambridge and Oxford. Fortified by the declarations of the universities, Parliament, wholly subservient during the reign to the king, called on the pope (July, 1530) for a decree of divorce; the pope declined, and the king rejoined by a proclamation forbidding the introduction of papal bulls into England on pain of imprisonment (September 19, 1530). Cranmer, now appointed Archbishop of Canterbury, held a court and pronounced the king divorced (May, 1533). Henry had several months before married Anne Boleyn. In June, 1533, Anne was crowned, with every possible circumstance of splendor.

As the pope had for ages exercised the exclusive right of dispensing kings and princes from their marriage obligations, the divorce of Henry by Cranmer was a virtual separation from the papacy. It remained now to legalize the separation of England from Rome. (1) By acts of Parliament. (2) By acts of convocation. The Parliament of Henry was so eager for this work that it is known in history as "the Reforming Parliament." There was in it an element of submission to the king, there was in it also a small degree of religious earnestness and a strong desire for national independence. To subdue the convocation, composed of the bishops and clergy, was very difficult, and required all the astuteness of the king's advisers, but it was thoroughly done. Froude says of this Parliament (1529-1536) that "the work which it accomplished was of larger moment, politically and spiritually, than the achievements of the Long Parliament itself."<sup>1</sup> It certainly never wavered for a moment till the separation of England from the papacy was complete. Its first act forbade "the obtaining of any license or dispensation from the court of Rome for holding a plurality of benefices." In January, 1531, it passed an act

<sup>1</sup> *History of England*, vol. i, p. 181.

declaring that all sellers of papal indulgences, known as proctors or pardoners, going about the country should be treated as vagrants and whipped at the cart's-tail. In 1532 an act was passed providing that the payment of annates to the pope should cease; that is, the payment of the first year's revenue of a see as the price of the papal bull of consecration. With true English exactness the bill allowed the pope five per cent of the clear income of a see for his bull. If he should refuse the terms, then it should be lawful for bishops to be consecrated without papal bulls, any interdict to the contrary notwithstanding. A great stride forward was taken in the session of 1533, which brought into existence the statute for the restraint of appeals. This forbade all appeals to Rome in spiritual and matrimonial cases, under severe penalties. Cranmer's divorce of the king immediately followed the passage of this act. The pope was angry, and threatened excommunication. March 23, 1534, he issued a bull declaring the marriage of Henry and Catharine valid, and requiring the king to return to his lawful wife.

In 1534 Parliament passed the act called the act for the submission of the clergy. It utterly destroyed the independence of convocation; thereafter convocation was called by the king's writ, and nothing could be promulgated without his license, on pain of imprisonment; and so the law remains to this day. Another act passed at this session forbade the pope to nominate any bishop for England or to send any bulls of consecration. Upon the occurrence of an episcopal vacancy the chapter was to meet by royal license, and must elect the person named in the king's letter, under penalty of the law of *præmunire*. In March, 1534, an act was passed fixing the succession, declaring Elizabeth, the daughter of Anne Boleyn, legitimate, and Mary, the daughter of Catharine, illegitimate. All persons in the kingdom were required to take the oath of allegiance to the king and his declared heir. This legislation was crowned by the supremacy act and the treason act. The first declared the king the only supreme head on earth of the Church of

England; the second made it treason for anyone to imagine, invent, or practice anything in derogation of the king's title, dignity, or estate. The word "imagine" in this act is no doubt explained by the word "invent." The Church of England was now by law wholly independent of Rome.

The crushing of the power of the clergy was a more formidable undertaking. They were independent of civil jurisdiction; without the assent of the crown made laws for the Church, which the laity were required to obey. The episcopal courts could convict, fine, and imprison for ecclesiastical offenses. The whole clergy of the kingdom were convicted by royal courts of having offended against the statute of *præmunire* in following the instructions of Wolsey. Wolsey had offended, and they had offended with him. They were told that they could be pardoned only on payment of a fine of the then enormous sum of a hundred and eighteen thousand pounds and a formal acknowledgment of the royal supremacy over the Church. The next step was to require the clergy, in convocation, to sign three articles of the following purport: (1) That thereafter the clergy should enact no new ordinance without the king's consent. This destroyed the power of convocation. (2) That the old canons should be revised, and all that were prejudicial to the king's prerogative should be abolished. (3) That the remaining canons should be valid when ratified by the king. Resistance was made to these demands, but in vain. The convocation remains still a mere advisory body. The total effect of the acts of the Reforming Parliament was, not to unite the Church and the state, but to put the Church at the mercy of the state; it was as much subject to the crown as the army or the navy; it was, in fact, the state's spiritual police. And only after incredible suffering was religious freedom conceded to Protestant dissenters from the faith and worship of the English Church.

The first consequence of the transfer of the supremacy over the Church to the king was the suppression of the monasteries



and the forfeiture of their estates. The power of the Latin Church over the testamentary disposition of property has no doubt in all ages been abused. In every Catholic country the Church has become the greatest landowner, so that throughout western Europe confiscation has been found necessary for the relief of the state. At the time of the Reformation the Church in England held one fifth of the real property of the realm, but not more than a tenth judged by value. This was, however, in spite of a rigorous application of the statutes of mortmain, especially designed to prevent the absorption of land by the Catholic hierarchy. The monasteries had been corrupt; evidences of licentiousness and of abuse were abundant; yet none the less did the suppression wear all the appearance of downright robbery. King and nobles shared the spoil; Cromwell, the king's vicar-general, used the profits of these alienations to the crown as a means of purchasing Henry's favor for the Reformation. The king did not change his religion for naught; he put money into his purse. The process of suppression was this: The king appointed a commission of visitors, who were ordered to go through England and examine all the monastic houses. They reported that if the professed religious of England were divided into three parts two parts of them would be found to be abominably vicious. Many monks were notoriously dissolute; in some convents nuns dressed up as men, in some they went abroad without regard to rules. Many of the houses were dilapidated and filthy. The orders of the king were, besides confiscating the lands, to seize the jewels and plate, melt bells, pull down monastic churches, and to convert the spoils into cash. The first visitation produced for the king an annual revenue of thirty-two thousand pounds and one hundred thousand pounds in ready money. The proceedings of the commissioners aroused a rebellion in the north, into which the monks were drawn. It was quickly suppressed, and twelve abbots were hung, drawn, and quartered. Pressure was put upon the heads of the religious houses to induce them to sur-



render the property in their care voluntarily to the crown. Those who resisted were held to be guilty of treason and put to death. Hallam places the total yearly value of the estates thus acquired by the crown at £131,607, Burnet at ten times more. The total value of the movables seized was four hundred thousand pounds in the money of that day; the amount would be much greater if expressed in modern values.

Thus a measure necessary for the welfare of the kingdom was accomplished in the worst possible way. Greed and murder went hand in hand. It was characteristic of the law of that age that all conceivable offenses could be drawn into the gulf of treason. If Anne Boleyn was unfaithful to her spouse, that was treason; if Sir Thomas More refused to swear to the supremacy act which declared the king to be the head of the Church in England, that was treason; if an abbot hid away the plate and jewels of his abbey, that was treason; if Cromwell persuaded the king to marry a fourth wife, who did not please this royal pattern of domestic virtue, that was treason, and all of them lost their heads. The terrors of a charge of treason no doubt hastened the surrender of many monasteries to the king.

2. We are now to consider the second branch of the subject, the growth of reforming opinions among the people. Lollardism, as adherence to the doctrines of Wyclif was called, had survived the death of the forerunner of the Reformation. His translation of the Scriptures was stealthily read by devout men at the risk of their lives. In 1525 an association was formed in London called the "Association of Christian Brothers." "It was composed," says Froude, "of poor men, chiefly tradesmen, artisans, a few of the clergy; but it was carefully organized; it was provided with moderate funds, and its paid agents went up and down the country carrying Testaments and tracts and enrolling in the order all persons who dared to risk their lives in such a cause."<sup>1</sup> When Wittenberg became the centre of the

reforming movement students from all Europe flocked thither, and among them was William Tyndale. He had studied at Oxford and Cambridge, and had resolved to give the Bible to his countrymen in their own tongue. To accomplish his purpose he left England in 1524, translated the gospels and epistles—at what spot on the Continent is not certain—set up his press at Worms, and later at Antwerp, and issued from these places his Testaments, which were distributed by the Christian Brothers of London. In 1528 England was startled by an attack on the doctrine of purgatory, under the title of *The Supplication of Beggars*, written by Simon Fish, a Londoner, and a companion of Tyndale on the Continent. It was answered (1529) by Sir Thomas More, who had succeeded Wolsey as chancellor, in a tract bearing the title of *The Supplication of Souls*. More soon after issued a proclamation “for resisting and withstanding the most damnable heresies sown within the realm by the disciples of Luther and other heretic perverters of Christ’s religion.” It forbade the publication of heretical books, under pain of imprisonment. John Fryth, a Cambridge man, who was with Tyndale at Antwerp, published in 1530 a reply to More. More, being lord chancellor, was now the most conspicuous controversialist on the Catholic side; he could both argue and burn. Fryth returned to England, wrote a spirited tract in which he denied transubstantiation, and for it was burned (1533), Cranmer consenting to his death. More now wrote a *Dialogue* in which he attacked the accuracy of Tyndale’s translation of the New Testament, and to this Tyndale replied. More rejoined in a *Confutation*, in which he complained that Protestant books came into the kingdom “by vats full” and that persons for mere love of lucre distributed them by night. More was so formidable an antagonist that he might for a time have ruined the Protestant cause. He refused, however, to take the supremacy oath and also the succession oath, though willing to swear to the change of succession, was adjudged guilty of treason and beheaded, July 6, 1535. At about the same time Bishop Fisher, of Rochester,

who had been More's fellow-prisoner in the Tower, was also executed for refusing to subscribe to the supremacy. Fisher was an aged man of upright character, an advocate of the revival of learning, but, like More, a bitter opponent of the Reformation. More and he were well known to be opposed to the royal headship over the Church, neither had they been favorable to the king's divorce; hence the determination of Henry to destroy them.

We have seen that the two leaders so far of the English Reformation did not dare as yet to show themselves in England. They could work for the good cause only under the shelter of foreign protection; their agents at home were such persons as the heads of the state would naturally regard with contempt. Two men, however, were preparing to be conspicuous leaders in the establishment of the new opinions, Hugh Latimer and Thomas Cromwell. Latimer wears the honors of martyrdom, but he was for a time weak in the faith. He was always, however, direct, frank, and outspoken. He had been led to Protestant truth by Bilney, one of the English martyrs. He began inveighing against the claims of the Church, and was called to account before the convocation in 1532, when he confessed that he had erred in doctrine, and asked forgiveness. Either he was unsettled in opinion or his courage failed. Henry had a liking for Latimer, and made the plain, blunt preacher his chaplain. His homely and forcible preaching soon made him a leader among the Protestants. Cromwell had been secretary to Wolsey, and when his master fell adhered to him with touching devotion. He was appointed secretary to the king, and was therefore the medium of communication between Henry and the Commons. Whether he had decided religious convictions is not known; but he favored the Reformation, perhaps because the advance of the new theories promoted his ambition. When Henry hesitated Cromwell urged him forward by the bribe of the spoil of the abbeys. The king was committed against the publication of Tyndale's Testament; Cromwell procured the making of a translation of

the whole Bible by Coverdale, one of Tyndale's companions. This appeared in 1535, with a dedication to the king. And thus as long as he was in power Cromwell managed to lead the king onward, and by so doing he became one of the chief founders of the English Church.

3. We notice, third, the reaction against the reformed opinions. The king and Cromwell were at cross purposes; one desired only a change in the supremacy, the other the establishment of a new faith. The king detested the Lutherans, and any approach to them by the people of England drove him back toward the old Church. The reforming movement had gone on so prosperously that Cranmer invited some Lutheran divines to come to England for the purpose of consultation upon the settlement of doctrine. They arrived in May, 1538. The conferences with Cranmer were satisfactory, but the Germans laid a paper before the king in which they asked him to remove the abuses remaining in the English Church, especially communion in one kind, private masses, and the celibacy of the clergy. The addresses aroused Henry's anger, so that from this time on he entered into closer alliance with the reactionary party. He resolved to summon Parliament and procure the passage of laws against heresy. Parliament met in April, 1539, and quickly adopted, upon the suggestion of the king, the famous Six Articles. These articles laid down as the faith to be accepted by all Englishmen: (1) Transubstantiation in the Lord's Supper. (2) Communion in one kind only. (3) The celibacy of priests. (4) The binding obligation of vows of chastity. (5) The utility of private masses. (6) The necessity of auricular confession.

The penalty of offending against the first article was death by burning; against the others, fine and imprisonment. Thus heresy was made a statutory offence, without the privilege which the canon law allowed of abjuration. The people called the act "the whip with six strings;" it was so barbarous that it could not be strictly enforced, yet under it many persons were imprisoned and some put to death. Latimer resigned

his see, and Cranmer, but for the king's favor, would also have been compelled to resign, for he had already married. But another and terrible blow to the reformers was the death of Cromwell. He had persuaded the king to marry Anne of Cleves, a German Protestant princess. The king disliked his new wife, and was angry with Cromwell for entangling him in the marriage. Cromwell's enemies saw their opportunity, had him arrested on the charge of treason, secured the passage of a bill of attainder by Parliament, and brought his head to the block. He was executed July 28, 1540, the king refusing to listen to appeals in his behalf, and showing no regret for the loss of a minister who had served him with extraordinary fidelity.

On the day of Cromwell's execution Henry married Catharine Howard. Being now head of the Church, a divorce from Anne of Cleves was readily procured. "The fall of Cromwell," says Perry, "had struck terror into the reformers, and seems for the time to have completely paralyzed them."<sup>1</sup> He had been their protector and had saved not a few from death. Shortly after, through the intervention of Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, three preachers of the doctrine of justification by faith were burned at the stake. As there was no law to punish them bills of attainder were brought into Parliament and passed; that is, preaching of justification by faith was pronounced by this obsequious Parliament to be treason against the king. It must not be supposed that there was nowhere in England a class of persons in earnest for the reformation of religion. The Lord had his servants, who were ready to suffer and die for his sake. They believed in the Master's word, "Rejoice and be exceeding glad, for great is your reward in heaven." They were mostly obscure men; their meeting places were in the lanes and secret resorts of London. Froude calls them "a little band of enthusiasts, armed only with truth and fearlessness, 'weak things of this world,' about to do battle in God's name; and it

<sup>1</sup> *History of the Church of England*, p. 170.



was to be seen whether God or the world was the stronger.”<sup>1</sup> Such was Bilney, of Cambridge, through whom Latimer was converted. He had abjured. He suffered the torments of remorse for two years; he recovered his courage, preached against the immoralities of the priests, and was burned at the stake. Such was James Bainham, who had dared to say that “if a Turk, a Jew, or Saracen do trust in God, and keep his law, he is a good Christian man.” For this he was imprisoned, and for refusing to confess the names of his coreligionists was racked in the Tower. Crushed by his sufferings, he recanted; but, soon filled with grief for his apostasy, he was resolved on a martyr’s death. He met the band of Christian Brothers in Bow Lane and asked them and God to forgive him for what he had done. The next Sunday he rose up in church, confessing to the people that he had denied God, and said: “If I should not return to the truth this word of God would damn me body and soul at the day of judgment.”<sup>2</sup> Bainham was now taken to the Bishop of London’s coal cellar and put in the stocks; thence to Sir Thomas More’s house in Chelsea, and whipped, and finally to Smithfield, and burned. “It is certain,” says Froude, “that the behavior of the sufferers at last converted the nation, and an effect which in the end was so powerful with the multitude must have been visible long before, in the braver and better natures.”<sup>3</sup>

We consider, lastly, the doctrinal position of England at the time of the death of Henry VIII. The king in his will commended himself, living and dying, to the intercession of the Virgin Mary, and left as his executors both reformers and conservatives. He died as he had lived, holding a middle position between the old Church and the new faith, a believer in transubstantiation and purgatory, and a resolute believer in the supremacy of the lay power over the spiritual. This last principle, if principle it might be called, he carried to the point of regarding the bishops of the Church as no more than his agents.

<sup>1</sup> *History of England*, vol. ii, p. 44.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. ii, p. 91.      <sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. ii, p. 92.



He was the *Episcopus Episcoporum*, and episcopal functions were performed only under his license. At the time of his death the right of the people to read the Bible was very imperfectly recognized. Henry had consistently continued to forbid the publication of Tyndale's version, but in 1540 Cranmer's Bible appeared by royal authority. In the same year permission was given for the free reading of the Bible in the churches. In 1543 the king changed again; an order was issued forbidding "women, except gentlewomen, artificers, journeymen, and husbandmen to read the Bible." In 1546, the year before his death, the king forbade the use of Tyndale's and Coverdale's Bibles, and ordered many of the reforming books to be destroyed. Still, a great step was taken when it was voted to give the people a liturgy in their own vernacular.

In 1543 Cranmer informed the convocation that it was the king's will that all prayer and mass books be revised, and that the mention of the Bishop of Rome and all feigned legends and superstitious prayers should be expurgated. This was the beginning of the formation of the English Prayer Book. The Church service of England originated with Augustine, the monk who converted the English people to Christianity. It had, however, been modified in the various dioceses; but that form of service known as the "Use of Sarum," a liturgy compiled by Osmund, Bishop of Salisbury (Sarum) about 1085, had been most extensively adopted. The king's order included also the framing of new prayers out of Scripture. June 11, 1544, the king gave orders that prayers should be said in the churches in the English tongue; on the 18th of October of that year the service in English was given in St. Paul's Cathedral, London. The amount of service in English recognized up to the time of Henry's death was, "the Litany, together with a chapter in English from the Old Testament and one also from the New."<sup>1</sup> Cranmer had, however, prepared more, which only waited till the accession of the king's son for royal sanction.

<sup>1</sup> See Perry, *History of the Church of England*, p. 183.

## CHAPTER LI.

## THE REFORMATION IN ENGLAND—REIGN OF EDWARD VI.

HENRY VIII died in 1547, and was immediately succeeded by his son Edward, born of Jane Seymour, the king's third wife. Of Henry's six wives two were beheaded, two divorced, one died before him, and one, Catharine Parr, survived him. The last wife came very near ruin by confuting her husband once in argument; she, however, had the tact to pacify her lord and spouse. Edward, at the time of his accession to the throne, was but ten years of age, and lived only to his sixteenth year (1553). His uncle, Lord Somerset, president of the council and lord protector of the kingdom, was a decided favorer of Protestantism. The council nominated by Henry in his will was fairly balanced between Catholics and reformers, but Gardiner, who was the ablest of the Catholic bishops, was left out of the list. Under these circumstances two facts readily became apparent: (1) The Reformation was certain to advance for a time, rapidly, but (2) All the elements were prepared for a terrible Catholic reaction. According to the king's will the next in succession, if Edward should die without issue, was Mary, the daughter of his Spanish wife, and she was a bigoted Catholic.

The first ecclesiastical act of the council was an order requiring the bishops to take out fresh licenses for the exercise of their jurisdiction; in this way it was intended to guard the supremacy of the crown. Another order of the council enjoined the use of a *Book of Homilies*, designed as a body of instruction in doctrine. This book had been prepared by Cranmer, and is still known as the first of the two books of homilies. Capable preachers were very few, and the homilies were necessary guides for many of the priests. By another order of the council all episcopal functions were suspended during the process of a

visitation to be made by royal commissioners (1547). It was also ordered by the council that a series of injunctions to the clergy prepared by Cromwell in the preceding reign, and the paraphrase of the New Testament by Erasmus, should be adopted for use. Gardiner and Bonner refused obedience to the order, and were imprisoned. December, 1547, Parliament passed an act directing that the sacrament of the Lord's Supper should be received by the laity in both kinds. All who dared to disparage or ridicule this act were to be punished by fine and imprisonment. In February, 1548, an order of the council directed the removal of all images from churches. The new communion office was proclaimed by royal authority March 8, 1548; it is substantially the same as that now in the English liturgy. The first Book of Common Prayer containing the offices of public worship was completed by the committee of divines and laid before the House of Commons December 19, 1548, and was published March 7, 1549. By Whitsunday, June 9, 1549, it was introduced generally into the churches. At the head of the framers of the English liturgy was Cranmer, the Archbishop of Canterbury; his caution, but, at the same time, his fine literary taste, is conspicuous in all its parts. Says Perry: "Taking only a general view, it may be said that this book was not due to any foreign or strange influence, but was distinctly Anglican. It was formed, not by a composition of new materials, but was in fact simply a careful revision of the old service books of the English Church. The objectionable parts were excided and the Latin forms translated into English of unequalled beauty, purity, and rhythm."<sup>1</sup> This is in the main true of the liturgical part of the Prayer Book, but to adapt it to Protestant worship much had to be omitted and much added. It retained, nevertheless, the use of oil in baptism, the unction of the sick, and prayers for the souls departed, both in the communion office and in the burial service. These were all expunged in a revision made in 1551. As a whole

<sup>1</sup> *History of the Church of England*, p. 197.

the English liturgy is more conservative than the Articles of Religion, hence the liturgy has been the stronghold of the High Churchmen; the Low Church party have always appealed to the Thirty-nine Articles.

As the English Reformation was predominantly legal, so the publication of the Prayer Book was followed by an act of uniformity requiring its adoption. Refusal to use the book was punished by six months' imprisonment and loss of benefice for a year, frequent refusals with imprisonment for life. The ordinary criminal courts had jurisdiction of all cases arising under this act. The new liturgy met with great opposition in parts of England; many of the people were wedded to the old forms and gave them up with reluctance. In some of the parish churches the communion service was used as a mass as often as three times a day. In 1548 an act of Parliament was passed authorizing the marriage of priests; another of the same year enforced the observance of Lent, on the practical grounds that the eating of fish was healthful and promoted the interests of the fishermen. Somerset, the lord protector, fell from power in 1549, but his successor, the Earl of Warwick, carried forward the work of reformation with like energy. The forms of consecration of the clergy, which had been omitted from the Prayer Book, were issued by order of the council in 1550; and with this addition the Reformation in the time of Edward, so far as it depended on legal sanction, reached its completion.

So much for the external history. We now proceed to the internal, which concerns (1) The sources of the Anglican Articles of Religion, and (2) The influences which helped to give the liturgy its form. It is characteristic of the Church of England that it occupies doctrinally a middle position between Romanism and continental reform. More comprehensive than all other Churches of the first period of the Reformation, it has within itself more antagonisms than any other. Says Schaff: "The English Church leaves room for Catholic and evangelical, mediæval, and modern ideas without an attempt to har-

monize them; but her parties are one-sided, and differ as widely as separate denominations, though subject to the same bishop and worshipping at the same altar. She is composite and eclectic in character, like the English language; she has more outward uniformity than inward unity; she is fixed in her organic structure, but elastic in doctrinal opinion, and has successively allowed opposite schools of theology to grow up which claim to be equally loyal to her genius and institutions. She has lost in England by those periodical separations which followed her great religious movements (the Puritan, the Methodist, the Anglo-Catholic) nearly one half of the nation she once exclusively controlled; yet she remains to this day the richest and strongest national Church in Protestant Christendom, and exercises more power over England than Lutheranism does over Germany, or Calvinism over Switzerland and Holland.”<sup>1</sup>

Cranmer, notwithstanding his many weaknesses, had the high aim of setting forth in the Articles of the Church of England a body of doctrine which would fairly confront the canons of the Council of Trent, then in session. For this purpose he invited a number of divines from the Continent to England and gave them positions in the universities. Among these were Peter Martyr, Martin Bucer, Paul Fagius, and John à Lasco; the first two were made divinity professors. Henry VIII had more than once invited Melancthon to come over to England and give help in reforming the Church. Melancthon was disposed to accept the invitation, but could not be spared from Germany. Cranmer conceived also the design of inviting Melancthon, Bullinger, and Calvin to London in order to form with the divines above named a creed for all Protestant Churches. This project was, however, abandoned, and in 1549 he began the preparation of the Articles of Religion of the Church of England. In the prosecution of this work a draft of Thirteen Articles which had been adopted in consultation

<sup>1</sup> *Creeds of Christendom*, vol. i, p. 599.



(1535-1538) with the Lutherans of Wittenberg during the preceding reign was used and became in part the basis of the whole. These are copied almost literally from the Augsburg Confession.<sup>1</sup> As an example we may take the first Article of the Church of England: "There is but one living and true God, everlasting, without body, parts, or passions; of infinite power, wisdom, and goodness; the Maker and Preserver of all things, both visible and invisible. And in unity of this Godhead there be three Persons of one substance, power, and eternity: the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost." The relation of the second Article, on the Son of God, to the Augsburg Confession and the Württemberg Confession is still closer, thus: "The Son, which is the Word of the Father, begotten from everlasting of the Father, the very and eternal God, of one substance with the Father, took man's nature in the womb of the blessed Virgin, of her substance; so that two whole and perfect natures, that is to say, the Godhead and the manhood, were joined together in one person, never to be divided, whereof is one Christ, very God and very man, who truly suffered, was crucified, dead, and buried, to reconcile his Father to us, and to be a sacrifice, not only for original guilt, but also for actual sins of men."<sup>2</sup> By 1553 the Articles, forty-two in number, were published, together with a catechism, by royal authority.

Cranmer had for a time held the Lutheran view of the Lord's Supper, but under the influence of Peter Martyr and Ridley he was induced to accept the Calvinian doctrine, and this appears in the Articles. In harmony with its mediating position the English Church creed draws material from Lutheranism, from Calvinism, and has also material of its own. The Articles are, (1) Catholic in the doctrines of the Trinity and the incarnation, using here the language of the Augsburg and Württemberg

<sup>1</sup> See Hardwick, *History of the Articles of Religion*, chap. iv.

<sup>2</sup> The clause on the eternal generation and consubstantiality of the Son is taken from the Württemberg Confession. See in Schaff, *Creeds of Christendom*, vol. i, pp. 624-629, a comparison of Articles in the Augsburg Confession, the Württemberg Confession, the Thirteen and the Thirty-nine Articles.



Confessions. (2) Lutheran in the doctrines of sin, free will, and grace. (3) Calvinistic in the doctrines of predestination and the Lord's Supper. (4) Anglican in the affirmation of the royal supremacy. Article I<sup>1</sup> (I), Of Faith in the Holy Trinity; Article II (II), Of the Word or Son of God, who was made very Man; Article IX (VII), Of Original Sin; Article XIX (XIII), Of the Church; Article XXV (XVI), Of the Sacraments; Article XXXI (XX), Of the One Oblation of Christ; Article XXXIV (XXII), Of the Rites and Traditions of the Church, are all largely from the Augsburg Confession, either directly or through the Thirteen Articles of the reign of Henry VIII. Article II, however, almost wholly from the Augsburg Confession, has a clause from the Würtemberg Confession. When the Articles were revised in the reign of Elizabeth use was made of the Würtemberg Confession drawn up by Brentius in 1551, and offered to the Council of Trent; this Würtemberg Confession was itself a modification of the Augsburg Confession. From this (Würtemberg) source was derived the exact language, in whole or in part, of Article V (IV), Of the Holy Ghost; Article VI (V), Of the Holy Scriptures (definition of canonical books); Article X (VIII), Of Free Will—the last clause of this Article, “wherefore, we have no power to do good works,” etc., is from Augustine's treatise on grace and free will; Article XI (IX), Of the Justification of Man; Article XII (X), Of Good Works; and Article XX, Of the Authority of the Church. As an example of the derivation from the Würtemberg Confession we may take Article V (IV), Of the Holy Ghost; this Confession reads: “We believe and confess that the Holy Ghost proceeds eternally from the Father and the Son, and is one substance, majesty, and glory with the Father and the Son, very and eternal God.” The Thirty-nine Articles read: “The Holy Ghost, proceeding from the Father and the Son, is of one substance, majesty, and glory with the Father

<sup>1</sup> Numerals in parentheses correspond to the Articles of the Methodist Episcopal Church.

and the Son, very and eternal God." Article XXVII (XVII), Of Baptism, may be interpreted both in a Calvinistic and in a Lutheran sense; if baptismal regeneration is taught therein it is not taught very distinctly. Article XXVIII (XVIII), Of the Lord's Supper, is emphatically Calvinistic. It affirms, (1) That we partake of the body and blood of Christ, but (2) Only after a heavenly and spiritual manner. (3) It denies the partaking of Christ by the mouth; only they who partake with faith partake of him. We have then as sources of the important Articles of the Church of England, (1) The Augsburg Confession; (2) The Thirteen Articles framed on the basis of that Confession in the time of Henry VIII; (3) The Würtemberg Confession, also based upon the Augsburg Confession; use, however, was not made of this last until the Articles were revised in the reign of Elizabeth.

The polemic aspect of the English Articles is twofold: (1) Against the Roman Catholic Church. This is seen in such titles as "Of Works of Supererogation," "Of Purgatory," "Of Both Kinds," "Of the Marriage of Priests." (2) Against the Anabaptists. Of the latter class Article XXIII, Of Ministering in the Congregation, and Article XXXVIII (XXIV), Of Christian Men's Goods, are specimens. Besides these, XVIII of the English Articles, "Of the Obtaining Eternal Salvation only by the Name of Christ," is also directed against them. The Anabaptists went to such lengths of extravagance, and thereby so discredited the Reformation, that the German Confessions, as well as the English Articles, were at several points shaped purposely to repel their errors. We inquire now, What influences helped to give the liturgical part of the Prayer Book its present form? This can be shown best by a few examples. Bearing in mind that the old mass books were used as a basis of many of the liturgical forms, we may say that the persons, not Englishmen, who influenced the adaptation of the ancient forms to Protestant uses, and the composition of new Articles, were Luther, Melancthon, Hermann, Archbishop of Cologne, Martin Bucer,

and Peter Martyr. Luther composed a form of service in 1533 for Brandenburg and Nuremberg, and Melancthon and Bucer were invited by Hermann to draw up a liturgy for his diocese,<sup>1</sup> and in time this was used by the English reformers. Bucer was, through Cranmer's influence, made professor of divinity at Cambridge in 1549, and Peter Martyr divinity professor at Oxford in 1547. Both had been invited to England for the purpose of obtaining their assistance in settling the Reformation there. Bucer was asked to give his criticisms upon the first Prayer Book of Edward VI (1548-1549), and did so with the utmost freedom. The effect of his criticisms is very visible in the changes to be found in the revised Prayer Book of 1552.

We will now trace the formation of the communion service. The first communion service was added to the old Latin mass book without any attempt to reconcile one with the other; this was, however, followed by the first Prayer Book of Edward VI. In that book the communion was preceded by exhortations to the people, still in use; both of these exhortations are taken from the book of Hermann, already named, which was modelled on Luther's book of 1533. Following now the Methodist Episcopal service, we note: The verse from the First Epistle of St. John is taken from the so-called "Comfortable Words," verses from the New Testament which in the English Prayer Book follow the General Confession and Absolution. The "Comfortable Words" are taken from Hermann's *Consultation*. The next paragraph of the Invitation, beginning, "Wherefore ye that do truly and earnestly repent of your sins," etc., is first found in its present form in the order of the communion published in 1548. The Confession is largely from Hermann's *Consultation*, which opens thus: "Almighty, everlasting God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Maker of all things, the Judge of all men, we acknowledge and we lament that we have transgressed thy holy commandments, . . . wherewith we have most grievously offended

<sup>1</sup> Commonly called Hermann's *Consultation*. The title in an English reprint of 1547 begins, *A Simple and Religious Consultation of us, Herman*, etc.

thy majesty and hurt our neighbor. And we are sorry for it with all our hearts. Have mercy upon us, most gentle Father, through thy Son our Lord Jesus Christ; that, dying to sins daily more and more, we may serve and please thee in a new life, to the glory of thy name.”<sup>1</sup> “By thought, word, and deed” is from the priest’s confession in the old mass book, “*peccavi nimis cogitatione, locutione, et opere.*” The next prayer, beginning, “Almighty God, our heavenly Father, who of thy great mercy,” etc., is the English form of absolution from sin, and so stands in the English book to this day. Where in this the Methodist service uses “us” the English book uses “you;” this is from the old mass book. The Collect which follows is from the old mass book of Salisbury: “*Deus cui omne cor patet et omnis voluntas loquitur, et quem nullum latet secretum: purifica per infusionem Sancti Spiritus cogitationes cordis nostri; ut perfecte te diligere et digne laudare mereamur. Per Christum.*” The beautiful prayer beginning, “We do not presume to come to this thy table,” etc., was composed for the first book of 1548–1549. It is known as the prayer, “In the name of all them that shall receive the communion.” In it the minister speaks more distinctly as the organ of the congregation.

The Prayer of Consecration consists, says Procter, of three parts: (1) The Introduction, (2) A Petition, and (3) The words of Institution. Of these the words of Institution are from the old mass book, and, indeed, are to be found in all liturgies. The Introduction is a clear statement of the sufficiency of Christ’s death as a full satisfaction for the sins of men. The words, “by his oblation of himself once offered,” etc., exclude the idea of a repetition of Christ’s offering of himself, as in the mass books. The Petition has varied in form. In the first book of Edward it was thus worded: “Hear us, O merciful Father, we beseech thee; and with thy Holy Spirit, and Word, vouchsafe to bless and sanctify these thy gifts and creatures of bread and

<sup>1</sup> Abridged from the quotation in Procter, *History of the Book of Common Prayer*, fifteenth edition, pp. 337, 338, note.

wine, that they may be unto us the body and blood of thy most dearly beloved Son, Jesus Christ." In the invocation of the Spirit for the purpose named the first communion service of Edward followed the ancient oriental liturgies. This petition was objected to by Bucer, as savoring of the doctrine of a real presence, and at his instance was changed into "Hear us, O merciful Father, we most humbly beseech thee, and grant that we, receiving these thy creatures of bread and wine, according to thy Son our Saviour Jesus Christ's holy institution, in remembrance of his death and passion, may be partakers of his most blessed body and blood." The prayer as it now stands, says Procter, justly, "is carefully worded, to exclude all notions of any physical change in the material elements, by virtue of which they are identified or confounded with the body and blood of Christ; but we pray that we may so receive those creatures of God as to partake of that body and blood truly and really in a sacramental manner."<sup>1</sup>

In the prayer "For the whole state of Christ's Church," which is still a part of the English communion service, there was in the first book of King Edward a petition for the dead: "We commend unto thy mercy, O Lord, all other thy servants which are departed hence from us with the sign of faith and now do rest in the sleep of peace. Grant unto them, we beseech thee, thy mercy and everlasting peace," etc. This was struck out of the second book. In the English Prayer Book the *Ter Sanctus* precedes the Consecration, coming closely after the "Comfortable Words." It is there divided into two parts, corresponding to the two paragraphs in the Methodist ritual. Between the two it is the practice of the English to insert proper prefaces for Christmas, Easter, and other festivals. The *Ter Sanctus* is from the English mass books, but is to be found in all the ancient liturgies. In the ancient liturgies the words, "It is very meet," etc., were the introduction to the *Eucharistia*, a thanksgiving. Here, in the early liturgies, came in a commemoration of all

<sup>1</sup> *History of the Book of Common Prayer*, p. 357.



that God had done for man from the foundation of the world.

In the distribution of the elements the form of the book of 1548-1549 was: "The body of our Lord Jesus Christ, which was given for thee, preserve thy body and soul unto everlasting life," "The blood of our Lord Jesus Christ," etc. This form of distribution is very ancient. The words, "The body," etc., "The blood," etc., are found in the ancient Eastern liturgies; the words, "preserve thy body and soul," are ascribed to the time of Gregory the Great. "*Corpus Domini nostri Jesu Christi, conservet animam tuam.*" "Unto everlasting life" belongs to the old English mass books. The form, however, was supposed to imply a real presence or even transubstantiation. It was therefore wholly left out of the second Prayer Book of Edward VI, and in place of it were inserted the words: "Take and eat this in remembrance that Christ died for thee, and feed on him in thy heart by faith with thanksgiving." "Drink this in remembrance that Christ's blood was shed for thee, and be thankful." These changes are ascribed to the influence of Bucer and Martyr. The objection was made that the new form reduced the Lord's Supper to a mere commemoration; when, therefore, the liturgy was revised in the time of Elizabeth the two forms, that of the first Prayer Book of King Edward and that of the second Prayer Book of King Edward, were combined as we have them now. The words added by Bucer and Martyr hold us in doctrine to the Calvinian position; the partaking of Christ is by faith; and we feed upon him in our hearts. Oral manducation is excluded. It is worthy of notice also that the first book of King Edward directed that the bread should be received by the communicants in their mouths. There was fear that if the bread were placed in the hand some would carry it away with them and worship it as God. In time, however, this direction was abrogated. The first post-communion prayer is English in its origin, but based in some of its phrases on the old mass book. The passages especially



from this source are: "Humbly beseeching thee that all we who are partakers of this holy communion may be filled with thy grace and heavenly benediction," and also, "Not weighing our merits, but pardoning our offenses." The *Gloria in Excelsis* with which the service closes is of Eastern origin, and is found in the Greek liturgies as well as the Latin. In the Greek Church it is used as a morning prayer on ordinary days as well as on Sundays and holy days. Its antiquity is certain, but its author is unknown; the Greek, Latin, and Protestant Churches all express in it their thanksgiving to Christ the Redeemer. The service which begins with confession very properly ends with thanksgiving and praise. The form in the Prayer Book and in the Methodist Discipline is slightly varied from that now sung in the Greek Church. The benediction is of English origin, some clauses being taken from Hermann's *Consultation*.

The burial service must be treated more briefly. Much of it is from the Middle Age mass books, and particularly from the Sarum Missal. Two of the opening sentences were sung as anthems in the Roman Catholic period; the third, from Job i, 21, was added in 1559. The two Psalms, xxxix and xc, were inserted in 1661; parts of the epistle, 1 Cor. xv, 41-58, were in the Latin Church's mass for the dead. The verses to be said at the grave are taken out of the old mass books. The first is from Job xiv, 1 and 2. The rest, beginning, "In the midst of life," etc., is from Notker (about 840-912), one of the Middle Age hymn and sentence writers.<sup>1</sup> Luther wrote a German hymn on this anthem, as a text or suggestion, and from this hymn the expansion of the Latin anthem in the service is derived. In Luther the words are: "O holy Lord God, O holy

<sup>1</sup> As written by him this beautiful meditation on death runs thus:

"Media vita in morte sumus:

Quem quærimus adiutorem nisi te Domine?

Qui pro peccatis nostris juste irasceris.

Sancte Deus: Sancte fortis:

Sancte et misericors Salvator:

Amaræ morti ne tradas nos."

mighty God, O holy merciful Saviour, thou God eternal, suffer us not to fall from the consolation of true faith." With this may be compared the last paragraph of the anthem as it stands in the Methodist service.

The Committal is composite. Its opening may be compared with the following passage from Hermann's *Consultation*: "Forasmuch as it hath pleased Almighty God, that according to his mercy he would take this our brother out of this world unto himself." The words, "Earth to earth, ashes to ashes, dust to dust," "*Terram terræ, cinerem cineri, pulverem pulveri,*" are from the old missals, as also are the verses from the Revelation, "I heard a voice from heaven," etc., and "Lord, have mercy upon us." After the Committal there was in the first Prayer Book of Edward a supplication for the soul of the dead, in these words: "Grant unto this thy servant, that the sins which he hath committed in this world be not imputed to him, but that he escaping the gates of hell and pains of eternal darkness may ever dwell in thy kingdom of light," etc. At the instance of Calvin and Bucer this was omitted from the book of 1552. The Collect with which the service closes belongs to the period of the Reformation.

It is now time to speak of all the revisions of the Prayer Book, made by royal authority. As we have seen, the first book was issued 1548-1549; the first revision, known as the second Prayer Book of King Edward VI, appeared in 1552; the second revision, making the third book, appeared in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. The alterations of the Communion Service already noticed were the most conspicuous changes of this revision. The third revision belongs to the first year of James I (1603). The fourth, making the fifth Prayer Book, was made in the reign of Charles II, and grew out of an effort to modify it, so as to meet the wishes of the Nonconformists; it was approved by a convocation December, 1661. A conference of Presbyterians and Churchmen was ordered by the king, but nothing came of it. Baxter, who was one of the Presbyterian

Commissioners, offered a liturgy of his own composition, as a substitute for the Prayer Book. Since the time of Charles the English liturgy has remained without change.

Edward was a firm Protestant, and his zeal for religious reform greatly promoted the execution of the plans of Cranmer. He died in his sixteenth year (July 6, 1553), and was followed by his Catholic half-sister, Mary. There was after his death a futile attempt to place the Protestant Lady Jane Grey on the throne, but public opinion was with Mary, whose right to the succession was unquestionable. One of the last acts of Parliament in the reign of Henry VIII requested him to fix the succession by will, without regard to previous legislation. Henry's will directed that in the event of Edward's dying without issue Mary should succeed him. The work of the Reformation was now for a time to be undone.

## NOTE TO CHAPTER LI.

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## CHAPTER LII.

## THE REFORMATION IN ENGLAND—THE CATHOLIC RESTORATION.

THE accession of Mary, the daughter of Henry VIII by Catharine of Spain, to the English throne was full of woe for the reformers. All that had been done in the two preceding reigns was now undone. The reforming leaders were deprived of office, and the most important put to death; others escaped death by flight. Mary married Philip II of Spain, son of the emperor Charles V, the most cruel and unrelenting of all the princes who fought for the restoration of the ascendancy of Rome. Cold in temperament, secret in policy, unscrupulous in the choice of measures, devoured by the ambition to control the world, he married Mary for reasons of state, and did his utmost through this union to make England a vassal of Spain. Strange to say, this unfeeling, relentless creature was deeply loved by his English wife. Her grief over his indifference to her and the consciousness that she was detested by her subjects shortened her days. She raised money for Philip by all manner of extortions, and plunged England for his sake into a war with France—a war in which Calais was lost to the English crown. This misfortune was a great shock to the English people and a deep mortification to Mary; it was to her as if she had suffered England to be robbed of a precious jewel. Tennyson in his drama represents the fevered queen as saying in her dying hours:

“ Women, when I am dead,  
 Open my heart, and there you will find written  
 Two names, Philip and Calais; open his,—  
 So that he have one,—  
 You will find Philip only, policy, policy,—  
 Ay, worse than that—not one hour true to me!  
 Foul maggots crawling in a fester’d vice!  
 Adulterous to the very heart of hell!”<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Drama of *Queen Mary*, Act V, Scene V.

During the reign of Edward VI Mary had refused to submit to the new laws relative to the establishment of religion. She had mass said regularly by her chaplains ; as a punishment her chaplains were sent to prison, but this availed nothing to shake her purpose to practice the rites of the Roman Catholic Church. The people accepted her accession (1) Because they were by no means established in the new faith. (2) Because her right of succession had been fixed by the last will of Henry VIII. (3) They did not anticipate a compulsory change of religion. But the English people did not know their queen. Von Ranke says: "She had no sympathy for the life, the interests, the struggles of her people. She hated them from her childhood. All of her sympathies were for the nation from which her mother came."<sup>1</sup> Her first act was to release from prison five bishops who had been confined during the preceding reign for refusing to obey the reforming laws. Fifteen days after her entry into London (August 18, 1553) she issued a proclamation forbidding all preaching and public interpretation of Scripture without her special license. The reforming leaders refused to obey the proclamation, and some were soon cast into prison ; others escaped from the country. Cranmer was urged to save himself by flight, but declined ; in a few weeks he was committed to the Tower. Latimer and Holgate, Archbishop of York, followed soon after. Ridley had been imprisoned in July.

Parliament met October 5, 1553. The first measure of the reactionists failed. They tried to pass a bill repealing all the acts touching religion of the two preceding reigns. The Commons resisted and Parliament was prorogued. On its meeting again the queen's party proposed the abolition of all the religious statutes of the reign of Edward VI ; after a debate of eight days the Commons agreed to this, on condition that the titles acquired to the confiscated lands of the Church should not be disturbed. This and the royal supremacy assured, two thirds of the Commons were willing to restore the

<sup>1</sup> *History of England*, vol. i, p. 254.

mass and transubstantiation. In March, 1554, the queen and her council issued a series of injunctions to the clergy. Among these were the following: 1. No bishop was to use in his public documents the form, "In reliance on royal authority." 2. The oath of supremacy was not to be demanded of ecclesiastics. 3. All married priests were to be removed from their benefices. 4. All married priests were to be compulsorily divorced. 5. Suspected schoolmasters were to be removed and children were to be taught to take part in the mass. 6. Bishops who had married were to be tried by royal commission. According to Lingard the number of married priests who were deprived of their livings by this proclamation was not less than fifteen hundred. Burnet's estimate is twice this. Cranmer, Ridley, Latimer, Rogers, Hooper, and other bishops now imprisoned were called on to subscribe to these propositions: (1) That in the Lord's Supper, by virtue of the priest's word, there is present the natural body of Christ and his natural blood. (2) After consecration there remains no other substance than the substance of Christ, God and man. (3) That the mass is a propitiatory sacrifice for the living and the dead. The bishops refused to subscribe, Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer after a disputation at Oxford, but all alike refusing.

The next two steps of the restoration of the Church of Rome were the marriage of the queen to Philip of Spain, and the reception of the papal legate. The marriage took place July 25, 1554. Cardinal Pole, the legate, was received in the autumn of the same year. Pole was an Englishman, and had been attainted for treason by Parliament; the attainder was now removed, and he was invited to return. A reservation was made of all Church lands which had been confiscated during the two preceding reigns; it was agreed by the pope that the titles of the present possessors should not be disturbed. In November, 1554, Cardinal Pole met the Parliament, and on the last day of that month the members declared their repentance of the sin of schism, and on their knees begged for absolution. "The



cardinal," says Perry, "with extended arms pronounced the absolution of the nation and its entrance again into union with Rome."<sup>1</sup> A similar restoration of the convocation to the Church of Rome was effected by the close of the year. To make assurance doubly sure for the holders of the Church lands, Parliament inserted in the act which restored the papal supremacy a provision that "all persons having sufficient conveyance of land formerly belonging to the Church might, without impediment or trouble by pretense of any general council or ecclesiastical laws, continue to enjoy the same."<sup>2</sup> These Church estates had been largely distributed among the nobles, who were determined not to give up what they had secured.

The consequences of the restoration of the papal power followed rapidly. An act of Parliament abrogated the statute of Henry VIII which required that charges of heresy should be tried in the civil courts. Heretics could now be tried in the ecclesiastical courts, wherein the processes were summary. Commissioners were sent to Pope Paul IV informing him that England was now restored to the mother Church. In London the event was celebrated by a great procession. Commissions were issued to the bishops by Pole, and the clergy were authorized by him to absolve the laity. Thus England sank to the position of a province of the papacy and a dependency of Spain; the bright promise of the dawning of the Reformation was obscured; but the sentiment of nationality was indissolubly bound up with the Protestant faith; and the sufferings of the reformers were destined to confirm the English people in the principles of religious reform.

The ancient Church had won an easy victory; and if Mary and Philip had been content there is no telling how long the restoration of Protestantism might have been delayed. Gardiner and the English Catholics were satisfied; but the queen wanted revenge as well as triumph, and the venomous Philip could be content with nothing less than the murder of Protes-

<sup>1</sup> *History of the Church of England*, p. 232.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 233.

stants. Inquisitors had come over in the retinue of the Spanish sovereign, a fact sufficiently indicative of his purpose. Pole was too gentle and Gardiner too shrewd to begin the work of persecution ; but the queen herself ordered the council to proceed. The burning began with the bishops : Hooper suffered at Gloucester, February 9, 1555 ; Farrar, of St. David's, March 30 ; Ridley and Latimer, October 16 of the same year. Latimer was very old but very brave ; when the fagots were lighted he called out to his companion : " Be of good cheer, Master Ridley, and play the man ; we shall this day light such a candle by God's grace in England as I trust shall never be put out." Cranmer, worn by his long imprisonment, was weak enough to sign a recantation, but, thoroughly ashamed of his weakness, he abjured this act and died manfully at the stake March 21, 1556. The bishops now offered up as a sacrifice, victims were sought from the lower ranks of society. Deans, priests, mechanics, were sent to the stake ; in all nearly three hundred were burned in four years, of whom forty-six were women.

This wanton and causeless slaughter filled England, not to say Europe, with horror, and the horror deepened ever more and more into a hatred of Rome. In the trials of the bishops the decisive charge was the denial of transubstantiation ; on this dogma the martyrs joined issue with the Church, and died rather than profess it as an article of faith. Pole succeeded Cranmer as Archbishop of Canterbury ; he was not vigorous enough for Philip and the pope, and was himself in danger of the Inquisition. Still, he was a Catholic, and toward the end of his life fell in with the persecuting spirit. Records relating to the acceptance of the royal supremacy were searched for and destroyed. A visitation of the universities was ordered ; Martin Bucer and Paul Fagius, though dead, were tried for heresy, condemned, and their bodies burned. The bones of the wife of Peter Martyr were taken from consecrated ground and thrown on a dunghill. In 1557, the civil magistrates not hunting heretics with sufficient zeal, a commission of ecclesi-

astics and laymen was appointed, "to search for all such persons as obstinately refuse to preach the blessed sacrament of the altar, to hear mass, or come to divine service, to go in procession, or to take holy water or holy bread, and to hand them over to their ordinaries."

But there is an end to misery, and the end was secured for England by the death of the queen. Her last days were sad enough to excite the compassion of her bitterest enemies. She knew that she was hated by her people; that her scheme of reestablishing the Catholic religion would fail; she was neglected by a husband who cared nothing for her. She was humiliated by the loss of Calais, a hot fever consumed her. "She lived," wrote the French ambassador, "almost alone, employing all her time in tears, lamentations, and regrets, in writing to try to draw back her husband to her, and in fury against her subjects."<sup>1</sup> November 17, 1558, she died, and Cardinal Pole within a day after died also; thirteen of the bishops, the victims of a contagious fever, soon followed the queen and Cardinal Pole to the grave. Elizabeth, a conformist to the Catholic ritual, but supposed to be favorable to the Protestant faith, now ascended the throne. Whatever religion Elizabeth had was subordinate to state policy. She knew that the English people detested the papal supremacy. The royal headship of the Church was quickly restored; Parker, the friend of both Elizabeth and her mother, was made Archbishop of Canterbury; the liturgy of Edward VI was revised and given again to the people. Elizabeth preferred a stately church service, and as far as she could she made the service of the Church of England stately; but the residence of the English reformers abroad during the reign of Mary had led them to adopt Calvinistic ideas of Church polity. They had returned home Puritans, and then began the struggle of Puritanism with the Church, which led to the settlement of North America and ended in the overthrow of the English monarchy.

<sup>1</sup> Perry, *History of the Church of England*, p. 250.

## CHAPTER LIII.

## ARMINIUS AND THE SYNOD OF DORT.

It may be said with truth that in the history of Protestantism no man has been more maligned than James Arminius, and no cause more decried than that which he represented in the city of Amsterdam and the University of Leyden. Dr. Miller, the Princeton professor, says of him that "his character as to integrity, candor, and fidelity to his official pledges and professions is covered with stains which can never by any ingenuity be effaced."<sup>1</sup> Even the candid Dorner asserts that "the logical sequence of the Arminian tendency lies in Socinianism;"<sup>2</sup> while from the days of Arminius till now both he and his followers have been stigmatized as Pelagians. It is proper, therefore, to do something to vindicate the memory of one of the purest divines God has given to the modern Church, and likewise to examine the crisis in history which opened the way for the publication of the freeness of the divine grace and the honesty of the divine offer of salvation to all men.

The predestinarian controversy did not begin with Arminius, nor was Calvin the first of Protestant leaders to proclaim the dogma that the precise number of the saved and the lost is determined by the absolute and unconditional decree of God. Luther, in his debate with Erasmus, says Neander, "made prescience and predestination perfectly identical; denied contingency, and inferred from the immutability of the divine will that all events take place according to an unconditional necessity." Luther's words are: "As long as man holds the belief that he can do something for his own salvation he

<sup>1</sup> Scott, *Articles of the Synod of Dort*. Introductory Essay by the Rev. Samuel Miller, p. 13.

<sup>2</sup> *History of Protestant Theology*, vol. i, p. 427.

continues self-confident, and does not humble himself; but whoever despairs altogether of himself is most near to that grace which leads to salvation.”<sup>1</sup> Melanchthon, in the first edition of his *Loci*, adopted Luther’s view and said there could be no free will. Universal providence, in his opinion, implied absolute predestination. Zwingli, in his work *De Providentia*, declares that “God is the author of evil as well as of good,” but adds, “If any man should say that the divine Providence has occasioned this or that crime he does not express himself aright, for only the human act, not the event brought to pass by God, is sin.”<sup>2</sup> He expressly declared that predestination extended to Adam’s sin. In the editions of the *Loci* succeeding the first Melanchthon gradually modified his statements. In the edition of 1543 he writes, “Above all, we must maintain that God is present with his creatures, not as a stoical God;” and again: “For the performance of what is good there must be the conjunction of the word of God, the Holy Spirit, and the human will, which agrees with the word of God and does not oppose it.”<sup>3</sup> In the edition of 1548 he writes, “Men must be taught that free will does something, that it is the ability to appropriate grace to oneself (*facultas se applicandi gratiæ*).” Melanchthon’s disciples after his death propagated his ideas, and their collision with those who strictly followed Luther’s predestinarianism brought on the synergistic controversy (1558). John Pfeffinger expressed the position of the synergists in the following manner: “Though the will of man cannot arouse itself to any spiritual work, and can only be aroused by the Spirit, yet the will is not excluded from these works in such a manner as not to be also present. The Holy Spirit does not act with man as a stonecutter with a stone.”<sup>4</sup> Calvin, therefore, but followed Luther and Zwingli in his doctrine of predestination, only he placed it in the forefront of his system and carried it out with a more rigorous logic. He was consistently supralap-

<sup>1</sup> Neander, *History of Christian Dogmas*, vol. ii, p. 667.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 668.    <sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 670, 671.    <sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 672.

sarian. "Calvin," says Neander, "allowed no contingency, even in the fall."<sup>1</sup> And even Dorner admits that, according to Calvin, "No one can deny that God foreknew the fall of Adam, together with its effects, and foreknew it because he had pre-ordained it."<sup>2</sup> It is well to note these points, for it was with supralapsarianism that the controversy in which Arminius was involved began.

James Arminius, or Hermanns, was born at Oudewater, Holland, in the year 1560, the year of the death of Melancthon. He lost his father in infancy, but found a friend in Theodore Æmilius, who sent the lad to school at Utrecht. This friend, however, was soon taken away by death; another friend, Rudolph Snellius, famous both as a linguist and a mathematician, assumed charge of Arminius and placed him at Marburg. During his stay at the university at Marburg he lost his mother, sister, and brother, who were all slain by the Spaniards in the sack of Oudewater. Returning home as soon as he heard of this catastrophe, a few friends sent him at their own expense to the newly opened University of Leyden. Here he devoted himself for six years to philosophy, theology, logic, mathematics, and astronomy. Having by this time given evidence of unusual promise, he was adopted by the Merchants' Guild of Amsterdam. In an agreement signed September 13, 1581, Arminius bound himself, in consideration of this adoption, to remain "in perpetuity at the service of the city, and in the event of his entrance upon the sacred ministry to serve the church of no other city without the previous consent of the senators of Amsterdam for the time being."

Thus liberally provided for, Arminius set out for Geneva to study divinity under Beza, Calvin's successor, and head of the Geneva Academy. Having here offended the professor of logic by delivering private lectures on the same subject, he for a time abandoned Geneva and went to Basle. In this univer-

<sup>1</sup> Neander, *History of Christian Dogmas*, vol. ii, p. 673.

<sup>2</sup> Dorner, *History of Protestant Theology*, vol. i, p. 400.



sity he was so esteemed that Grynæus, the professor of sacred literature, would often, when questions were asked on knotty points, reply, "Let my Hollander answer for me." In 1583 he returned to Geneva and spent three years more in the study of divinity. In 1586 he spent a half of a year in Italy in attendance upon the lectures of Zabarella, a professor of philosophy in Padua, and in visiting the chief cities of that country. Returning to Amsterdam, he was, after the due probation, called to the charge of the church in that city, being then in the twenty-eighth year of his age. He had proved himself in these years to be possessed of a mind of uncommon acuteness; he had, moreover, a sweet temper and a winning manner in public discourse. The schools of Utrecht, Marburg, Leyden, Geneva, Basle, and Padua all contributed their rich resources of learning to furnish him for his work. He was equipped with all that the age could give him. It may be well imagined that with such ample preparation he soon showed himself to be a master in Israel. "His discourses," says Brandt, "were masculine and erudite; everything he uttered breathed the theologian, not raw and commonplace, but superior, acute, cultivated, and replete with solid acquisitions both in human and in sacred literature."<sup>1</sup> As to personal appearance, he was of medium stature, with black and sparkling eyes, compact in limbs, and at this period of his life robust. His voice was said to be "slender indeed, but sweet, musical, and incisive." He had that power of eloquence which attracts both the learned and the unlearned. Very soon he became the favorite preacher of Amsterdam. The terms by which he was described, such as "a file of truth," "a whetstone of intellect," "a pruning knife for rank growing errors," evinced the strength of the popular affection for him.

Up to this time Arminius had given no sign of dissent from the Belgic Confession, the confession of the Reformed Churches of the Netherlands. As far as appears he was heartily in accord with the Calvinistic theology in which he had been

<sup>1</sup> *Life of James Arminius*, p. 57.

trained. The doctrine of unconditional election had, however, been questioned in Holland before his accession to the pastorate. In the nature of the case the Church could not be peacefully held in the dogmatic position in which Calvin had placed it; a rebellion was inevitable. Richard Koornhert, a citizen of Amsterdam, assailed the predestinarian theology with both tongue and pen while Arminius was yet a student, and had been answered by two ministers of Delft, Cornelis and Donteklok.<sup>1</sup> Koornhert's strong position was that Calvin's theology, as expounded by Beza, made God the author of sin. The Delft ministers, therefore, in order to meet objections, deemed it important to disavow supralapsarianism. They issued a little work under the title, *An Answer to Certain Arguments of Beza and Calvin, from a Treatise on Predestination as Taught in the Ninth Chapter of Romans*. Arminius was requested to come to the defense of Beza and supralapsarianism and thus to aid in refuting Koornhert. When, however, he proceeded to execute this task he found his mind wavering with regard to long-cherished opinions. "The longer he revolved the point," says Brandt, "and weighed the reasons which had been urged against the view of Calvin and Beza, the more difficult did he find it to meet them with a solid reply; and thus he felt himself bearing rapidly over to that very opinion which at first sight he had undertaken to impugn."<sup>2</sup> He resolved to abandon the proposed refutation and to devote himself to the thorough examination of this doctrine in the light of Scripture and the opinions both of ancient and modern theologians.

The result of this examination was an increasing divergence from predestinarianism. He contented himself, however, with expressing dissent, when lecturing on the Epistle to the Romans, from the Calvinistic mode of interpreting its important passages. Whispers of heterodoxy began to circulate; he was charged with departure from the standards of the Belgic

<sup>1</sup> Brandt, *History of the Reformation in and about the Low Countries*, vol. i, p. 336.

<sup>2</sup> *Life of James Arminius*, p. 64.

churches. The names Libertine, heretic, and Pelagian were applied to him very freely. For all that the people flocked in crowds to hear his lectures on the Epistle to the Romans. His mind was still in a state of suspense; and in 1597 he opened his difficulties confidentially to Francis Junius, the professor of sacred literature in the University of Leyden. One question upon which they entered was this: "How, admitting that immutable and fixed decree which the followers of Beza and Calvin attributed to God, man could be said to have, nevertheless, voluntarily fallen, and to have been master of his own actions?" The sincerity and earnestness of Arminius in these inquiries appear from a passage in a letter to his friend Uytenbogaert, in which he says, "That in comparison with a knowledge sure and satisfactory to his own mind on points relating to Providence and predestination on which he had now for seven years been perplexed with distracting doubts, he set a trivial value on all the wealth of Croesus and of Midas, and on the treasures of the whole world."<sup>1</sup>

Under pledge of mutual silence a correspondence followed between Arminius and Junius, in which all the difficulties of predestination were discussed with the utmost friendliness. Junius, however, never replied to the second letter of Arminius, and it is thought could not. The correspondence was honorable to both; and it puts the mental integrity of Arminius, in this transition, beyond all doubt. His letters to Junius were copied by some busybody and circulated; a suspicion of heresy clung to Arminius, and his rivals used it as much as possible to his disadvantage. In 1599 he writes of himself: "I am exerting myself to the utmost in teaching the truth already known to me and in searching out what is not; but these things I do in silence and in hope."<sup>2</sup> And thus we must picture him to our minds during these years—silently investigating the Scriptures for the purpose of settling his doubts; doing the work of a faithful pastor and repelling the charges

<sup>1</sup> Brandt, *Life of James Arminius*, p. 105.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 120.

which were ever and anon brought against him of being recreant to the received faith. In 1602 Junius died, and Arminius was at once named as his probable successor. The opposition to his appointment was very great; but he had friends among the curators of the university, who, like himself, had grave doubts of the scriptural truth of the predestinarian theology. An interview with Gomarus, afterward his antagonist, helped to allay the opposition. Gomarus declared that "since Arminius repudiated Pelagianism he was satisfied; and that his interpretation [of the seventh chapter of Romans], such as it was, could be tolerated."<sup>1</sup> It is clear, therefore, that Arminius made no concealment of his opinions, and that he did not reach the professorship under false pretenses.

His opinions were, however, by this time matured, and he made no concealment of them in his academic lectures. Early in 1604 he drew up for discussion the following thesis: "Divine predestination is the decree of God's good pleasure in Christ, by which with himself from eternity he resolved to justify and adopt believers on whom he decreed to bestow faith, and to give eternal life to them, to the praise of his glorious grace; reprobation is the decree of wrath, or the severe will of God, by which, from eternity, he resolved to condemn to eternal death unbelievers who, by their own fault, and by the just judgment of God, will not believe."<sup>2</sup> Here are the salient points of his system, that believers and unbelievers as such are the objects of God's decrees. Very soon after, in an academic disputation, he argued against the necessity of the sin of our first parents, affirming that it was contingent only. Nothing could now prevent a storm, and it soon burst upon him. Gomarus attacked him in a public disputation. As a specimen of supralapsarianism the thesis of Gomarus is worth noting: "The object of predestination is creatures, rational, salvable, damnable, creatable, fallible, and recoverable."<sup>3</sup> The discus-

<sup>1</sup> Brandt, *Life of James Arminius*, p. 177.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 194, 195.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 200.

sion as conducted by Gomarus was exceedingly acrimonious; but Arminius bore it with his accustomed patience. Writing to one of his friends, he says: "It is not lawful for me to hate anyone, or long to retain wrath against anyone, however just; that God, who is described to us in the Bible, instructs me to this effect by his word, Spirit, and example. Forward still let me go in my begun search after truth, and therein let me die, with the good God on my side, even if on this account I must needs incur the hatred and ill-will of the whole world."<sup>1</sup> Nothing in all this troubled history is so beautiful as the meekness of Arminius.

The conflict could not be confined to the halls of the learned university; the opponents of Arminius sounded the alarm that the Reformed faith was in danger, and all Holland was aroused. Deputies from the churches of South and North Holland were sent to labor with Arminius; the curators of the university summoned the theological professors and exhorted them to peace; Plancius, pastor of the church in Amsterdam, denounced Arminius and his followers from his pulpit as "Koornhertians, neo-Pelagians, and as far worse than Pelagius himself." As all the Netherlands was now aroused leave was granted by the States-General on March 15, 1606, for the convocation of a national synod for the review of the Confession and Catechism of the Belgic churches.

Of the excitement prevailing in the Netherlands the following description is condensed from the graphic account given by Motley:<sup>2</sup> The Calvinists were not willing that the Belgic Confession should be revised, and vehemently objected to the form of the call for a synod. The Arminians urged that the Confession was never intended as a rule of faith; that the Heidelberg Catechism was prepared in haste; and that only the word of God was above the necessity of revision. While these discussions, which delayed the assembling of the synod

<sup>1</sup> Brandt, *Life of James Arminius*, pp. 201, 202.

<sup>2</sup> *John of Barneveld*, vol. i, chaps. vii and viii.



for ten years, were going on, Arminius was assailed with whatever calumnies suspicion could suggest. He was charged with recommending Jesuit works; with being about to go to the Church of Rome. And now the great heads of the state appear upon the scene. A conference was held by Gomarus and Arminius before Barneveldt, the Grand-Pensionary of Holland; the States of the same province invited Arminius to expound his theology before them in the month of October, 1608, which he did. As so often happens, the doctrinal controversy was beginning to take a political turn. The Arminians held to the right of the state to regulate the affairs of the Church; the predestinarians insisted on Calvin's doctrine of the autonomy of the Church. Leading statesmen were, therefore, inclined to the Arminian side; moreover, mutual suspicion was growing up between Barneveldt and Prince Maurice; the prince was thought to be aiming at supreme power, and his pretensions were opposed by the famous Holland statesman. The prince, therefore, sided with the Calvinists, and Barneveldt with the Arminians; and thus those causes were set to work which connected the execution of Barneveldt and the imprisonment of Grotius with the conclusion of the Synod of Dort.

Never was any apology more manly than that of Arminius before the States of Holland. His oration was polished and masterly. "He showed," says Brandt, "and proved that a sentiment was propounded by some which conflicted with the nature of God, and his wisdom, justice, and goodness; with the nature of man and his free will; with the nature of eternal life and death; and finally with the nature of sin; that it was subversive of divine grace, opposed to the glory of God, and obstructive to the salvation of men; that it made God the author of sin, hindered sorrow on account of sin, did away with all pious solicitude, diminished the desire of piety, quenched the ardor of prayer, generated despair, inverted the Gospel, impeded the ministry of the divine word, and, in fine, shook the foundations,



not of the Christian religion only, but of all religion whatsoever.”<sup>1</sup> Gomarus was now invited by the deputies of the synods of Holland and West Friesland to deliver an oration before them and to state his opinion of the doctrines of Arminius. This he did with great bitterness, charging his colleague with holding corrupt opinions on every point of divinity. Such an exhibition of the *odium theologicum* made the States hesitate about calling a national synod. These protracted contentions undermined the health of Arminius, and early in 1609 alarming symptoms set in. He relaxed, however, nothing of his diligence, and was as brilliant in debate as ever. He and Gomarus came into collision again in a disputation on “The call of man to salvation,” held in the university in July, 1609, in which Arminius maintained his opinions with great spirit. Weak as he was he obeyed a summons from the States of Holland to appear before them with Gomarus for a further conference on the points in dispute. This was his last public exercise. Returning home to put into writing what he had orally delivered before the States, he was seized with a complication of diseases, the result of anxiety and overwork, and died on the 19th of October, 1609, in the forty-ninth year of his age. In his last will he thus speaks of himself: “I testify that in simplicity and sincerity I have walked with a good conscience in my office and calling; very anxiously and scrupulously on my guard not to propound or teach aught which by diligent application to the study of the sacred Scriptures I had not previously found to be in strictest harmony with these writings.” And that this dying testimony is true his whole life bears witness.

<sup>1</sup> Brandt, *Life of James Arminius*, p. 337.

## CHAPTER LIV.

## THE SYNOD OF DORT.

ARMINIUS left behind him a company of vigorous men, who were not unworthy to be his successors. Simon Episcopius (1583–1643), who in time became a professor, succeeding Arminius in the University of Leyden, and James Uytenbogaert, the chaplain of Prince Maurice, were the theological leaders; Barneveldt lent them his powerful support, and Grotius, famous as jurist, statesman, and theologian, the wonder of a learned age, was undisguised in his sympathy with their opinions and efforts to secure religious toleration. We must conceive the history of the years from 1609 to 1618 as years of conferences, disputations, and mutual suspicions, the Arminians consolidating their strength and the Calvinists appealing with success to the popular feeling and the strong prejudices of the majority of the ministers. In 1610 the Arminians presented their creed in five articles to the States of Holland and West Friesland under the title of a “Remonstrance,” from which they derived the name of “Remonstrants,” while their opponents were named “Contra-Remonstrants.” From the number of the articles, five, the controversy is called the “Quinquarticular Controversy.” The five articles are in reality ten; the first series being negative, and denying so many predestinarian tenets; the second affirmative, and presenting the Arminian faith. The denials are: 1. That God before the creation of the world foreordained some of mankind to eternal life and some to eternal damnation, of his mere pleasure (supralapsarianism). 2. That God in view of the fall decreed to exempt part of the human race from the consequences of the fall, and to leave the rest, without regard to age or moral condition, in their condemnation (sublapsarianism). 3. That Christ died, not for all

men, but only for the elect. 4. That the Holy Spirit works in the elect by irresistible grace, so that they must be converted; while the grace needed is withheld from the rest of mankind, though they are externally called by the revealed word of God. 5. That those who have received this irresistible grace can never finally lose it. The Remonstrants denied that these are in the word of God or in the Heidelberg Catechism. Their affirmations are:

1. That God has decreed from eternity to save those men who by the grace of the Spirit believe in Jesus Christ, and by the same grace persevere in the obedience of faith to the end.

2. Christ died for all men and for every man, and his grace is extended to all. The atonement is sufficient for all; but its sufficiency does not imply its actual efficiency.

3. Man in his fallen state is unable to accomplish anything really and truly good, and therefore also unable to attain to saving faith, unless he be regenerated and renewed by God in Christ, through the Holy Spirit.

4. Grace is the beginning, continuation, and end of our spiritual life, so that man can neither think nor do any good nor resist sin without preventing, cooperating, and assisting grace. But this grace is not irresistible.

5. Although grace is sufficient to preserve the faithful, it has not been proved from Scripture that grace once given can never be lost.

Looking at the affirmations, the first conditions the divine election or condemnation on the foreseen faith or unbelief of men. The second is anti-Socinian, and effectually silences one of the imputations frequently cast on Arminius and his successors. It declares that Christ's death is an expiation of and a satisfaction for the sins of all men. The difference between the Arminian and predestinarian view of the effect of the atonement is this: The first places all men in a salvable state; the second accomplishes absolutely the salvation of a certain portion of men. The third and fourth articles are

anti-Pelagian, and refute the charge that Arminianism is Pelagianism. Man's dependence on grace is as absolute under the Arminian as under the Calvinistic view of his condition. The fifth article is no more than the expression of a doubt; but the successors of Arminius went beyond this position and declared the possibility of a final fall of believers from grace. In 1611 a conference was held at The Hague between the Arminian and the Calvinistic leaders to discuss the five points of the Remonstrance; it was, however, without result. In all conferences the Remonstrants insisted that the way to peace was by mutual toleration; the Calvinists, that the way to peace was by a national synod.

At last, after long years of contention, the synod was called by the States-General, and Dort was named as the place of assembling. That it might as far as possible represent all the Reformed Churches foreign delegates were invited. The Church of England was represented by the Bishop of Llandaff, John Davenant and Samuel Ward, Cambridge professors, and Joseph Hall, Dean of Worcester. Hall afterward became Bishop of Exeter, and Davenant, Bishop of Salisbury. A Scotch divine, Walter Balcanquhall, one of the king's chaplains, was also present. Delegates were likewise chosen by Hesse, Switzerland, the Palatinate, Brandenburg, France, and the city of Bremen. The Frenchmen were, however, forbidden by their king to leave the country, nor did the delegates from Brandenburg appear. King James I sent the churches of the Netherlands abundance of advice, dictation, and whatever else could flow from his foolish mind. Of the eighty-four members of the synod fifty-eight were Netherlanders and twenty-six were foreigners. Besides these were eighteen lay commissioners. It opened November 13, 1618, and closed May 9, 1619, having held in the six months one hundred and fifty-four formal sessions. After May 9 the foreign delegates went home and the Dutch continued in session alone until May 29, meeting twenty-six times. The president was John Bogerman, a rigid Calvinist and trans-

lator of Beza's tract on the rightfulness of punishing heresy. The secretaries were Sebastian Dammann and Festus Hommius, the latter a bitter antagonist of the Arminians. Gomarus the supralapsarian was a member, but the synod was by a decided majority sublapsarian. Simon Episcopius, the disciple of Arminius, and, like his master, mighty in logic and eloquence, was sent as one of the representatives of the University of Leyden. The synod refused to admit him as a delegate, and required him to appear before it as a cited person. There were only three Remonstrants besides, from Utrecht, and they were displaced by three Calvinists, elected by a minority. Thus the synod would admit the Remonstrants into its presence only to be judged; they were to state their opinions and not discuss them, and were in no wise suffered to refute the Calvinistic dogmas.

On this point, the liberty of a full exposition of their doctrinal ideas, the Remonstrants joined issue with the synod. They objected to being cited as criminals or private persons "before a synod which consisted chiefly of their adversaries." The synod explicitly refused to recognize them as a body or to hear them through deputies of their own choosing. Moreover, they were informed "that they were summoned there merely to propose, explain, and defend their opinions, and then to submit them to the decision of the synod."<sup>1</sup> Obtaining leave, Episcopius, on December 7, 1618, delivered an oration in which he rehearsed the history of the preceding twelve years and complained of the expulsion of many Remonstrant ministers from their churches. Soon after the crisis came. The Remonstrants insisted on stating their opinions at length and on the privilege of confuting the opinions of their adversaries. Finally they summed up their position in these words: "If permitted to explain our meaning, which we think is due to us, we shall state and defend our sentiments, first on election, and then on reprobation; after which we shall proceed to the refutation of the

<sup>1</sup> Calder, *Memoirs of Simon Episcopius*, p. 248.

opposite sentiments of the Contra-Remonstrants, and of those whom they hold to be orthodox, on each of these articles, answering any question which may be proposed by the president in the way of explanation, either in writing or *viva voce*, by those among us whom we may judge best qualified to do it." <sup>1</sup>

Bogerman manifested a nervous fear of the discussion of the doctrine of reprobation, and the granting of the Remonstrant request was denied by him with vehemence. On January 14, 1619, he, in the name of the synod, expelled Episcopius and his party; his last words were, "*Dimittimini, exite*" ("You are dismissed; begone"). <sup>2</sup> The mode of the expulsion was an outrage upon decency, and was so felt by the foreign delegates. In all these discussions Episcopius acted with great address, vigor, and self-possession. The cause which he maintained in no wise suffered in his hands.

No time was now lost in examining and condemning the five articles of the Remonstrants and in adopting five Calvinistic articles, the Belgic Confession, and the Heidelberg Catechism. The five articles adopted are, in brief, as follows:

1. Of Divine Predestination. Election is the unchangeable purpose of God, whereby according to his sovereign pleasure he has from the whole human race chosen a certain number of persons to redemption in Christ. Election is absolute and unconditional. It is not founded upon any foreseen faith and holiness as a prerequisite condition. God has chosen us, not because we are holy, but to the end that we should be holy.

2. Of the Death of Christ. God has willed that Christ, through the blood of the cross, should out of every people efficaciously redeem all those and those only who were from eternity chosen to salvation and given to him by the Father.

3 and 4. Of the Corruption of Man and his Conversion to God. (a) All men are conceived in sin, and are by nature children of wrath, incapable of any saving good, dead in sin, and without the regenerating grace of God. They are neither able nor

<sup>1</sup> See Calder, *Memoirs of Simon Episcopius*, p. 296.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 304.



willing to turn to God, to reform the depravity of their natures, nor to dispose themselves to reformation. What, therefore, man cannot do of himself God accomplishes through the Holy Spirit. (b) Faith is the gift of God, not because God bestows the power or ability to believe, and then expects that man should by the exercise of his own free will actually believe in Christ, but because he who works in man both to will and to do produces both the will to believe and the act of believing also.

5. Of the Perseverance of the Saints. Whom God calls he preserves from the bondage of sin; yet not so that they are delivered from the remains of sin dwelling in them; having given them grace, he preserves them therein to the end.

These articles, called, in their full statement, "the Canons of Dort," were passed by the synod April 23, 1619. It is noteworthy that in the third chapter of the canons the ninth paragraph states "that many who are called by the ministry of the Gospel do not come and are not converted; the fault of this is not in the Gospel, nor in Christ offered by the Gospel, nor in God inviting by the Gospel, but in the persons themselves who are invited;" while the tenth paragraph of this chapter ascribes the conversion of those who do obey the call of the Gospel to "God, who, as he chose his own people in Christ from eternity, so he also effectually calls them in time, gives them repentance and faith, and, having been rescued from the power of darkness, translates them into the kingdom of his Son."<sup>1</sup> It is strange that this learned synod could not perceive the incompatibility of these propositions with each other. If the damnation of the reprobate comes through their failure to receive the gifts of repentance and faith, how can it be said to be through their own fault? If the elect are saved because God will save them, the reprobate are lost because he will not save them. Man is purely passive in either case.

On the 9th of May, 1619, the synod closed its labors with the formal leave-taking of the foreigners and an address from

<sup>1</sup> *Articles of the Synod of Dort*, pp. 208, 209.

Bogerman. "This being done," says Brandt, "they all went to dinner, where the whole synod was plentifully treated with meat and drink, and a noble dessert of all sorts of sweetmeats, and their ears entertained with agreeable music, both vocal and instrumental."<sup>1</sup> On the 13th of May Barneveldt, the political leader of the Remonstrants, was beheaded. Maurice of Nassau, the enemy of the old statesman, and the theologians of Dort formed one party; the theologians neither planned nor executed the murder, but certainly rejoiced in it. Says Brandt: "The 13th of May, on which the Advocate was put to death, was the first time the inland divines assembled by themselves, and the Remonstrants say that the president, Bogerman, was heard on that day thanking God publicly for having delivered the Church from those who troubled her."<sup>2</sup> Maurice desired to obtain sovereign power; the Calvinists wished their form of faith to be made the one religion of the state. Against Maurice, Barneveldt upheld the freedom of the republic; an opponent of religious compulsion, he had advocated toleration. Another cause of enmity on the part of the Contra-Remonstrants lay in Barneveldt's assertion of the supremacy of the state over the Church. Each province, Barneveldt considered, had the legal authority to settle religious questions for itself, consequently he had withstood the holding of a national synod, while his opponents consistently held to Calvin's doctrine of the right of the Church to regulate ecclesiastical affairs. Barneveldt's trial began during the session of the Synod of Dort. His opposition to the convoking of the synod was made an accusation against him; another accusation was that he had drafted the letters sent by James I to the States in 1613, advising mutual toleration on the five points. Nothing treasonable, however, could be proved against him, and his sentence was without excuse.

As to the other leaders on the Arminian side, Grotius was

<sup>1</sup> Brandt, *History of the Reformation in and about the Low Countries*, vol. iii, p. 306.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. iii, p. 313.

imprisoned for life, but after two years of confinement escaped. Fears were expressed by the friends of Episcopius that bodily harm would be done to him. The States-General on the 5th of July ordered that he and his associates should be conducted out of the United Provinces till such time as they should give a pledge of silence and the States might permit them to return. They were thus condemned to exile, they were told, "on account of their contumacy, and especially for the boldness with which Episcopius had spoken in the synod."<sup>1</sup> They selected Waalwijk, in Brabant, as their place of refuge. The total number of banished Remonstrant ministers was nearly two hundred. Very soon Episcopius published a work against the synod entitled *Synodi Dordracenæ Crudelis Iniquitas* (*The Cruel Injustice of the Synod of Dort*); six of the Remonstrant leaders, chosen for the purpose, published *Acta et Scripta Synodalia Dordracena Ministrorum Remonstrantium* (*Acts and Writings of the Remonstrant Ministers Concerning the Synod of Dort*); shortly after this the Confession of the Remonstrants was issued. This last publication was eagerly sought for, and had a great effect on the public opinion of Europe. Bayle testifies that "the world began to say that the five points were not a sufficient reason for persecuting this people." The Arminians were prohibited from holding religious services, but these services were, nevertheless, "held in towns and villages, in houses and barns, in garrets and cellars, in fields and highways, in streets and gardens."<sup>2</sup> At Rotterdam, the first meeting was held in a field, near the city, and five thousand attended. On the next Sunday troops of English and Scotch soldiers were taken out to disperse the worshippers, and in dispersing them killed some and wounded others. In some places where the Remonstrants were in the majority, but were excluded from the churches, they assembled in the street to receive the sacrament from their own ministers. Two of their leaders, Poppius and Niellius, for returning to the Netherlands were arrested and threatened with the rack, but the magistrates,

<sup>1</sup> See Calder, *Memoirs of Simon Episcopius*, p. 343.      <sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 367.

after much contention among themselves, declined to put the threat into execution. Others of the leaders were imprisoned for life, but after several years of detention escaped. A large body of Remonstrants found their way to Holstein, where they built the town of Frederickstadt. After 1625 they were allowed to return home, and in 1630 a law was passed authorizing them to build churches and schools.

Maurice reaped only remorse from the murder of Barneveldt; from the time of its perpetration he declined in health and died in 1625. Prince Henry, his brother and successor, was friendly to the Remonstrants, and under his protection Episcopius and Uytenbogaert returned home. Episcopius became the head of the Remonstrant theological school in Amsterdam, and spent his last years in peaceful labors. "What a pity it is," says John Wesley, "that the holy Synod of Trent and that of Dort did not sit at the same time, so nearly allied as they were in the spirit wherewith they acted, if the latter did not exceed!"<sup>1</sup> Who will say after reading the preceding history that this judgment is too severe?

## NOTE TO CHAPTER LIV.

### BIBLIOGRAPHY.

On the political and religious troubles leading to the convoking of the Synod of Dort see Motley, *The Life and Death of John of Barneveld*, vol. i, chaps. vii and viii; see same work, vol. ii, pp. 311-360, for Barneveld's trial, its connection with the religious controversy, and his sentence. One of the chief authorities on the Arminian controversy is Gerard Brandt's *History of the Reformation in and about the Low Countries, from the Eighth Century down to the Synod of Dort*, translated from the Dutch, London, 1720-1722, 4 vols. It originally appeared at Amsterdam, 1671-1704. See also Bangs, *Life of Arminius*, New York, 1843; Caspar Brandt, *Historia vitæ Jacobi Arminii*, Amsterdam, 1724, translation by J. Guthrie, published London, 1854, Nashville, 1857; F. Calder, *Memoirs of Simon Episcopius*, New York, 1837; Nicholls, *Calvinism and Arminianism Compared*, London, 1824; *The Articles of the Synod of Dort, with a History of Preceding Events* by Rev. Thomas Scott, and an Introductory Essay by the Rev. Samuel Miller, Philadelphia, 1856. The Acts of the synod were officially published at Dort, in 1620.

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<sup>1</sup> Calder, *Memoirs of Simon Episcopius*, p. 347.

## CHAPTER IV.

## ARMINIANISM AFTER THE SYNOD OF DORT.

THE design of the members of the Synod of Dort was not only to condemn the followers of Arminius, but also to frame an ecumenical creed for the Calvinistic Churches. They, however, wholly failed to secure the doctrinal unity which they sought. In the first place, the synod, by declining to sanction supralapsarianism, practically condemned the Calvinism prevalent in Holland. In the second place, many of the Reformed Churches would not accept the decisions of the Synod without modification. It is said that some of the delegates accompanied their signatures to the decrees of Dort with the statements of the sense in which these decrees were received by them. Soon after the adjournment modified forms of Calvinism began to appear. Amyraldus (1596–1664) approached Arminianism by affirming a universal atonement and universal grace in connection with election and reprobation. He distinguished between an objective grace, which is offered to all, and a subjective grace, which is bestowed on the elect only; and between natural ability or the power to believe and moral ability or the willingness to believe. Practically, however, the objective grace which is offered to all never saves anyone; and the natural ability or the power to believe never becomes moral ability or actual faith save in the elect. His scheme merely softens the repulsive features of Calvinism, but leaves its substance unchanged. The distinction between natural and moral ability was adapted from Amyraldus by Jonathan Edwards of New England, and forms the basis of his system of theology. In England Baxter set forth substantially the same system. He affirmed that a conditional salvation is purchased by Christ for all men, but that the power of performing the condition, that is,



faith, is given to the elect only. Thus the first effect of the struggle of the Synod of Dort with the Arminians was an apparent compromise, which nevertheless retained the essential doctrines of the Calvinistic theology.

As to the Dutch Remonstrants after the Synod of Dort, it may be said that they gave a good account of themselves. Episcopius in 1621 put forth a declaration of faith as held by himself and his associates. It completely silenced the charge of Socinianism, brought against them, by its clear affirmation of the doctrine of the Trinity. "The Son and Holy Spirit," says this Confession, "as to their real being or substance, are truly distinct from the Father; nevertheless they are really partakers of the same Godhead, and absolutely distinguished by the same divine essence with the Father."<sup>1</sup> Limborch (1633-1712), professor in the Remonstrant college in Amsterdam, in his *Christian Theology* put the opinions of the Arminians into systematic form. Grotius (1583-1645), in his treatise on *The Truth of the Christian Religion*, brought apologetics into scientific form, and in another treatise set forth the theory of the atonement which still bears his name. He wrote against Faustus Socinus, *A Defense of the Catholic Faith, Concerning the Satisfaction of Christ*, and also an essay designed to show that the Remonstrants were not Pelagians. In addition to this result Arminianism had remote but no less salutary effects upon the theology of Europe. These are classed by Tulloch under three heads: (1) It revived the study of the Scripture and prescribed for such study a better method. The Remonstrant Confession insisted on the interpretation of Scripture according to its "native and literal sense." "It is true," says Tulloch, "that a more purely grammatical and historical exegesis which may be said to be, if not the parent, yet the lineal predecessor of that great instrument of thought [historical criticism], took its rise in the Arminian school."<sup>2</sup> (2) It revived the assertion of the exercise

<sup>1</sup> Calder, *Memoirs of Simon Episcopius*, p. 478.

<sup>2</sup> *Rational Theology in England in the Seventeenth Century*, vol. i, p. 27.



of private judgment, as against the compulsion of the conscience by the Church creeds. (3) It drew the important distinction between fundamental and non-fundamental doctrines, putting in the former category those only which minister to life. All these characteristics of Arminianism are exemplified in John Wesley, and it is not an unreasonable conjecture that he drew from the original sources of Arminian teaching more than his biographers have been aware.

The change in the Church of England from Calvinism to Arminianism belongs to the reign of James I. Up to the close of the reign of Elizabeth the English Church had closely followed the theology of Calvin. The Marian exiles had returned home fully imbued with its spirit. James wrote against Vortius, one of the Remonstrant theologians, and regretted that Arminius had escaped punishment at his hands by an early death. The first preacher in England to contradict predestinarianism was Peter Baro, a Frenchman and professor at Cambridge; he was followed in the same year (1595) by William Barrett, a Cambridge Fellow, who was forced by the Church authorities to retract what he had said in the pulpit. Archbishop Whitgift being greatly alarmed by Barrett's sermon, called a conference of bishops, divines, and theologians at Lambeth; the conference set forth the famous Lambeth Articles, which were intended to express the faith of the English Church. They are: "(1) God hath from eternity predestinated certain persons unto life and hath reprobated certain persons unto death. (2) The moving or efficient cause of predestination unto life is not the foresight of faith or of perseverance, or of good works, or of anything that is in the persons predestinated, but the alone will of God's good pleasure. (3) The predestinated are a predetermined and certain number, which can neither be lessened nor increased. (4) Such as are not predestinated to salvation shall inevitably be condemned on account of their sins. (5) The true, lively, and justifying faith, and the Spirit of God justifying, is not extinguished, doth not actually fail, doth not vanish

away in the elect, either finally or totally. (6) A true believer, that is, one endued with justifying faith, is certified by the full assurance of faith that his sins are forgiven, and that he shall be everlastingly saved by Christ. (7) Saving grace is not allowed, is not imparted, is not granted to all men, by which they may be saved, if they will. (8) No man is able to come to Christ unless it be given him, and unless the Father draw him, and all men are not drawn by the Father that they may come to his Son. (9) It is not in the will and power of every man to be saved."<sup>1</sup>

These articles sufficed for a time to suppress all opposition to the predestinarian creed. But the opinions of the Remonstrants, as soon as they became known in England, were received with great favor. William Prynne (1600–1669), famous afterward in the political troubles, wrote a work entitled *Anti-Arminianism*, in which he spoke of the Arminians as "thieves and robbers," and called on the bishops to suppress the new heresy. Francis Rouse (1579–1659), the author of the version of the Psalms, described an Arminian as "the spawn of a papist, and if the warmth of favor come upon him you shall see him turn into one of those frogs that rose out of the bottomless pit."<sup>2</sup> Arminian principles were defended by Richard Montagu (1578–1641), afterward Bishop of Chichester; he called the defenders of the Lambeth Articles "Puritans," a name which was from that time accepted as descriptive of the Calvinistic section of the English Church. But the great promoter of Arminianism was William Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury (1573–1645), who united with it the High Church theory of episcopacy. Under such patronage and the favor of the king Arminianism thrived rapidly. When Parliament met in 1628 the Commons complained to the king of the constant growth in numbers of the faction of the Arminians "who were no better than papists."<sup>3</sup> The king's answer to this complaint not being

<sup>1</sup> Hunt, *Religious Thought in England*, vol. i, pp. 93, 94.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. i, p. 149, note.

<sup>3</sup> Perry, *History of the Church of England*, p. 409.

satisfactory, the Commons passed a vote which they called a vow, declaring their acceptance of the Thirty-nine Articles as Calvinistically interpreted, and rejecting "the sense of the Jesuits and Arminians, and all others wherein they differ from us."

The truth is that Arminianism became involved in the struggle between the crown and the Parliament into which England was now entered. Laud, as the leader of the Arminians, identified it with royal absolutism and prelatical episcopacy. Notwithstanding this fact many of the noblest men of England adopted the theology of Arminius. Among them was John Milton, who affirms that God predestinated to eternal life those who should believe and continue in the faith. Another was John Goodwin (1593-1665), an Independent as to Church polity, and a republican in politics, who justified the execution of Charles I. Although Arminianism had been identified in England with ecclesiastical and political tyranny, Goodwin saw the truth clearly and declared that the doctrines of Arminius were no less favorable to liberty than the doctrines of Calvin. Another was John Hales of Eton (1584-1656), who had gone to Dort as one of the English commissioners, but had come home an Arminian. He says of himself that at the Synod of Dort he "bade good night to John Calvin."<sup>1</sup> Like Goodwin, he held Arminianism without Laud's High Churchism. The transition of England to Arminian theology was aided by the extreme opinions promulgated by some of the followers of Calvin. William Twisse (1575-1646), the prolocutor of the Westminster Assembly, did not shrink from saying "that the vessels of wrath [the reprobate] were hated from all eternity, not only before the fall of Adam, but before Adam was created." Tobias Crisp (1600-1642) avowed extreme anti-Arminianism, saying: "A justified person has no sins. God has transferred them to Christ." He believed that Christ's active obedience does duty for all the elect. John Owen (1616-1683) wrote a work entitled *The Display of*

<sup>1</sup> Hunt, *Religious Thought in England*, vol. i, p. 370.

*Arminianism*, in which he avowed extreme supralapsarian opinions.

But the most important accession to the Arminian ranks was from the Cambridge Platonists, led by Ralph Cudworth (1617–1688) and Henry More (1614–1687); their purpose was to refute the atheism and fatalism of Hobbes's *Leviathan*. Hobbes (1588–1679) had represented God as absolute will, and the opposition to this threw the Cambridge Platonists on the Arminian side of theology. They regarded Calvinism, says Hunt, as irrational. Still the Platonists were inclined to rationalism in theology, and had little to say of the work of the Spirit, which is made so prominent by Arminius and Episcopius. In fact, English Arminianism became Pelagian and remained so till it was revived and purified by John Wesley. The revival of Arminianism under Wesley was really the revival of spiritual Christianity. "That the Spirit of God had virtually departed from the world," says Hunt, "was a doctrine universally received both by Churchmen and Dissenters. The theory was that in the first ages of Christianity the Spirit had gone with the apostles working miracles, and that in virtue of these miracles Christianity was believed. After a time the Spirit withdrew from the Church and miracles ceased. The Bible, or, according to another theory, the Church, took the place of the Spirit."<sup>1</sup> When the Methodists told the people that they must be born again Waterland and Warburton replied that the people had already been born again in baptism. It was necessary to revive faith in a divine and spiritual administration of Christianity before the question of the working of the Holy Spirit's operation could be reached. When this was reached the original Arminianism of Holland, which held its way firmly between Calvinism on the one side and Pelagianism on the other, was revived in Wesley.

<sup>1</sup> *Religious Thought in England*, vol. iii, p. 397.

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337543











BR Crooks, George Richard, 1822-1897.  
145 The story of the Christian church, by George R. Crooks ...  
C75 New York, Eaton & Mains; etc., etc., 1897.  
xiii, 604 p. fold. front., double maps. 22½".  
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